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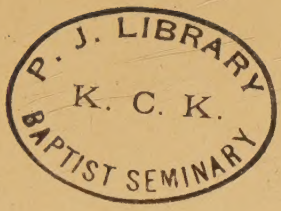

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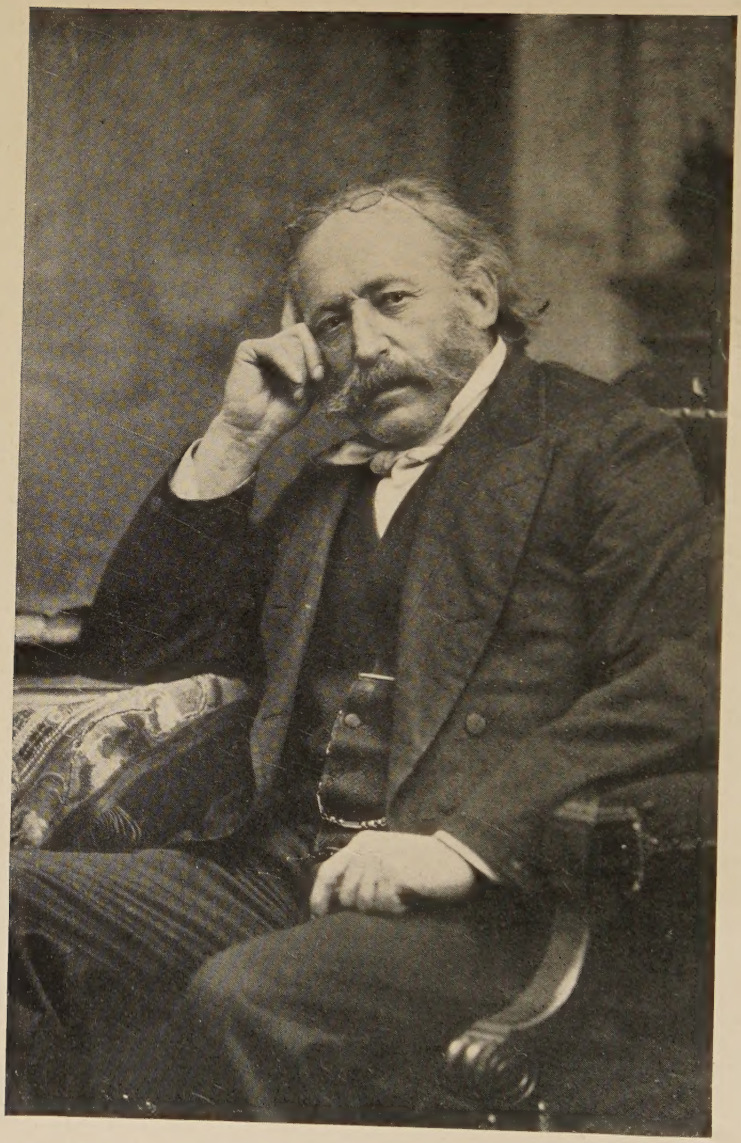

Isaac M. Wise

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE JUBILEE VOLUME

(1875—1925)

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ERRATA

Table of Contents, Page 2, Line 5. *For* Responses *read* Responsa.
Foreword, Line 22. *For* Ginsberg *read* Ginzberg.
Page 1, Note 1. *For* Pudus *read* Padua.
Page 9, Line 33. *For* congregation *read* congregations.
Page 83, Line 9. *Insert"* *before* Hos. 2:2.
Line 3 from bottom, *Insert"* *before* Zech. 8:13.
Page 84, Note 17. *For* col. 3 *read* col. 1.
Page 89, Line 5. *Last word should read* terms.
Page 105, Note 46, Line 4. *For* כי *read* בי.
Page 106, Note 54, Line 5. *Omit*=
Page 115, Note 5. *For* 11;1 *read* 111.
Page 120, Line 18. *For* The *read* Then. *After* kumu *read* a comma.
Page 146, Line 27. *For* Synagogue *read* Community.
Page 151 Note 18. *For* dittograph *read* deuterograph.
Page 152, Note 25, Line 2. *For* Buton *read* Burton.
Page 175, Note 28. *Omit* Am. v:7.
Page 177, Note 39 forms part of Note 38.
Page 180, Line 24. *For* 69 *read* 67.
Note 65. *For* Am. iv:1ff *read* Am. iv:6ff.
Page 188, Line 6. *For* to *read* upon.
Page 189, Line 7. *For* immortality *read* immorality.
Page 197, Note 159, Line 2. *For* Jer. Sanh. 1, 2, 5a-68 *read* Jer. Sanh. 1, 2, 5b-6a.
Page 208, Line 5. *For* have *read* has.
Page 223, Note 1, Line 2. *For* time *read* times.
Page 230, Line 3. *For* p. 10 *read* p. 236.
Page 237, After Hebrew text. *Delete* (No more preserved).
Page 243, Line 6. *For* (Fol. 1, recto) *read* (Fol. 1, verso).
Page 248, Note 91, Line 2. *For* 1020/21 *read* 1019/20.
Page 402, Line 26. *For* חמת *read* חמם.
Page 405, Note 29, Line 1. *For* נרדמים *read* נרדמים.
Page 406, Note 34, Line 3. *For* יוחסין *read* יוחסין.
Page 408, Line 12. *For* Hollishah *read* Hollischau.
Page 413, Line 13. *For* Shekolim *read* Shekalim.
Page 488, Line 6 from bottom. *For* intensity *read* intensify.
Page 490. *Insert* Note 12. George Albert Coe, *The Psychology of Religion*, 1921, p. 315.
Page 492, Line 3 from bottom. *For* persons's *read* person's.

FOREWORD

When plans for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Hebrew Union College, the oldest Jewish theological seminary in the United States were being considered by the jubilee committee the suggestion that a jubillee volume containing a number of studies on Jewish themes be published as a lasting scholarly memorial of the historic occasion received unanimous approval. The task of preparation of the volume was entrusted to the Board of Editors of the Hebrew Union College Annual. Invitations to contribute to the volume were extended by the Board to the members of the Faculty of the Hebrew Union College, to two representatives of the alumni of the institution (the Reverend Doctor William Rosenau of Baltimore and the Reverend Doctor H. G. Enelow of New York) and to a represenatative of the honorary alumni (Doctor Israel Abrahams of Cambridge, England). Invitations to contribute were also extended to sister institutions in the United States, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Jewish Institute of Religion and the Dropsie College. All the invitations were graciously accepted and the thanks of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College are expressed herewith to the scholars whose learned essays comprise the pages of the volume. To the great regret of the Board of Editors Professor Louis Ginsberg who had consented to represent the Jewish Theological Seminary was prevented by illness from fulfilling the engagement. The essay intended for this volume will in all likelihood appear in the next issue of the Hebrew Union College Annual.

Search among the literary remains of the deeply lamented Professor David Neumark disclosed the manuscript of the inaugural address which he delivered upon assuming the chair of Jewish philoosphy at the Hebrew Union College. The Board of Editors considered it most fitting that their distinguished colleague should find a place in this volume one of whose edi-

tors he would have been had he been spared another year. This inaugural address translated from the German by Mrs. Joseph Brainin, the daughter of Professor Neumark, has therefore been included as a mark of appreciation of the eminent scholar who glorified the Torah by his service in the cause of learning.

The golden jubilee of the Hebrew Union College brings into high relief the memory of Isaac M. Wise, the founder, and his devoted co-workers. This jubilee volume is the grateful tribute of pupils and colleagues to the great spirit who achieved so finely in the establishment of the Hebrew Union College fifty years ago.

For the Board of Editors,

David Philipson

Chairman.

Cincinnati, October 1925.

HISTORY OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

1875–1925

By DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College

AT THE RABBINICAL CONFERENCE held at Frankfort on the Main, Germany, in the year 1845, Ludwig Philippson one of the leaders among the reform rabbis offered the following resolution: "The rabbinical Conference declares that it considers the foundation of one or more Jewish theological faculties in Germany a worthy and high endeavor and that it will cooperate earnestly with such work. Resolved, that a Commission be appointed whose aim it shall be to interest the public in this noble cause and to work for its consummation in connection with representative and discerning men in all walks of life." This was the first public resolution on the need of a rabbinical seminary for the education and training of spiritual leaders of congregations in modern Germany.[1] The traditionally educated rabbis, the products of the *yeshiba* were not equipped to lead the congregations of the newer type. The men and women who formed these congregations were very different from their fathers of the ghetto. They had become citizens of a larger world; many of them had been or were being given a general education far other than that imparted in the *cheder*; they mingled freely with their fellow citizens; they had entered upon a new era in the life of Jewry; this new era required new institutions to meet its requirements. Far seeing leaders like Abraham Geiger, Ludwig Philippson and their compeers in Germany, recognized this early. Among these necessary new institutions they felt that none was more requisite than rabbinical seminaries or as they expressed it "Jewish theological faculties," which should be for reform Judaism what the *yeshiba* had been for rabbinical Judaism. A new type of rabbi was needed for the Jewish congregations in the new environment; men who combined the mod-

[1] A rabbinical seminary had been founded at Metz (France) in 1824 and another at Pudus (Italy) in 1827.

ern education and outlook with rabbinical knowledge, men who could interpret traditional Jewish beliefs and values in terms understandable of their generation, men too who could represent worthily before the larger world the Jewish cause and be its spokesmen.

The commission provided for in the resolution offered at that Frankfort conference to present a plan for the establishment of a rabbinical seminary reported at the conference held at Breslau the following year, namely 1846, that an occurrence had taken place during the year which promised to bring to consummation the founding of a seminary much more quickly than their fondest hopes had deemed possible. A wealthy co-religionist, Mr. Jonas Frankel had left a large sum for the founding of a rabbinical seminary. As soon as they learned of this the Commission had placed themselves in communication with the executors of the will and had informed them of the primary step the conference had taken in this matter and offered at the same time the cooperation of the Conference in carrying out the wishes of the testator. The Commission reported also that they had had an interview with the executors and had been assured that the latter would be greatly pleased to give the fullest consideration to the suggestions of the Conference through the Commission. Nothing came of this proposed cooperation however. The Breslau rabbinical seminary was founded in 1855 but its curriculum and tendency were along far too conservative lines to please reformers of the Geiger type. Therefore we find this leading spirit continuing his efforts for the creation of a liberal institution. Just twenty years after the first note had been struck at Frankfort we find Geiger returning to the charge in a stirring plea entitled "What Is Needed?"[2] First and foremost among the needs he placed "a Jewish theological faculty and notably for western Germany." He urged that provision for Jewish studies be made in some university town like Heidelberg so that the students might receive their secular education and their rabbinical training simultaneously.

[2] "Was Thut Noth?" in Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben (1865) vol. III, 254. See also his early article on the same subject, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie (1836) vol. II, 1 seq.

Six years later Geiger realized his dream when the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, the first liberal rabbinical seminary in the history of modern Judaism was founded in Berlin in 1871.

Among the visitors at the Frankfort Conference in 1845 was a young unknown Bohemian rabbi from the town of Steingrub, Isaac M. Wise. In conversation with the writer many years ago he said that he had been greatly moved by the reports of the first rabbinical conference in Brunswick in 1844 as given in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* and so great was his interest that when the second conference met in Frankfort he determined to attend it. He was there simply as a visitor, not as a participant. With his keen mind and fresh sympathies he listened eagerly to the stirring debates. Unwittingly seeds were planted in the fertile soil of his expanding intellect that were to sprout into glorious fruitage in later years. From Frankfort he returned to his small charge. During the following months events took place which made it impossible for him to remain in his cramped environment and just one year after he had heard the great reform rabbis debate the mooted questions at Frankfort he arrived in the United States where he was to bring similar questions into the public Jewish arena. Isaac M. Wise came to the United States because the free spirit wherewith he had been dowered at birth could not brook the narrow restrictions and limitations both civil and religious of the old world environment wherein he was located. With rare vision he perceived the possibilities in this land for him both as man and as Jewish leader. Though born abroad he was the embodiment of the American spirit; he was democratic through and through, democratic in his sympathies, in his leanings, in his hopes and in his ideals. Had he remained in Europe he would in all likelihood have cast his lot with the brave spirits who arose against autocracy and tyrannical authority in the revolutionary year 1848; in fact the only time that he ever felt a desire to return to Europe was in that year. But though his was a free spirit he was a devout believer in constituted authority, the authority set up by the people themselves whether now it was in the general sphere of government or in private institu-

tional life. A thorough-going individualist he was yet a devoted adherent to the idea of organization. As a reformer he contended for the right of the individual Jew living in the nineteenth century to an interpretation of his faith conformably with the thought and the needs of the time but he insisted also that such individualism, necessary as it was, must yet be curbed by organization if it was not to degenerate into religious anarchy. Individual freedom and organized effort may therefore be considered the watchwords of his life.

ISAAC M. WISE'S FIRST APPEAL

His arrival and early experiences in the United States have been graphically and grippingly told in the autobiographical chronicle, his "Reminiscences."[3] From the very beginning it was apparent that a real leader had come to these shores. It did not take him very long to appraise conditions existing among the Jews. The chaotic congregationalism that divided even the comparatively few Jews then living in this country appeared to him little short of disastrous. The lack of leaders for the congregations seemed to him the underlying cause of the ills in congregational life. Therefore scarcely more than two years after his settlement in Albany, New York, his first charge, he issued his first public document to his coreligionists in the form of a communication entitled "To the Ministers and other Israelites." This document is a remarkable diagnosis of the Jewish situation. It is a veritable trumpet call for union among the congregations and the rabbis. It contains the first mention of the need of an educated ministry. He deplores the wretched leadership of the congregations in the words "it is a pity to observe that any man who is so happy as to have a license (קבלה) to slaughter from some unknown person, can become the minister of a congregation, and the teacher of the youth without any proof of his knowledge of religion and in the absence of any evidence of his conduct as a Jew" and he prophesies "it is lamentable but true, that if we do not unite ourselves betimes to

[3]Reminiscences by Isaac M. Wise, Translated from the German and Edited by David Philipson, Cincinnati, 1901.

devise a practicable system for the ministry and religious education at large—if we do not stimulate all the congregations to establish good schools and to institute a reform in their synagogues on modern Jewish principles, the house of the Lord will be desolate or nearly so in less than ten years."[4] These passionate sentences indicate how deeply he felt on this subject. Here we find the first note in that long campaign which he waged for twenty-five years for the establishment of a rabbinical seminary. He sensed the situation thoroughly from the very start. He urged that the greatest need for Jew and Judaism was that they should be capably led and worthily represented. His cry for many years was that American congregations must have American rabbis, men educated in America, men filled with the free spirit of America, men who combined a modern American education with a knowledge of Jewish lore. A score of years and more were to elapse ere the project took definite shape and form. During these years the untiring leader kept the project before the public. Truly he knew not failure. Persistency finally won the day in this instance as in his other plans for the establishment of a Union of Congregations and a rabbinical conference.

With the passing of time his ideas as to the character of the institution changed. This was due partly to changes in the general educational situation and partly to the clarifying of his own thought and purpose. His earliest suggestion was the establishment by Jews of an institution for the training of rabbis and teachers in which not only the religious but also secular branches should be taught. In other words this institution was to be not entirely a rabbinical or theological school but was to furnish also a secular education. For the maintenance of this institution to be known as Zion College, he advocated the formation of associations in the various Jewish communities to be known as Zion Collegiate Associations. By dint of personal appeals he succeeded in having five such associations organized in as many cities, namely Cincinnati, Louisville, New York, Cleveland and Baltimore. Zion College was opened in the fall

[4]The Occident Vol. VI, 431–455 (Philadelphia, Dec. 1848).

of 1855 in Cincinnati but owing to lack of active support and even opposition it was very short lived. Again he was years ahead of his generation. Twenty years later when he penned his Reminiscences, he wrote concerning this institution, "If American Jewry had been ripe for such an undertaking at that time, as some few men in Cincinnati and Louisville were, what could not a school such as that college have accomplished within the space of twenty years? There would have been no necessity to look today with a Diogenes' lantern for educated preachers and teachers fully acquainted with the English language and conversant with the customs and habits of the country."[5]

AMERICAN LEADERS FOR AMERICAN CONGREGATIONS

He felt that American leaders were needed for American congregations. He could not reconcile himself to the thought that young men should be sent from this country to Germany for their rabbinical training and higher education. He felt that Israel in America was orphaned so long as the congregations were not shepherded by men of American training and filled with the American spirit. The columns of the Israelite his personal organ teem with editorial comments on this theme. Nothing daunted by the Zion College failure he challenged the attention of his readers without pause and without ceasing. Thus in January 1856 he asked, "Must not we, as well at least as the other religious denominations, also establish and support a seat of learning?" and in November 1858 he wrote, "Our cause in America requires American rabbis and teachers with American principles and eloquence, who are thoroughly acquainted with our mode of thinking and believing, our sentiments and convictions as they are to inculcate God's words in American hearts; therefore we must educate American rabbis and teachers . . . Let us not forget to reflect on this subject." He believed thoroughly in the power of repetition as the most effective weapon to impress an idea; hence we find him writing time and again words to this effect: "As long as we must import our ministers and writers, we will be orphans in America, and

[5]Reminiscences, p. 325.

as long as we have no college of our own, where Judaism is a branch of study, we cannot expect ministers and writers for our cause."

In 1859 this intrepid spirit who would recognize no such word as fail, made a further attempt in another direction towards translating this pet idea into actuality. As president of District No. 2 of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith he proposed at the annual meeting of the Order held in that year the "organization of an educational institution somewhere in the West under the control of the Order, for the general benefit of all Israelites and in the interest of science and Judaism." A committee was appointed with Wise as Chairman to take the subject under consideration and to report its findings. When the committee report favoring the project was presented it was not approved owing chiefly to the fact that the Order had embarked upon another large venture, namely the founding of an Orphan Asylum. In 1865 Dr. Wise again brought forward his proposition in the form of an amendment to the constitution, "to erase the words 'Orphan Asylum Fund' wherever they occur in Article XII of the constitution and insert in their places 'Teachers Seminary Fund of District No. 2 I. O. B. B.'." This amendment was defeated. The following year July 29, 1866, Mr. Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, the Grand Saar of the Order at the meeting of the Constitutional Grand Lodge in Cincinnati, doubtless at the urging of Dr. Wise proposed the consideration of a plan for the foundation of a Jewish college in the words "It is my firm conviction that the time, the necessity and our ability to establish such have arrived." It was proposed to inaugurate an Educational Fund of the I. O. B. B. This was successfully opposed by Isidor Bush, a leading member of the Order and others, on the ground that it was "one of the fundamental principles of the Order to keep aloof from congregational and doctrinal matters and that it would prevent the accomplishment of the great and noble work already in hand, the establishment of the Orphan Asylum."[6]

At about the same time another organization in the Eastern

[6]The Jewish Orphan Asylum, Cleveland, Ohio, Glimpses of the Early History by Isidor Bush. The Menorah Vol. V (1888) 27–33.

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part of the country possibly moved by similar considerations as Isaac M. Wise had championed for years, made an independent attempt toward this end. In 1866 at a meeting of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites whose seat was in the city of New York, it was resolved "That the delegates now present be requested to use their best energies in behalf of Hebrew and religious education in the various cities they represent throughout the Union, and to collect funds for the establishment of a college in the city of Philadelphia, for the rearing of Jewish Divines, the Legislature of Pennsylvania having already granted to the Hebrew Education Society of that city a charter, with the privilege of conferring degrees of scholarship, equal with those of Harvard, Yale or Rutgers Colleges."[7]

During the ensuing year the plans were matured and on November 4, 1867 Maimonides College was opened in the City of Philadelphia with four students. Both secular and Jewish subjects were provided for in the curriculum. The full course was to embrace a period of five years and upon graduation the students were to receive the usual academic degrees. A special provision was made for candidates for the ministry who having the "proper theological knowledge will receive the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity."[8] Maimonides College closed its doors in 1873 after an existence of six years. But one rabbi was graduated, namely the Reverend Dr. S. Mendelsohn, later of Wilmington, North Carolina.

This opposition but spurred Isaac M. Wise on to renewed efforts. Neither the defeat of the proposition by the opponents in the B'nai B'rith, nor the attempt to establish the Philadelphia institution quelled his ardor. In 1869 he had a plan for calling a conference to raise the necessary funds for the purpose. In August 1869 under the caption "The Theological Seminary" he wrote editorially in the Israelite "We must have a theological seminary for the education of rabbis and teachers for American Israel. This is so evident that it is conceded on all sides. We will have one as soon (and no sooner) as the conference shall have devised a plan for raising the means. We do not mean

[7]Occident (Philadelphia) XXIV, 284.
[8]Ibid. XXV, 228–230, 458–460.

to make opposition to the college association of New York of which we are a member, nor to the Maimonides College of Philadelphia, neither of which is a theological seminary in contemplation or reality." He goes on to state that the theological seminary must be located in a city where there is a college where students can obtain a secular or collegiate education. He here indicates his opposition to a Jewish college for secular instruction; such instruction was to be received in a regular college; the Jewish theological seminary was to be a separate foundation. He closed this article with the appeal "Ye men in Israel come forward to secure the purpose of your sacred heritage on this free soil; come forward to secure the treasures of Jewish learning to coming generations. We know thousands of hands and hearts will be ready to do this great work."

The conference here referred to was not held, in all likelihood for the reason that a rabbinical conference was to take place in the City of Philadelphia in November 1869. Possibly the great Cincinnati rabbi indulged the hope that at this conference the differences that had divided the Eastern reform rabbis from him and his colleagues in the Middle West ever since the Cleveland conference in 1855,[9] would be composed and that all could work together towards common ends, among them the organization of a theological faculty. But if Wise did indeed harbor such a hope it failed of fulfilment. The Philadelphia conference did not take up the subject of a theological seminary. When that conference adjourned it was with the purpose of meeting again in Cincinnati. When the conference was held in Cincinnati in 1871 the Eastern men who had been at Philadelphia failed to attend. At that Cincinnati Conference the project for a seminary took definite shape when the following resolution was adopted:

"The members of the Conference take upon themselves the duty to bring prominently before the congregation, to advocate and to support by their influence, the following project of cooperation of the American Hebrew Congregations:

'The congregations to unite themselves into a Hebrew Congregational Union with the object to preserve and advance the Union of Israel; to take

[9]Philipson, The Reform Movement in Judaism 488 (New York, 1907).

proper care of the development and promulgation of Judaism; to *establish and support a scholastic institute, and the library appertaining thereto,* for the education of rabbis, preachers and teachers of religion; to provide cheap editions of the English Bible and text books for the schools of religious instruction; to give support to weak congregations and to provide such other institutions which elevate, preserve and promulgate Judaism.'

'Resolved that whenever twenty congregations with no less than two thousand contributing male members, shall have declared, in accordance with the preceding resolution, their resolution to enter the Hebrew Congregational Union, the said committee shall invite this synod to meet at such time and place as may be most satisfactory to the cooperating congregations'."

FIRST DEFINITE STEP

A little more than one year thereafter this resolution through the constant agitation of Isaac M. Wise began to march toward practical fulfilment when the president of his own congregation, Mr. Moritz Loth, in his annual report to the meeting of the congregation held on October 10, 1872, recommended the appointment of a committee of twelve members to meet with similar committees from the sister congregations of the city and take into consideration the calling of a general conference of representatives of all congregations of the West, South and Southwest with a view to form a union of congregations the object of which should be, "First, to establish a Jewish Theological Faculty etc." The primary object then of the proposed union of congregations was to be the foundation of a rabbinical seminary. It is interesting to note that the same designation for the seminary is used in this first American resolution looking to the establishment of such a seminary as was used in the resolution adopted at the Frankfort rabbinical conference in 1845 viz.; "Jewish Theological Faculty." As stated above Isaac M. Wise had attended that conference as a visitor and had heard the debate on this subject. I find here a nexus between that early resolution on the need of a modern seminary and its practical fulfilment thirty years later under the leadership of that young and eager listener. Abraham Geiger and Isaac M. Wise were the foremost leaders of the Jewish reform forces in Germany and in the United States respectively. There were other noted leaders, but these two names stand out most promin-

ently from the page of history detailing the birth of the reform movement in Judaism in the old and the new world. Both regarded as the acme of their practical achievements the foundation of a rabbinical seminary, the Berlin institution on the one hand and the Cincinnati institution known as the Hebrew Union College on the other.

In commenting on the presidential report of Moritz Loth and the action of Bene Yeshurun Congregation on the recommendations in that report, Doctor Wise wrote in an editorial in the *Israelite* of October 1872: "After years of careful study and various experiences, our conviction has not been changed, that Judaism in America must represent a Union by its conferences or synods, to act in harmony and concert on all questions of general interest and must educate American Rabbis for the American pulpit, in order to have a future in this country. Neither arguments nor scoldings and calumnies had the least influence on our settled opinion on this point." The dawn of the day so long hoped for had appeared. But the full accomplishment was not yet. Still the necessary steps were gradually taken one by one. At a meeting held on March 20, 1873 and attended by representatives appointed by the Cincinnati congregations in response to the invitation of Moritz Loth, a preamble and resolution were adopted which declared as the sense of the representatives present that—"we favor a call and organization of the congregations of the West, South and Southwest for a congregational conference, under whose auspices the Jewish Theological Faculty should be organized." The omission of the congregations of the East in the wording of the first call for a Union of American Congregations discloses the unfortunate antagonism still existing between the rabbis in the Eastern cities and Doctor Wise. Several attempts had been made to reach an amicable understanding. The conference of reform rabbis at Philadelphia in November 1869 mentioned above, had been attended by Einhorn, Samuel Hirsch, Samuel Adler and other rabbis of congregations in Eastern cities and by Wise, Lilienthal and other rabbis of congregations in other parts of the country. It appeared that the breach that had existed for fourteen years ever since the animosities aroused by the Cleve-

land Conference of 1855 were now to be healed. But the appearance was deceptive. The strife between East and West represented notably by New York and Philadelphia on the one hand and Cincinnati on the other, grew more bitter in the next few years. The Jewish prints of the early seventies are filled with bitter invectives and recriminations. This unfortunate chapter must be referred to because of the apparent slighting of the Eastern congregations in this first call for union. It had become absolutely clear that no working arrangement for union under the then existing conditions was possible.[10] But Wise's heart was set on the consummation of his long cherished plans. Hence he determined that a beginning should be made even if it meant only a union of the congregations of the West, South and Southwest, whose leaders were sympathetic to his ideas. He cherished the hope that with the passing of time the bitterness would be assuaged and the Eastern congregations would join the movement for union.[11] That hope was realized ere five years had passed. Therefore let the veil be drawn over

[10]The Jewish Times of New York edited by M. Ellinger was the organ of the opposition. How bitter that opposition was appears in the editorial articles on the Cincinnati convention of 1873 in the issues of July 25, 1873, (Vol. V, p. 344 and 345), of July 19, 1874 (Vol. VI, p. 312) and of June 4, 1875 (Vol. VII, p. 232) in which Wise is termed "the conjuror of Cincinnati" and the Union a "still born enterprise."

[11]Even after the Hebrew Union College was opened the Eastern opposition continued active. In February, 1876, an invitation was issued by the presidents of a number of New York congregations to congregations in the East and elsewhere to send delegates to a convention to establish a Hebrew College. This meeting was held in New York City in May, 1876; twenty-seven delegates representing fifteen congregations, eight in New York City, two in Philadelphia, and one each in Brooklyn, N. Y., Newark, N. J., Baltimore, Md., Wilkesbarre, Pa., and Chicago, Ill. (Sinai Congregation of which Doctor K. Kohler was the rabbi) were present. It was proposed to establish a Hebrew Theological Seminary Association. In an editorial article in the Israelite of June 9, 1876, entitled "The Disunion College in New York" Isaac M. Wise wrote "You may set it down as a fact that this proposed Hebrew Theological Seminary Association (the name is long enough) will educate no rabbis, and do no harm to anybody. We wish the generous enterprise the best of success." The disunion college did not materialize and as told later on in the text the opposition died out gradually and East and West became united.

Presidents of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

those early dissensions. They have been referred to here only because the historical chronicle demands their mention.

THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS AND THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

In the call issued by the representatives of the Cincinnati congregations for the formation of a Union of Congregations, the establishment of a "Jewish Theological Institute" is particularly stressed. The call states that "the want of such an institution in this country has long been felt; and how we can supply the places of the good men now devoting their time and talents in the interest of our cause when they will be no more, is a question upon which the welfare and permanency of our religion most materially depends. Recognizing, therefore, as we have no doubt you do, the necessity of harmonizing upon some action which will supply this great want, in order that some of our youth, conversant with the language of the land, should be educated for the Jewish ministry and as teachers and expounders of our sacred principles, we representing all the congregations of this city, have unanimously Resolved, To issue a call to all the congregations of West and South for a Congregational Convention to form a 'Union of Congregations', under whose auspices a 'Jewish Theological Institute' shall be established, and other measures adopted which will advance the prosperity of our religion."

Whatever other noteworthy activities the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has undertaken during the half century of its existence there can be no question that the moving reason for calling it into being was the establishment of a rabbinical seminary. This was constantly and insistently brought out at the convention in Cincinnati July 8-10, 1873, at which the Union was organized. Both Julius Freiberg the temporary Chairman who called the convention to order and Moritz Loth who was elected permanent Chairman of the convention emphasized this point in their addresses. Said the former, "we propose to establish a Jewish Theological Seminary, where we intend to rear and educate young Jewish preachers,

who shall promulgate the religion of our fathers in the language of our country and in the spirit of the age we live in" and the latter declared without reservation, "To bring such a place of learning into existence is the main business of this convention." The constitution declared "It is the primary object of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to establish a Hebrew Theological Institute." Other objects are mentioned but this was first and foremost. All the early energies of the organization were directed towards this end. Other aims however desirable took a secondary place.

Now that the first step was definitely taken events moved quickly. At this convention, J. D. Walker of Charleston, W. Va., offered ten acres of land in the city of Charleston as a site for the erection of the institution and Dr. David Mayer of that same place donated 100 acres of timber and mineral land in Boone County, W. Va. These offers which were accepted with thanks were referred to the Executive Board; no further action was taken in reference thereto.

At the convention of the Union held in Cleveland July 14-16, 1874, the committee on Theological Institute reported a plan for its establishment and organization. In this report the name Hebrew Union College is mentioned for the first time. The report provided for three Departments, Preparatory, Hebrew Classical and Rabbinical; the institution was to be placed under the control of a Board of Governors of twelve members who were to report to the next convention of the Union, a code of laws for the "general internal government of the College, the establishment of a Faculty and Curriculum, and under the supervision of the Executive Board (of the Union) shall complete all arrangements formally to open at least the Preparatory Department of the College on or before the first day of October 1875."

It was also resolved that sixty thousand dollars would have to be raised before the college was to be opened. Two years earlier, in 1873, Doctor Wise had obtained from Henry Adler of Lawrenceburg, Indiana, a gift of Ten Thousand Dollars, which made possible the practical fulfilment of the great hope. Henry Adler was by no means a rich man. This sum repre-

sented a large portion of his means. He had been greatly influenced by Dr. Wise's eloquent and fervent exhortations. A brother of the saintly Rabbi Liebman Adler of Chicago, he was of a similar character. Pious, gentle and lovable, his name leads all the others who during half a century have placed their offerings on the altar of that temple of Jewish learning which he greatly helped to call into being.

THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

The first Board of Governors was appointed by the Convention of the Union at Cleveland, in July 1874 and consisted of the following members:

Henry Adler, Cincinnati, O., B. Bettmann, Cincinnati, O., Josiah Cohen, Pittsburgh, Pa., Adam A. Kramer, Cincinnati, O., Solomon Levi, Cincinnati, O., Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal, Cincinnati, O., Henry Mack, Cincinnati, O., Leopold Rosenfeld, Cincinnati, O., Herman E. Sterne, Peru, Ind., Rev. Dr. I. M. Wise, Cincinnati, O., Rev. Dr. S. Wolfenstein, St. Louis, Mo.[12]

The Board organized by electing the following officers: Henry Mack, President, Nathan Bloom, Vice-President and Adam A. Kramer, Secretary.[13] These officers however did not actually function for the college did not open until October 1875 when their successors were in office.

At the convention of the Union in Buffalo July, 1875, A. J. Friedlander of Cincinnati was added to the Board of Governors, and at the meeting after this convention Bernhard Bettmann was elected President, Herman E. Sterne, Vice-President and Adam A. Kramer, Secretary.[14] Mr. Bettmann served as president until 1910.

During the half century of the existence of the college, the following men in addition to the above have served as members of the Board of Governors at one time or another.

Israel Aaron, Buffalo, Marcus Aaron, Pittsburgh, Samuel

[12]Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Vol I (1873–1879) p. 106.

[13]Ibid. p. 144.

[14]Ibid. 225.

Ach, Cincinnati, Ralph Bamberger, Indianapolis, A. G. Becker, Chicago, Raphael Benjamin, Cincinnati, Henry Berkowitz, Philadelphia, Oscar Berman, Cincinnati, August Binswanger, St. Louis, Joseph Block, Cincinnati, Abraham Bloom, Cincinnati, Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati, President 1917—, F. DeSola Mendes, New York, Nathan Drucker, Cincinnati, David Einhorn, New York, Moritz Ellinger, New York, Jacob Ezekiel, Cincinnati, Leopold Feiss, Cincinnati, Julius Freiberg, Cincinnati, J. Walter Freiberg, Cincinnati, M. J. Freiberg, Cincinnati, A. E. Frankland, Memphis, Leo M. Franklin, Detroit, Samuel Grabfelder, Louisville, Jacob Goldbaum, Philadelphia, Gustav Gottheil, New York, Wm. Goodheart, Cincinnati, James Gutheim, New Orleans, Moses Greenebaum, Chicago, Simon Greenebaum, Cincinnati, Albert Goldsmith, Cincinnati, M. J. Gries, Cleveland, B. Gugenheimer, San Francisco, Joseph Hagedorn, Philadelphia, Felix Halff, Galveston, Simon Heavenrich, Detroit, Sigmund Hecht, Milwaukee, James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Max Heller, New Orleans, E. L. Heinsheimer, Cincinnati, President 1910–1917, Adolf Huebsch, New York, E. G. Hirsch, Chicago, H. M. Hoffheimer, Cincinnati, George Jacobs, Philadelphia, Maurice Joseph, Cincinnati, Felix Kahn, Cincinnati, Alred Klein, Philadelphia, K. Kohler, New York, Arnold Kohn, Philadelphia, Joseph Krauskopf, Philadelphia, Irwin M. Krohn, Cincinnati, Jacob Kronacher, Cincinnati, Simon Lazarus, Columbus, O., Max Landsberg, Rochester, Henry M. Leipziger, New York, Charles S. Levi, Milwaukee, Louis S. Levi, Cincinnati, J. Leonard Levy, Pittsburgh, Philip Lewin, Philadelphia, Joseph Loth, New York, Alfred Mack, Cincinnati, R. W. Mack, Cincinnati, S. Marcus, Chicago, Emanuel Marks, Cincinnati, Henry Marks, Cincinnati, Leslie V. Marks, Cincinnati, Max B. May, Cincinnati, Daniel Merz, Philadelphia, Chas. Moch, Cincinnati, Adolph Moses, Chicago, Adolph Moses, Louisville, Jacob Ottenheimer, Cincinnati, Myer Oettinger, Cincinnati, David Philipson, Cincinnati, Emil Pollak, Cincinnati, Carl Pritz, Cincinnati, Sigmund Rheinstrom, Cincinnati, Wm. Rosenau, Baltimore, M. A. Rosenblatt, St. Louis, Julius Rosenfield, Galveston, M. M. Rothschild, Chicago, Max Samfield, Memphis, Solomon Simm, New York,

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Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati, Charles Shohl, Cincinnati, Joseph Silverman, New York, S. H. Sonneschein, St. Louis, Abraham Stein, New York, Louis S. Stern, New York, Nathan Stix, Cincinnati, Wm. Stix, Cincinnati, Joseph Stolz, Chicago, Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, S. W. Trost, Cincinnati, S. Ullman, Louisville, Samuel Ullman, Natchez, Jacob Voorsanger, San Francisco, Henry Wangenheim, San Francisco, Harris Weinstock, San Francisco, Morris Westheimer, Cincinnati, Eli Winkler, New York, Louis Wolsey, Cleveland.

THE FIRST CURRICULUM

In the first report of the Board of Governors, submitted to the convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held at Buffalo, New York, July 13–15, 1876 there was included a "Code of Laws for the General Internal Management of the Hebrew Union College" as well as "Laws Establishing the Faculty and Curriculum of the Hebrew Union College." This first curriculum of studies for the Preparatory Department of a rabbinical seminary in the United States is of compelling interest. This was pioneer work in the truest sense. An entirely new path had to be blazed. Everything was problematical. It was possible, yes more than likely, that American born boys with little Hebrew training and little knowledge of Jewish lore would enter the institution. For this reason provision had to be made to start the education along these lines practically ab initio. For most of them this would be almost terra incognita. Therefore a preparatory Department was instituted as a first step. Here the preparation was to be obtained which it was hoped would produce students fitted to enter the rabbinical seminary proper in four years time.[15] The

[15]The Preparatory Department however was intended not only for young men who intended to pursue a rabbinical career but also for any other young people who desired higher education in Hebrew branches than was given in the religious schools of the congregations. The curriculum for the Preparatory Department was drawn up by the rabbinical members of the newly elected Board of Governors, namely Doctors Isaac M. Wise, Max Lilienthal, and Samuel Wolfenstein of St. Louis, later the beloved and genial superintendent of the Jewish Orphan Asylum at Cleveland, Ohio.

curriculum aimed to give the students a knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic grammar, and of Jewish history from earliest times to modern days; the books of the Bible were to be the texts either for cursory reading or for critical study; selections from the Mishnah, the Mekilta and the Targumim were to be taught and instruction in the Talmud was to be begun. It is interesting to note that when this curriculum for a Preparatory Department was submitted to the convention of the Union at Buffalo, Dr. Lilienthal, looking four years ahead to the time when the rabbinical seminary proper would be opened, offered a resolution that "Hebrew scholars both in Europe and America be consulted as to the course of study to be pursued in the future Rabbinical College to be established by this Union;" and in a spirited address in support of his resolution, he indicated as one of the reasons for presenting the resolution the hope that it might be the means of removing the animosities which were dividing the camp of the reformers in the United States. "I am a man of peace," said he, "and am sure I express the unanimous sentiment of this large assembly if I assert that we are tired of the wrangling and quarreling of some of the Jewish ministers of the country. The Congregations want peace and harmony; let the ministers, the preachers and teachers of peace, set the good example of extending the brotherly hand of reconciliation. If mistakes have been made, it is no use denying it, let them be forgotten. 'Let the dead past bury its dead.' Let every one do it for the cause in which we are all engaged, for the honor of Judaism and our sacred and true religion. . . . Let us show the world that we are first in soliciting harmony, in advocating reconciliation, in fostering mutual good will. And when we all of this generation shall have been gathered to our fathers, and the Hebrew College will stand and flourish, a pride and glory of future generations, it will become one of the proud ornaments of American Judaism, will testify to the zeal which inspired us, and record the names of all our united good and learned men as a blessing in Israel."[16] Prophetic and glorious words, worthy of the prince of peace among American Jewish

[16]Ibid. 170.

leaders of his day and generation! The generous sentiment which inspired Doctor Lilienthal to speak these words bore fruit happily for within the course of the following years, Doctor David Einhorn consented to serve as Chairman of the Committee on Course of Studies for the Hebrew Union College; associated with him on the committee were Doctors Samuel Hirsch, Isaac M. Wise and Max Lilienthal. Thus the breach began to be healed and the reconciliation became complete when at the convention of the Union at Milwaukee in 1878 "East and West" joined their forces for the promotion of their common cause. A commission of "nine competent scholars to devise necessary plans of instruction for all the institutions under the control of the Union and to fix the standard of admission, promotion and conferring of degrees" was appointed; its personnel indicates that the old differences had been buried and a new spirit of cooperation had arisen. The members of the commission were The Reverends Dr. David Einhorn and Gustav Gottheil of New York; The Reverend Dr. Marcus Jastrow and Mr. Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia; The Reverends Dr. Isaac M. Wise and Max Lilienthal of Cincinnati; The Reverend Dr. Emil G. Hirsch and Mr. Lewis Dembitz of Louisville, Ky.; and the Reverend Dr. Adolph Moses of Mobile, Alabama. At this meeting also the Reverend Dr. Gottheil of Temple Emanuel, New York, as an earnest of the new era that had dawned, proposed that the Preparatory School of Temple Emanuel be adopted as one of the preparatory schools of the Hebrew Union College. Thereby hangs a tale which may be inserted here. In his exhaustive biographical sketch of David Einhorn, read at the meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, held in the City of New York, in November 1909, in honor of the centenary of the birth of this great Jewish reformer and preacher, Doctor K. Kohler indicated that Einhorn had cherished the idea of "starting a Hebrew College" and that he had interested Doctor Samuel Adler the rabbi, and some leading members of Temple Emanuel of New York City, in the project in the year 1869. Differences having arisen between him and the men who contributed the funds as to the management of the contemplated institution, negotiations came to an end.

But the Temple Emanuel Theological Association was formed and used the fund collected to send young men to Europe for a rabbinical training. Among these were Felix Adler, the son of the rabbi of Temple Emanuel and Emil G. Hirsch, the son of Doctor Samuel Hirsch of Philadelphia. Upon the urging of Doctor Gustav Gottheil who had become associate rabbi of Temple Emanuel in 1873, a Temple Emanuel Preparatory School for intending rabbinical students was established. This school opened its sessions in March 1877 with Doctors Samuel Adler, Gustav Gottheil, Moses Mielziner and Mr. Louis Schnabel as teachers; in 1878 as recorded above it became identified with the Hebrew Union College and ceased functioning as an independent institution. The income from the fund which is still in existence, and is administered by several trustees, is now used for the support of beneficiaries studying at the Hebrew Union College.

OPENING OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

But to return to our interrupted narrative. When the Buffalo convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations adjourned in July 1875 the men present parted with the feeling that the chief purpose for which the Union had been called into being was on the eve of being consummated. It had been definitely resolved to open the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati on the ensuing October first. It required no stretch of imagination to conceive what the feelings of Isaac M. Wise must have been. He was in view of his promised land. The struggles of years were about to be crowned with victory. An American trained rabbinate for American congregations! A native ministry for American Judaism! He believed with all his heart and soul in American Judaism, the old faith to be adapted to American needs and conditions, Jewish and American ideals to be blended and to be preached to American congregations. How his spirit must have breathed, "Hallelujah! praised be God" who has brought this great, this new thing to pass! how he must have exulted with the Psalmist, "sing to the Lord a new song for He hath wrought a marvellous thing!"[17]

[17]The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was the parent organi-

During the summer of eighteen hundred and seventy-five Doctor Wise and the Board of Governors with Bernhard Bettman at the head made active preparations for the opening of the institution in October. The plans contemplated the formation of the first grade of the Preparatory Department. The incoming students were to attend the public educational institutions of Cincinnati, either the High School or the University in the morning, and the Hebrew Union College in the afternoon. Dr. Wise had been in active correspondence with a number of intending candidates for the new venture. The writer recalls vividly the feeling of trepidation with which he entered the presence of the great man in August of that year. Doctor Wise had written the father living at Columbus, Ohio to bring his son, who had just passed his thirteenth year, to Cincinnati to see him. After the first few moments of the dreaded interview, the fear that possessed the lad disappeared entirely. The geniality of the famous rabbi put the quaking boy entirely at his ease and he left the house enamored of the prospect of becoming a pupil of this remarkable man. The compelling personality

zation whereof the Hebrew Union College was the first born child. For fifty years the college had no separate charter of its own under which it operated. At every graduation the degrees conferred by the College received their validation by the authorization of the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. This condition of affairs was changed at the convention of the Union held at St. Louis in January, 1925, when the recommendation of the Committee of Twenty Six to the effect "that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College be chartered separately so that each would be a legal entity" was adopted by the delegates there assembled. This separate chartering of the College was not to be understood, however, as divorcing the College from the Union for the Committee of Twenty Six recommended further that "the Union should still preserve, the same as under the one incorporation, its control over and direction of the College, by providing for the election of a majority of the Governors." This recommendation was approved by the delegates as was also the further recommendation that the new charter for the College should make provision for a new manner of appointing the Board of Governors. Instead of having the thirty members of the Board of Governors appointed by the Executive Board of the Union as hitherto, the new charter provides that twenty of the members be appointed by the Executive Board of the Union and five each by the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College.

of Isaac M. Wise impressed all, old and young, who came into personal contact with him in the same manner. Even bitter opponents who knew him only at a distance were disarmed when they were brought within the circle of intimate personal converse. His was the simplicity of real greatness and the lovableness of true humanity.

The long looked for day finally dawned. The dream of a quarter of a century began to be realized when on Sunday, the third of October, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, the formal opening of the Hebrew Union College took place in the beautiful temple of the Bene Yeshurun Congregation, at Eighth and Plum Streets. The multitude that filled the brilliantly illuminated house of worship little recked at how historic an occasion they were assisting. Isaac M. Wise knew it full well but possibly even he did not realize completely the amazing task to which he had set his hand. It was a real work of salvation for Judaism in America. Within the past half century he has been frequently called the "master builder" of American Judaism. And that in truth he was. His determination, his persistence, his struggle, his faith were finally justified and rewarded. But it was only the beginning. The great tests and trials were still to come. Many doubters and mockers were still in the land. But what of that? Sufficient to the day was the joy thereof. The first rung on the ladder of achievement was being ascended. The difficult first step had been successfully taken.

The active participants in that historic event were Bernhard Bettmann, the President of the Board of Governors, the Reverend Dr. Isaac M. Wise, the Reverend Dr. Max Lilienthal and the Reverend Dr. S. H. Sonneschein of St. Louis, Mo. The speakers sensed the epoch making significance of the event and stressed the responsibility that would lie upon the persons who were blazing the new path in American Israel's onward journey. Bernhard Bettmann who served as president of the Board of Governors with singular ability and devotion from the day of its founding until February 1, 1910 when he resigned the office, said in this inaugural address:

"Let it be plainly and distinctly understood that while it is hoped that from this college will depart the future rabbis and teachers of the American

Israel, not only are its doors open, but a most cordial welcome is extended to any one that may want to seek its benefits, no matter what may be his or her religion, present position or future purposes in life. The Council at Buffalo has made it a special duty of the Board of Governors to provide in the curriculum a plan of study for those who do not desire to fit themselves for the position of Rabbi or teacher, but merely wish to acquire a classical Hebrew education. We shall be happy to have amongst us the followers of other creeds, not for the purpose of making proselytes of them—for that has always been and still is repugnant to the spirit of Judaism,—but that they might understand the parent faith from which their own religion sprang, and enjoy a literature equal to that of Greece and Rome. We confidently count upon the attendance of some of the daughters of Israel, so that in a measure at least may be revived the glory of those ancient days when the Keser Torah, the crown of knowledge of the law, encircled many a Jewish woman's brow."

The Reverend Dr. Max Lilienthal who had stood shoulder to shoulder with Isaac M. Wise during all these years of preparation and initiatory struggle stressed the American note when in his address he said:

"We could have adopted the plan proposed by several good men, of sending those who wish to devote themselves to the Jewish ministry to Germany, where the master minds of Jewish literature and theology are diffusing their store of learning to crowds of Jewish students and where Jewish colleges already are fully established, thoroughly organized and richly endowed. But we do not want any ministers reared and educated under the influence of European institutions; we intend to have ministers reared by the spirit of our glorious American institutions; men who love their country above all, men who will be staunch advocates of such civil and religious liberty as the men who signed the Declaration of Independence understood it—men who are ready to defend this priceless gem against all and any encroachments, and hence we wish to keep our students at home and raise them as genuine Americans on the virgin soil of American liberty."

When the founder arose to speak, a great hush fell on the assembled multitude. There was a feeling that the occasion for him was beyond adequate expression in the spoken word. And so it was. Too deeply moved to speak at any length, Isaac M. Wise said that he lacked words to do justice to his feelings. As far as in his power lay he would carry out the hope of Israel יגדיל תורה ויאדיר, that God's law should be magnified and glorified, with all the enthusiasm of his soul and he would strive to raise high the standard of learning and intelligence in this college, to bring down to us the Shekinah. He

called the occasion חג ליהוה a solemn feast of the Lord which we celebrate. And such indeed it was! Even today, after half a century of a life full of vicissitudes of many kinds, the writer who as a lad of thirteen years of age was present, is thrilled by the memory of that supreme hour. He still sees the cherished teacher in that moment of his glory. He still hears the tones of the beloved voice so filled with the emotion that defied competent utterance. On that day, Isaac M. Wise took his place among the master achievers of Israel; he had done for Judaism of his day and generation what Ezra, Jochanan ben Zakkai, and Rabbenu Gershom had performed in their time. Blessed, thrice blessed he and his work!

How he himself adjudged the event appears from the words he wrote a few days later, "So at last in the name of God we have commenced. May He in His grace speed the work so enthusiastically begun, a work no less important to us American Israelites, than was the academy of Jamnia to the ancient Israel after the fall of Jerusalem"[18]

The sessions of the preparatory department of the new institution opened Monday afternoon, October the fourth, in the vestry room of the temple of the Bene Israel congregation at Eighth and Mound Streets. Nine students registered, namely, Israel Aaron of Lancaster, Pa., Nathan Cohn of Nashville, Tenn., David Eichberg, Edward L. Heinsheimer, Louis D. Marks, and Frederick Strasburg of Cincinnati, Joseph Krauskopf of Fall River, Mass., David Philipson of Columbus, Ohio, and Alexander Ullman of St. Louis, Mo.; four new students registered in the course of the first week namely Levi Rosenberg of Greenville, Ohio, on October 5, Joseph D. Rothschild of Cleveland on October 7, Joseph A. Friedlander of Cincinnati and David Runes of New York City on October 11. During the first scholastic year the number was increased by four, namely, Miss Julia Ettlinger of Cincinnati, who entered October 25, and Henry Berkowitz of Pittsburgh, Pa., Charles Elgutter of Omaha, Neb. and Isaac Rubenstein of Kovno, Poland, who registered January 31, 1876. The beginnings were modest

[18]The Israelite, October 8, 1875.

Presidents of the Hebrew Union College

indeed. There was no college building. There was no library. The faculty consisted of Doctor Isaac M. Wise, the president, and Solomon Eppinger a local scholar and teacher who received the munificent salary of seven hundred dollars per annum, "two hundred dollars of which were for extra services in giving instruction to the students after the class hours!" Doctor Max Lilienthal volunteered his services the following February (1876). The first thirteen students formed the D Grade of the preparatory department. They attended the local high school or university in the morning and the Hebrew Union College in the afternoon daily from four to six o'clock. The subjects of instruction during the first year were reading and translation of selected portions of the Five Books of Moses and the Psalms, Hebrew Grammar, Pirke Abot complete, and Mekilta (three sections in Bo and eight in Mishpatim) all taught by Mr. Eppinger. Doctor Wise taught the class in Mishnah Sanhedrin (selections) and Sotah (selections). He accompanied the teaching in Mishnah by instruction in the reading of the commentary of Bartenura. Doctor Lilienthal taught the class in Jewish history. The class had been divided into two sections. A student society under the name ABI (אצילי בני ישראל, Exodus, 24:11) was organized October 11, 1875. This was a literary and debating society and played a great role in the early student history of the Hebrew Union College.

Three weeks after the opening of the college the founder in writing of the event said, "The college opened with thirteen students, ten native Americans and three of foreign birth. No college of this kind ever opened with a larger class or with better talent. . . . It must be particularly remembered that this is no *Ghetto cheder* also no *Shulchan Aruch Beth Hammidrash*; we have to deal with young students, who are getting well used to systematized work in Latin, Greek, modern languages, history, mathematics, and natural science and so, exactly so, on scientific principles and system, the Hebrew and rabbinical department must be managed."[19]

During the next seven years a new class was added each

[19]The Israelite, October 22, 1875.

year until there was a preparatory department with four grades and a collegiate department with four grades. The curriculum had to be worked out gradually as each new grade was formed. In 1876 the study of the Talmud was begun in the C Grade with the opening pages of tractate Berakot, possibly the first venture of this kind with a class of American youth; in Mishnah, Seder Moed was studied; in Bible the Former Prophets and the Book of Proverbs; Aramaic grammar, Jewish history and literature to 500 ACE; a B Grade was formed in 1877 and the curriculum for this new grade consisted of instruction in Bible—Isaiah and the five Megillot; Grammar-comparative Hebrew and Aramaic; Mishnah—Selections from Seder Nezikin; Talmud—Berakot continued; history to 1500 ACE. The following year 1878-79 the Preparatory Department was completed with the formation of an A Grade with its curriculum viz.—Bible selections from the latter prophets; Exodus with Targum and Rashi; also a review of the Aramaic portions of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah with special attention to Aramaic grammar; Talmud—tractate Sanhedrin, perek Chelek for cursory reading with special reference to hermeneutics and tractate Chulin perek Elu Trefot for analytical reading; Maimonides, Yad Hachazakah, Hilkot Teshubah, and Hilkot Shechitah; History to modern times; Syriac, reading lessons and grammar. As this was the graduating class of the Preparatory Department, a graduating essay was required of each student.

A feature of the new institution was the public examination at the close of each year by a Board of Examiners consisting in each instance of three rabbis or learned laymen from various cities. Since serious doubts existed in some quarters as to the successful functioning of a rabbinical institution in the United States and even the possibility of American boys acquiring rabbinical lore, the endorsement of competent and impartial judges was greatly desirable. In their reports these examiners not only set forth their opinions more or less favorable of the work done, but also gave valuable suggestions for changes in the curriculum and improvements in method. In June, 1877 the Board of Examiners consisted of the Reverends Doctor S. H. Sonneschein of St. Louis and L. Mayer of Pittsburgh, and

Mr. Lewis N. Dembitz an eminent attorney of Louisville, Ky. and also an adept in Hebrew learning; in 1878 one of the examiners was the Reverend Sabato Morais, the well-known Orthodox rabbi of Philadelphia and his colleagues were the Reverends Doctor Samuel Wolfenstein of St. Louis and Henry Zirndorf of Detroit and in 1879 the first graduating year of the preparatory department the examiners were the Reverends Doctor Adolph Huebsch of New York, Bernhard Felsenthal of Chicago, and Aaron Hahn of Cleveland.

The graduating exercises took place on June 26, and the degree of Chaber (חבר) or Bachelor of Hebrew Literature was conferred upon the youths who had successfully passed the test of the four years course.

Several new members had been added to the faculty during this first quadrennium, viz. Abraham Harris and Emanuel Loewnthal who served each one year, 1877-78 and Louis Aufrecht who taught from 1878-1882.

OPENING OF THE COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT

In September, 1879 the collegiate department was opened. The graduates of the preparatory department were enrolled as students of this first collegiate class, namely, Israel Aaron, Henry Berkowitz, Samuel Eisenberg, Joseph Krauskopf, David Philipson, and Isaac Rubenstein. Frederick Hecht, a member of the class, had died shortly before he would have graduated from the preparatory department. He was a youth of unusual gifts and fine promise. Had he lived, he would undoubtedly have performed excellent service in the cause which he dearly loved. He was a younger brother of the Reverend Dr. S. Hecht at that time rabbi in Milwaukee, Wis., and later rabbi and rabbi emeritus respectively of Congregation B'nai Brith of Los Angeles, Cal.

The opening of the collegiate department or rabbinical seminary proper made necessary the acquisition of new teaching material. It was indeed a fortunate day for the institution when Moses Mielziner, that gentlest of men, that true sage and devoted servant of the Lord, joined the faculty as professor

of Talmud. He had been rabbi of Anshe Chesed Congregation of New York and had taught in the Temple Emanuel Preparatory School. During the quarter of a century lacking one year (1879-1903) that he served as professor and as acting-president (1900-1903) his influence on his colleagues of the faculty and on the students was profound. Learned, wise, sweet tempered, and pure souled he exemplified in the highest manner the prophet's fine definition of the true priest of the Lord, "The lips of the priest shall preserve knowledge, and the people shall seek instruction at his lips for he is a messenger of the Lord of Hosts." (Malachi II, 17). Yes, in all truth, Moses Mielziner was a messenger of the Lord of Hosts!

CURRICULUM OF COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT

The curriculum for the collegiate department was arranged year after year as had been the case in the preparatory department. It was all pioneer work; the president and the faculty were true pathfinders; the students were co-partners in a great new spiritual venture in American Jewish Life. At the close of the four years course of the first class to be taught in a rabbinical seminary in the New World the following curriculum had been pursued. In the first collegiate class: Deuteronomy twenty-seven chapters with Targum, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra, the Book of Job, translated and analyzed exegetically and grammatically; Talmud Chulin, Gid ha-Nosheh fourteen pages with Rashi and selected Tosefot, Baba Batra, first perek thirty-one pages and third perek seven pages. Beside this Talmudic instruction, Professor Mielziner taught nine sections of Maimonides Mishneh Torah, Maakalot Asurot; also Shulchan Aruk Yoreh Deah Sections 79-83. He lectured on Talmudic hermeneutics which lectures were incorporated in his later publication, The Introduction to the Talmud. In philosophy Doctor Wise taught Maimonides Moreh Nebukim, the Hakdamah to Part II and the section on Prophecy Part II, xxxii to end; also seven sections of Yesode Hattorah in the Mishneh Torah; he lectured also on the Pentateuch, defending the Mosaic authorship and breaking a lance with the so called higher criti-

cism. In history, Doctor Lilienthal taught the period from the close of the Talmud to Moses Maimonides.

Second collegiate class: Bible—the major portion of the Book of Numbers with Rashi, Ibn Ezra and the Targumim; the Book of Jeremiah. In Talmud tractate Makkot from the beginning to 14b and from 22a to end with Rashi and selected Tosefot, also Abodah Zarah beginning to 15a. Lectures on Talmudic hermeneutics (completed) and on the fundamental legal principles of the Talmud with special reference to responsibility in the civil and criminal law, and the acquisition and transfer of property. In philosophy, Moreh Nebukim, Part II the Hakdamot, then Chapter I and chapters XIII to XXXII. Doctor Wise also lectured on theology. In history, the period from Maimonides to 1350 with special reference to the literature and culture of the period.

Junior Class, Bible: The Book of Ezekiel with historical introduction, translation and interpretation. Talmud: Kiddushin selected passages in perakim I, II and III with commentaries. Lectures on Laws of Marriage and Divorce. Midrash Bereshit Rabbah, critical and literary introduction and translation of selected passages. Philosophy: Moreh Nebukim, Part III. History to 1492 with special stress laid on the literary masterpieces of the period in various countries.

Senior Class: Bible: The Books of Joel, Amos and Hosea, Song of Songs and Lamentations studied critically. Lectures on Introduction to Sacred Scriptures. Talmud: Gittin, selected passages. Lectures on Talmudical hermeneutics and on Civil and Ritual Laws. Philosophy: Sefer Ikkarim. Midrash Rabbah selections. Shulchan Aruk, Eben Haezer. Homiletics, Lectures on Sermon Writing and Text development. Practice in Preaching by students. History to Modern Times.

This first curriculum was modified and changed with the passing of the years. In the large and the main the subjects have remained the same throughout the half century of the existence of the college; viz. Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic Grammar, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Codes, Philosophy, Theology, History, Homiletics. Gradually new subjects were introduced like Liturgy, Pedagogy, Jewish Social Studies, Jewish Ethics,

and during the past year Jewish Music. The present curriculum (1924-25) for the preparatory department provides for instruction in Bible (Genesis and Exodus in Grade D; Deuteronomy, Judges and Kings in Grade C; Leviticus and Legal Portions of Numbers in Grade B; Samuel with corresponding Chapters in Chronicles, Psalms and Proverbs in Grade A) in Mishnah (Pirke Abot in Grade D; Berakot and selections from Seder Zeraim in Grade C; selected portions of Seder Moed in Grade B; and selected portions of Seder Nezikin in Grade A); Hebrew Grammar in Grades D and C, Hebrew Conversation in Grades B and A, Aramaic Grammar with the study of Daniel, the Aramaic portions of Ezra and selections from the Targumim in Grade B; Biblical Commentaries, (Rashi to Deuteronomy in Grade B, Rashi and Rashbam to Exodus in Grade A) Liturgy in Grades D, C, and B; Midrash, selections from Midrash Shemot Rabba and Debarim Rabba in Grade A; Essentials of Judaism in Grade D; Jewish Ceremonies in Grade B; Jewish History throughout the four grades.

In 1922 a radical change was made in the curriculum of the collegiate department. The credit system was introduced to supplement the grade system. For graduation a total of 65 to 67 credits is required depending upon the choice of Major and Minor courses. One Major, one Minor and one Normal Course in every field of study are required of each student. Bible must constitute the Major or the Minor. The curriculum now in operation offers ten courses in the Biblical department; three courses in Mediaeval Bible commentaries; six courses in Mishnah, Talmud and Codes; four courses in History; two courses in Hebrew Literature; one course in Hebrew conversation; six courses in Philosophy; four courses in Theology; one course in Ethics; four courses in Jewish Social Studies; one course in Jewish Music and five courses in Elocution.

This curriculum for the collegiate department is still in the testing. A radical change accompanying the introduction of this curriculum is the use of morning as well as afternoon hours for instruction. This has been made possible by the new ruling adopted two years ago that only high school graduates are eligible for admission into the preparatory department.

As a result only college or university graduates who have their mornings free are or will be shortly students in the collegiate department and the collegiate department will be a post graduate institution. This present situation is a far cry from the requirement of admission at the time of the founding of the institution. Then the applicant for admission had to be a high school pupil with no specification as to grade. This necessitated afternoon sessions in the Hebrew Union College because the students attended both institutions. The conditions of admission were changed from time to time. At one period an applicant had to be a pupil of the Sophomore class of the high school and again a pupil of the Junior class ere he could become a student at the college. This was done to raise the age of the entrants. A definite age requirement was set in 1913 when the rule was adopted requiring applicants to be at least fifteen years of age. Several years thereafter this rule was changed so as to make the age of fourteen years an entrance condition.

From the beginning also aid was given to students; in time such aid was begun only after a student had been one year at the institution. The purpose of this change was to keep all students under observation for one year. Later all pecuniary assistance took the form of loans which were expected to be repaid in the future and of scholarships which were earned by excellence in work. There are at present twenty-four scholarships either memorial or gift, endowed by individuals and fifty-five scholarships established by various Temple Sisterhoods throughout the country. These scholarships enable deserving young men without resources of their own to pursue their studies at the college without worry for their daily bread.

THE FIRST HOME OF THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

But we must retrace our steps. The historical story had been carried as far as the opening of the collegiate department when it was interrupted to make way for the connected tale of the curriculum. Let us now resume the historical sketch. When the collegiate department opened in September, 1879, the sessions took place in the school rooms in the basement of

the Temple at Eighth and Plum Streets. The quarters were most inadequate although the generosity of the congregation which placed the rooms at the disposal of the college was fully appreciated. It was now apparent that the years of testing had been successfully passed and that it was imperative for the institution to have its own home. The collection of funds for the purchase of such a home was successfully undertaken by the members of the Executive Board of the Union headed by the zealous officers Moritz Loth, the President and Julius Freiberg, the Vice-President and their colleagues and friends. A large mansion at 724 West Sixth Street was purchased and adapted to the purposes of the institution; the rooms of the residence were converted into offices, class rooms, library, and chapel. The building was dedicated with appropriate exercises April 24, 1881. The Reverend Dr. Max Lilienthal, Mr. M. Loth, the President of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Mr. B. Bettmann, the President of the Board of Governors, the Honorable Jacob D. Cox, ex-Governor of Ohio, Doctor Thomas Vickers, the President of the University of Cincinnati, the Reverend Dr. S. H. Sonneschein of St. Louis, and the Reverend Dr. Isaac M. Wise, the President of the Hebrew Union College participated in the exercises.

At the close of his address the president and founder of the institution voiced in deeply felt words the profound feelings which possessed him. After reviewing the story of Jewish houses of learning in the course of Israel's history, he concluded thus eloquently:

"When at last in our blessed century the spirit of progress shed its luster also upon the habitation of the Jew, new seats of learning rose among us in Padua and Metz, then in Breslau, Paris, Berlin and Pesth, to continue the work commenced in Palestine and Persia in days of yore. Only in our country, under the sunshine of liberty and prosperity, all attempts to advance the standard of Jewish learning failed—failed in Cincinnati, Philadelphia and New York, failed everywhere. Love's labor was lost, and again and anon we sat, Jeremiah like, upon the ruins and mourned. 'Desolate were the open towns in Israel; they were desolate until that I arose, Deborah, that I arose a mother in Israel.' So was Israel In America, until these men arose who established the Union and the College, this Deborah, this mother in

Israel, until those men and women, God bless them all, rose, and resolved, and carried into effect the great work of uniting our congregations and establishing for them this center of gravity, to which we dedicate this house, to send forth the Law from Zion and the Word of God from Jerusalem. I have witnessed the toil, I feel the triumph, although I have no words to express it. I would sing with them a hallelujah song, a tear, yea, a tear of joy, I would weep with them in chorus of the souls of those of our beloved co-laborers who have been summoned home to life eternal; I would cry out, 'Awake, awake, Deborah! awake, awake utter a song'; but I have no words to express those just feelings of triumph, that the delight of God has prospered in their hands, and can only close with invoking God's blessing upon all of them. God bless them.

"Friends and brethren, this house is dedicated this day to the promulgation of truth and light, the cultivation of human intellect, the spread of moral principles and fraternal feelings among men, the perpetuation and promulgation of Israel's wisdom and piety, to the glory of God and the honor of Israel. It is the greatest work which has been accomplished for Israel in our beloved country."[20]

A further milestone in the onward and toilsome journey had been successfully passed. No wonder that the leader uttered this fervent Hallelujah!

Possibly the most pleasing incident connected with the dedication was the reception of the congratulatory message from the New York Committee. It gave certain evidence that the breach between the Eastern men and Cincinnati had been completely healed. That significant message must find a place in this story. The message read:[21]

"To the Board of Governors Hebrew Union College:

"The members of the New York Committee in charge of the Preparatory School of the Hebrew Union College, heartily congratulate the Board of Governors on the completion of the College Building.

"Regretting that they cannot personally attend on Sunday next, when the ceremonies of the dedication will take place, they desire to extend their good wishes to those present, the Governors, the Faculty, and the students. They sincerely hope that the institution thus received into a permanent home will enjoy under God's blessing, a career of prosperity and usefulness. It has afforded the New York Committee great satisfaction to cooperate in the work

[20]Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations Vol. II (1879–1885) page 1091.

[21]Ibid. page 1095.

of the higher Hebrew education, and they earnestly pray that cordial good will and fraternal spirit will ever continue to guide the united counsel and labors of American Israelites.

G. Gottheil,
M. Schloss,
Jonas D. Samson,
M. Ellinger,
L. Rosenfeld,
Louis Ash,
M. S. Isaacs."

THE FIRST GRADUATES

The college now had a permanent home. After a stormy voyage, the skilful captain, Isaac M. Wise, seemed to have piloted his ship into a safe haven at last. In peace and quiet the work now continued. With confident joy the great day which was to bring the pioneer labors to a close was looked forward to, the day which would witness the ordination of the first class of rabbis trained in an American rabbinical academy. That fourteenth day of July, 1883, was indeed epochal in American Jewish life. What thousands had believed to be impossible had been accomplished. The doubters were silenced. The founder's faith and trust were justified. His life's work reached its apogee when Isaac M. Wise laid his hand in blessing upon the heads of his four disciples, Israel Aaron, Henry Berkowitz, Joseph Krauskopf and David Philipson and declared them to be rabbis in Israel. It was a strangely thrilling moment when he pressed the kiss of consecration upon their foreheads. These four young men embodied the hopes of thousands of loyal American Jewish souls. They were setting forth on a great adventure in the spiritual world. They were to blaze a new path. Upon their success or failure the welfare of the institution hung. Three of them have completed the earthly journey upon which they set forth on that eventful day. They fulfilled completely the hopes of which they were the bearers. The fine and self-sacrificing service of Israel Aaron, Henry Berkowitz, and Joseph Krauskopf set the seal upon the mighty achievement of Isaac M. Wise. Long as memory shall endure, the present writer who is the last survivor of the first graduating class of the institution shall thank his God for the great privilege of having been one of that band of pioneer graduates of the Hebrew Union

Israel Aaron
1859–1912

Henry Berkowitz
1857–1924

First Graduating Class of the Hebrew Union College, 1883

College. Forty-two years have elapsed since the great day dawned but the brilliant scene is unforgettable and the emotion of that supreme moment is undying. Every participant in that historic program, except the octogenarian, Doctor Kaufman Kohler, and the writer have passed from this earthly sphere. The Reverend George Jacobs of Philadelphia and the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Szold of Baltimore, who with Doctor Kohler were the examiners that year, the Reverend Dr. Gustav Gottheil of New York who delivered the "Laureate Address," the first address to be spoken to a class of rabbinical graduates in this country, Mr. M. Loth the co-founder with Isaac M. Wise of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Mr. B. Bettmann the president of the Board of Governors and the great master himself, all, all belong now to the ages. Hauntingly the historic words with which the first graduates were dedicated to their high work recur to mind again and again. Oh for the sound of that beloved voice which is now still and that rang out on that day in the never to be forgotten words, "In the name of God and by the authority of the Governors and of the Union American Hebrew Congregations, and in the name of all good men I declare you to be rabbis of the Jewish faith, that you may preach the word of God to the people, that you may be patriots in America and the standard bearers of the people." And after pronouncing a soulful prayer he concluded the ceremony with the declaration, "I declare before all the people and in the presence of this congregation that you are ratified Rabbis in Israel. May God's blessing be upon you and the charge of God through Moses to Joshua be verified in you, 'Be strong and courageous'."

The story of the pioneer years can be closed in no more appropriate fashion than by citing the founder's own words in his report to the Board of Governors in July, 1883: "We have accomplished it. We have educated enlightened rabbis for American Israel. Thank Heaven, we are, we live, we prosper. We have erected the proudest monument which American Israel possesses. The day is not far distant when it will be acknowledged that with this college begins a new era in the history of religion in our country. A new spirit rises from these

walls, a spirit of genuine piety, enlightenment and charity, a spirit of love and truth. So may God bless you and the congregations you represent, and the country which is our palladium."

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT—THE CLOSE OF A GREAT CAREER

The institution now pursued the even tenor of its way. More and more young men were attracted to the pursuit of a rabbinical career. The faculty was augmented as the expansion of the institution demanded. The library increased greatly with the passing of the years. Isaac M. Wise lived seventeen years longer during which he continued at the head of the institution. He had the satisfaction of inducting several of his own disciples as members of the faculty of the institution, namely, the writer who upon assuming the position of rabbi of the Bene Israel Congregation in November, 1888 volunteered his services to teach in his Alma Mater, also Rabbi Charles S. Levi who, being elected assistant to Doctor Wise in 1889 became an instructor in the college and served faithfully during the nine years in which he continued his connection with the Bene Yeshurun Congregation and when Doctor Louis Grossmann succeeded Rabbi Levi he too was added to the teaching staff of the institution continuing until ill health forced his retirement in 1922. Year after year in impressive fashion the venerable leader of American Judaism ordained young men as rabbis in Israel. Year after year his spirit continued to glow luminously though the physical frame grew weaker. Year after year he taught his classes with untiring devotion. Year after year he spoke inspiring words to his beloved spiritual sons as they stood before him to receive the guerdon of their academic labors. The last class to be admonished and blessed by him was the group of six that were ordained on June 16, 1899. To them he spoke what must be considered his valedictory in view of the fact that they were the words last spoken by him on such an occasion; impressively he charged the young men standing before him. "Chosen sons of Israel, Atzile bene Yisrael, who are before us

to receive their academic honors and official distinctions, remember forever the seal of this your Alma Mater, and the import of its inscription; remember your solemn obligation to preserve the continuity of Judaism as the last link in the chain of teachers stretching across the entire history of the entire human family. Be not led away from the Torah by the ups and downs of philosophy, of what certain men call science, all of which change continually and never lead to certitude anywhere."

It must seem a remarkable coincidence that the very name which he suggested for the first student society of the college at the time of the opening of the institution was used by him in this last admonition to fall from his lips when addressing a graduating class, namely Atzile bene Yisrael, chosen youth of Israel; such were his disciples the graduates of the college in his eyes; they were the beloved of his spirit. To his mind, they were, as he here expressed it, "the last link in the chain of teachers." For him the rabbis trained in and graduated from the Hebrew Union College were to ensure the continuity of the Jewish spirit. This was not only his hope but his intense conviction. He and all the teachers in Israel who had handed down the tradition of Moses, the prophets, and the sages through all the centuries were to continue through these latest teachers of the truths of the faith. For this he had labored; this is the undying heritage left by him to the Jews of America and the world.

Three months prior to this final ordination which he was to conduct his eightieth birthday was celebrated gloriously on the twenty-ninth of March. His disciples gathered from far and near. The spiritually youthful octogenarian was the center of the greatest demonstration of admiration and affection ever accorded any man in the history of the American rabbinate. The climax of the celebration was reached when in response to the many expressions of love and appreciation that had been uttered by the speakers at the dinner given in his honor he uttered the striking words, "Twenty-five years hence, or the utmost fifty years hence, the faith of the rational world will be the faith of the rational Jew." The indomitable optimism which was so characteristic of the man and which was in great part the secret of his amazing achievements found expression in this prophecy.

Though unfulfilled literally, there can be no doubt that the trend of religious thought is in the direction he indicated. The world is turning towards the vision of Judaism as fashioned by the messages of the prophets and the high spirits in whose company Isaac M. Wise stands.

In commemoration of that eightieth birthday the alumni of the Hebrew Union College published a volume "Life and Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise" and also resolved to establish the Isaac M. Wise Chair of Theology at the college which laudable purpose however failed of accomplishment.

One year later almost to the day, the mortal end came to this great life of service and achievement on March 26, 1900. He was the last of his generation, the mightiest of them all. He was the great organizer of the religious forces, the constructive builder of the religious institutions. He builded indeed for the ages. His monuments are the works of his own hands, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. And best beloved of these children of his spirit was undoubtedly the Hebrew Union College which was "nearer to him than breathing, closer than hands and feet." With it his name and fame are inextricably intertwined, he and his college are one, forever united and inseparable.

Founder's Day has been established at the institution in his memory. Each year on the Sabbath nearest the twenty-ninth of March the day of his birth, Founder's Day is observed with appropriate exercises.

Shortly after his translation to the academy on high, the Isaac M. Wise Memorial Fund was established. The chief work in gathering contributions to this fund was done by one of his most famed pupils, the Reverend Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, a member of the first class. With indefatigable energy Doctor Krauskopf traversed the length and breadth of the land in performing this loving service to the memory of the great teacher and master.

But it required not Founder's Day nor Memorial Fund to perpetuate the name of Isaac M. Wise at the Hebrew Union College. The college is the everlasting earthly home of his immortal spirit. Every nook of the institution is eloquent of

him and his achievement. Long as the institution shall last, so long shall men say, behold the monument of American Judaism's great spiritual architect and builder!

PRESIDENCY OF DOCTOR KAUFMANN KOHLER

Professor Moses Mielziner was named acting-president of the institution after the death of Dr. Wise and served in this capacity until his death in February, 1903. Professor Gotthard Deutsch succeeded Professor Mielziner in the office of acting president and served until the close of the academic year. In the meantime the Board of Governor selected Doctor Kaufmann Kohler, rabbi of Temple Beth El, New York, as the head of the institution. When Doctor Kohler assumed office in September, 1903, the leading Jewish theologian in the United States became president of the Hebrew Union College. Identified for over thirty years with the reform movement in Judaism and recognized in Jewish circles every where as a scholar of the first rank, Dr. Kohler brought to his new office the prestige which a life time of devoted service in the cause of liberal Judaism had associated with his name. There was no man in the country who by dint of service and scholarship was more fitted for the office than he. Time had removed the differences he had had with the founder of the institution a generation earlier. As the successor of David Einhorn in the pulpit of Temple Beth El and as the successor of Isaac M. Wise in the presidency of the Hebrew Union College, Kaufmann Kohler brought into lasting fellowship these two greatest figures of the Jewish reform movement of the nineteenth century in the United States. While continuing the fine traditions of the founder of the college, the new president impressed his own interpretation of Judaism as a universal religion upon the policy of the institution. In his presidential inaugural address delivered at the Mound Street Temple, October 18, 1903, he made his position very clear. A few passages from that fine scholarly address will indicate his conception of the purpose of a theological seminary for the training of rabbis of the reform tendency. Said he,

"The theological school must be the power-house to supply pulpit and

people with the dynamic force of all-ruling, all-electrifying religious truth. It is not enough that Bible and Talmud, Halakah and Haggadah, Hellenic and Arabic literature, Philosophy and Cabala, History and Literature, Liturgy and Homiletics be taught; they must all be turned into vitalizing sparks of truth. They must all be transformed into spiritual helps and lifts to unfold the inherent power of Judaism in its manifold stages and phases of growth. It is in this light that each teacher, by showing the organic connection, the inner relations between his branch of study with the others, can single out the potencies, the spiritual, moral and intellectual kernel beneath the shell, and so lay bare the deeper impulses and show the higher motives that gave lasting value and zest to each specific study and movement. In other words, the theological curriculum must mean not the registration but the profound appreciation of all the religious forces that were at work throughout the various ages and lands, while at the same time our own religious needs and our own religious consciousness should form the object of our foremost solicitude. . . .

"Reform Judaism, especially, must be felt to be a power, the faith of manhood. It is calumny to say that the desire for assimilation or for a taste of forbidden meat created the Reform movement. The Reform pioneers, Geiger and Holdheim, Einhorn, Samuel Hirsch and Dr. Wise, were men of power, of principle, who brooked no compromise and never yielded. They had the courage of their conviction and throughout life displayed consistency and steadfastness of purpose. It is Romanticism that wants picturesqueness; that renders Judaism and Synagog a museum of antiquities, preserving the forms of the past fossilized while the spirit has fled long ago. Such conservatism fails to engender power, because it lacks conviction; it only creates hypocrites, men that halt between the two sides. Legend tells that Abraham, who broke the idols of his father courageously, braved the fire of Nimrod's furnace and was saved by the power of his faith in God, whereas Haran who wavered, not knowing whether to bow to the idol of Nimrod or to worship Abraham's Only One, went into the fire and was consumed. An age of distractions and discrepancies like ours required the power of a positive conviction and intensity of faith. Reform Judaism stands for a religion of power which alone saves man when in doubt and trial. Reform Judaism broke the shackles of ceremonialism and legalism because following the lead of the prophets, it declared Judaism to be not a system of laws and statutes, but the law of truth and righteousness. And it is this championship of truth and righteousness which alone made the Jew the mightiest power in the world. The whole history of the Jew in dark and in bright ages, the very life of the prophets and martyrs, of the sages and the saints in Israel was an exhibition of valor and heroic strength.

"So is the attitude of the true reform Jew today—of the Jew who reclaims the entire so-called Christian civilization for Judaism, and does not plan a retreat before the foe by way of East Africa or of Asia—that of power, power of the spirit that will not yield to number and to physical might. Reform Judaism is hated and feared most by the anti-Semite because it is aggressive.

It refuses to simply take the defensive. It wants to assert its power; neither shall it rest until the whole history of the world will have been reconstructed on the principle of evolution which beholds in Christianity as well as in Islamism offshoots of a world-conquering Judaism."[22]

And towards the close of his illuminating exposition he addressed himself particularly to the task before him.

"And yet one feature, hitherto greatly neglected, I must not fail to mention. Judaism does not, like the Hebrew, 'read only backward.' It looks forward to the future and wants to take a firm grasp of the life that now is in the light of its great mission. All the knowledge the future Rabbi acquired must be subordinate to the higher task of practical communal service which he is expected to assume. He must obtain an insight into social economics in order to be an efficient worker for the common good in this complex life of ours. Justice is to Judaism more than love; its work for the poor and needy must be done on the principle of righteousness, not charity. The study of sociology and the science of charity are as indispensable equipments for him who is to be the spiritual leader of a congregation as are pedagogics and psychology and homiletics to him who is to conduct a Sabbath-school and occupy a pulpit. Yet there, too, a culture of soul and the fostering of large sympathies condition true success. And all of one piece the golden luminary of Jewish learning and life must be.

"Need I state that in order to accomplish all this, nay, to pursue these aims, something more is required than the few hours allotted to the student of the college who is at the same time obliged to absolve his course of studies at the university? Under the present conditions, progress of the college is simply excluded. A thorough change of the system is peremptory. 'Out of the valley to the heights of a higher mission' must be the watchword of the administration of the Hebrew Union College.

It is of no great consequence, under the present conditions, how many young men shall each year go forth from this institution, or in how many years they may be fitted out for their holy vocation. One single man of power, with a lofty conception of his calling, one single individual with the prophet's fire in his soul and a live coal from God's empyrean upon his lips, one to whom the ministry is not a 'crown for his own aggrandizement nor an axe to dig with,' but the highest mission of life because he has a message from the Lord of Hosts to bring to his people and his time, is worth more than a dozen graduates who simply wait for an incumbency to furnish them bread. Oh, that the hunger for the word of God, the craving of the spirit may be felt by all who attend, by all who love and support the college. . . ."[23]

[22]Ceremonies at the Installation of Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler as President of the Hebrew Union College, Sunday, Ocsober 19, 1903, page 19 ff.

[23] Ibid. 33.

Shortly after assuming office, Doctor Kohler in pursuance of the aims announced in his inaugural address sought to make a post graduate institution of the College. By enrolling only graduates of colleges or universities as students he hoped to raise the standard of the institution. In his first presidential report to the Board of Governors, October 27, 1903, he stated "The College so far as its higher development is concerned, must be rendered independent of the University and raised to the standing of a post graduate institution. This shall be my Catonian *Carthaginem delendam esse*, until the Union of American Hebrew Congregations will see fit to change our status, and accord to the Hebrew Union College the position it deserves and claims." Such mature young men who felt a call to the Jewish Ministry and who could devote their whole time to their studies in the College would he felt give a new value to the rabbinical training and profession. A number of such graduates did respond and entered the institution. A post graduate class was formed. However the experiment did not prove the success that had been hoped for. Such a complete reversal of the policy proved too drastic and the tried method of the three decades past was returned to, namely, the concurrent attendance of the students at the secular high school or university on the one hand and the theological institution on the other. Still Doctor Kohler's ideal found partial realization in the addition of a year to the curriculum of the collegiate department. This meant a post graduate year in which intending graduates of the College were to devote themselves entirely to their rabbinical and theological studies.

Under Doctor Kohler's regime chief stress was laid upon the universalistic interpretation of Judaism as interpreted by the reform movement. As professor of theology the new president brought all the wealth of his scholarship and all the enthusiasm of his spirit to bear upon the young men training for the rabbinate. The ripe fruit of his thought and activity appeared in his fine book "Jewish Theology Systematically and Historically Considered." The purpose and viewpoint which shaped his entire course as president of the Hebrew Union College were defined in the preface to this, his *magnum opus*,

when he wrote "In my opinion the Jewish religion has never been static, fixed for all time by an ecclesiastical authority, but has ever been and still is the result of a dynamic process of growth and development. At the same time I felt that I could not omit the mystical element which prevades the Jewish religion in common with all others. As our prophets were seers and not philosophers or moralists, so divine inspiration in varying degrees constituted a factor of Synagogal as well as Scriptural Judaism. Revelation, therefore, is to be considered as a continuous force in shaping and reshaping the Jewish faith. The religious genius of the Jew falls within the domain of ethnic psychology concerning which science still gropes in the dark, but which progressive Judaism is bound to recognize in its effects throughout the ages."[24]

Such ideas Doctor Kohler developed in his teaching and along such lines he directed the policy of the institution. He felt that the Hebrew Union College represented a positive religious tendency. He would not brook that claim of so called academic freedom which was used as a cloak to cover isms of all kinds that were subversive of what he felt was the positive stand of the institution. Storms occasionally raged that disturbed the serenity of the college atmosphere. Such a storm was occasioned when the president refused to sanction the appearance in the pulpit of the college chapel of a well-known Jewish college professor who had publicly averred his irreligion and had on more than one occasion denounced the interpretation of Judaism that the College in Doctor Kohler's opinion represented. In his annual report to the Board of Governors, November 24, 1908, Dr. Kohler stated finely the purpose of the institution as he conceived it when he wrote:

"In as much as it is the chief aim and purpose of the College to train young men for the high and sacred task of spiritual leaders of American Israel and render them efficient and zealous workers in the pulpit, the Religious School and the community at large, we do *not* lay all the stress upon so called *Jewish Science* (Jüdische Wisseschaft) which does *not*, as facts amply show, make its representatives *immune* from skepticism, agnosticism and religious indifference. As was the case under the genial and inspiring influence of the

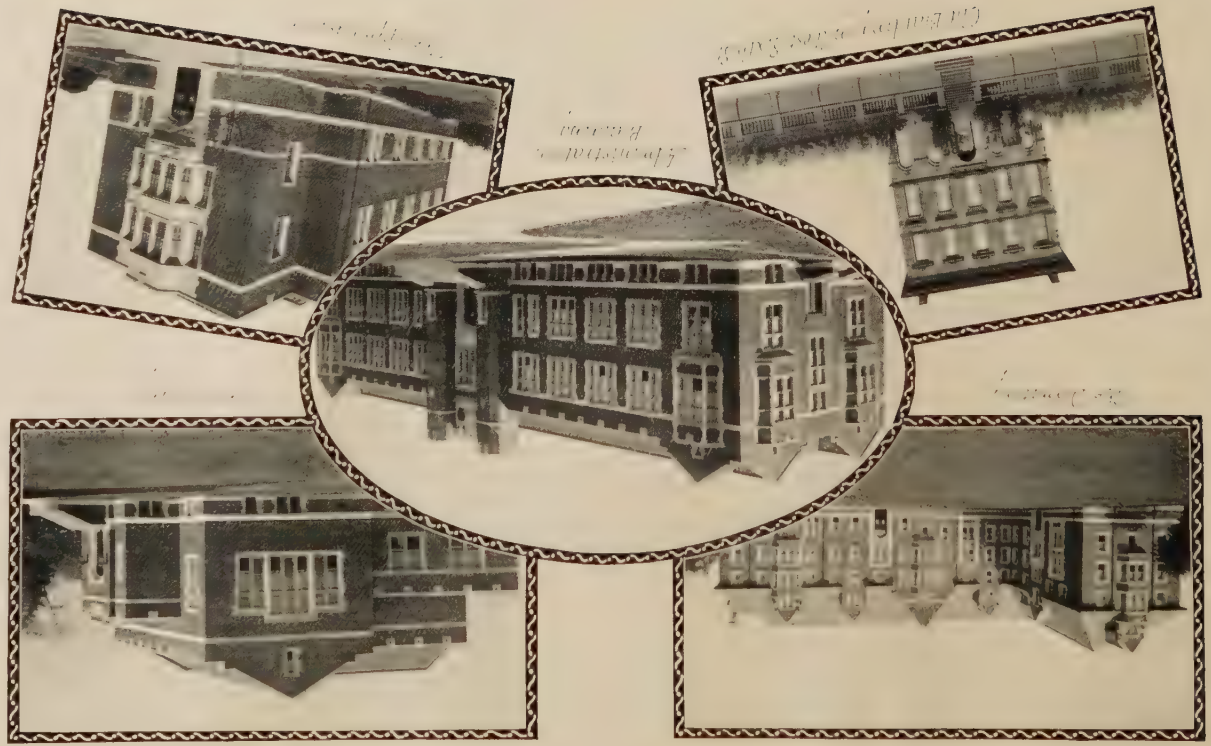
[24]Jewish Theology by K. Kohler VIII, (New York, 1918).

sainted Dr. Wise, so does the College training at present aim especially at inculcating and arousing in its students a truly religious spirit, that holy fervor and *religious* enthusiasm which cannot fail to exert a wholesome influence upon the Congregations they are to lead and to mould in a manner which mere booklore never can. In taking full cognizance of the demands of our age and of our Western civilization, we look to sincerity and consistency which alone creates whole souled and vigorous men of courage and conviction, not mere opportunists who are led, instead of being leaders. Yet at the same time the Hebrew Union College with its steadily growing library has grown to be a powerful source and stimulus of research also to its alumni and all those who apply for intellectual or scientific help and advice as devotees of the Torah."

Another storm played rather fiercely when certain professors raised the standard of revolt. Because of Doctor Kohler's well-known and constant opposition to the Zionist movement and because of the avowed sympathy of these professors with that movement it was made to appear by the professors' party that they were forced out owing to their Zionism. But this was not the case. The issue was really loyalty to the president of the institution particularly on the part of one of the professors. There was a purposeful undermining of the presidential authority. Either president or professor had to go. And the president was not asked to go. In the interest of truth it must be stated that had there been nothing involved except the Zionistic issue the professor and his colleagues could have remained despite the fact that the president of the institution and the Board of Governors were almost to a man strongly non-Zionistic. More need not be said about this incident but this much had to be said.

THE NEW COLLEGE BUILDINGS—THE DORMITORY

The most important event during Doctor Kohler's administration was the removal of the college from the city basin to the suburbs. The movement for a new college building began to take definite shape when in 1905 a tract of land consisting of eighteen acres and situated on Clifton Avenue opposite Burnet Woods was purchased by the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. An efficient Building Committee headed by Mr. Sigmund Rheinstrom of Cincinnati



labored for years unselfishly and devotedly. Their labors were rewarded when the beautiful new college building and the equally beautiful library building, the generous gift of Mr. Isaac W. Bernheim of Louisville, Kentucky, were dedicated with impressive ceremonies on the twenty-second day of January, 1913. The dedication was planned to take place during the week of the meeting of the twenty-third council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The delegates to the council, leading men in Israel from all parts of the country gathered in the new college chapel to participate in the uplifting service of consecration.[25] The writer was reminded forcibly of a similar fine gathering of men and women thirty years previously to witness the ordination of the first company of rabbis to be graduated from an American rabbinical college as described above. What changes had been wrought in these three decades! The master spirit was no longer present in the flesh! Most of his co-workers and supporters of the days of initiative and struggle had also joined the great majority! But their work had been continued by faithful followers. And just as Isaac M. Wise had uttered a fervent Hallelujah on that earlier occasion when American Israel as represented by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was present, so now a no less fervent Hallelujah sounded from the lips of the assembled representatives.

In turning over the two buildings to Mr. J. Walter Freiberg, the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Mr. Rheinstrom said touchingly at the close of his words of presentation, "I feel today as the proud parent who gives away his child in marriage, sad but happy, hesitating to give up his charge, but overjoyed at its successful completion. The future of the College is a bright one. May it grow in strength and usefulness, and with it the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and so may it be forever and aye."

Mr. Freiberg in accepting the buildings expressed his appreciation of the labors of the building committee and graciously said, "As your compensation you may take for yourselves the

[25] Twenty Ninth Annual Report of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1913), 7177-7209.

satisfaction of seeing the completion of your labors and having erected a monument which will stand as a landmark on the path of future generations of American Jews."

In his turn Mr. Freiberg handed over the buildings to the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College through their representative, Mr. Edward L. Heinsheimer, the president of the Board. At the conclusion of his few words of acceptance, Mr. Heinsheimer, who had enrolled as a student of the college on the day of its opening, thirty-eight years previously, referred feelingly to the past in saying, "I shall always cherish a profound reverence for the memory of this day, because I feel that the founder of this institution, together with those who are standing by his side, are smiling down, from their heavenly abode, approval upon the work which they established, and which we, under God's guidance, are trying to continue, and which we in turn shall commit to another generation."

It was most fitting that the dedication oration should be delivered by the son of the founder of the institution, Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, of Portland, Oregon. A lofty idealism permeated the address. The purpose of the institution was defined by the speaker in the words:

"The Hebrew Union College stands for scholarship and service. In that it is typical of Israel's attitude and is a continuation of the finest traditions of the Jew. If religion is ever to be established as a universal factor, capable of ministering to the needs of all and contributing its quota to the solution of the problems that vex humanity, it must be guided by intelligent men of broad culture and deep convictions. Too late is the world beginning to realize that ignorance and bigotry, together with fanaticism, are the blasted ears of corn, which, swallowing the full, fair fruitage, remain thin, incapable of supporting life. This institution demands a fine quality of scholarship in a leader in Israel. It may differ from those accepted by past usage, but the varying ideals that have obtained in the history of culture bid us pause before we declare upon the essentials."

And rising to a great height of eloquence the speaker concluded with a noble peroration:

"Well may we feel as we give these buildings over to the purposes for which they have been built that, like our fathers of old, a voice within us proclaims, "Ye stand this day, all of you, before the Lord, your God." Israel in America is beginning life anew; here, where men are free to work out their destinies,

the people that walked in darkness shall see a great light. Behind us reaches the long tradition of our ancestry, that heritage of noble suffering and lofty thinking in the cause of man's relation to his Maker; before us stretches the vast field of effort in behalf of the inheritance. Our work lies in the present and the future. What fruits those efforts will yield we do not know. Our eyes are not dimmed, we see all too clearly that the task is one that will tax our last resource, but we enter upon it with the resolution to offer our best service. In many places that service will be rejected, derided in others, but despite refusal or derision we shall hold to our course. What has been accomplished for us in the immediate past we feel is a preparation for the days to come. Assembled in this spirit, knowing the inspiration of this day and hour, we recall the words spoken at the dedication of our first building, the words of Isaac M. Wise: 'Friends and Brethren—this house is dedicated this day to the promulgation of truth and light, the cultivation of human intellect, the spread of moral principles and fraternal feeling among men the perpetuation and promulgation of Israel's wisdom and piety, to the glory of God and in honor of Israel. It is the greatest work which has been accomplished for Israel in our beloved country.' To all of which we say Amen."

The President of the College, Doctor Kaufmann Kohler, in his address struck the note of American Judaism. Forcibly and unequivocally he declared:

"It was a great fundamental principle accentuated by Doctor Wise, when he made American Judaism his watchword and battlecry. He only emphasized what all the Reform leaders had in mind, that the Jew partaking in our Occidental civilization as loyal and patriotic citizen has not, nor should he have, the feeling of being in dispersion, in Galuth. God's majesty does not forever dwell in the holy land, nor in the temple on Moriah solely. Wherever Israel went, God went with him, and while our face is ever turned in reverential awe toward the rising sun, whence we started on our world mission, we have learned from history that westward wends the course of civilization's empire.

"And America is the land destined to unite by its mighty grasp of friendship and peace the races, the creeds, yea, the nations of the world. America, with her largeness of territory and of life's resources and views, has broadened, and is ever broadening, the views of mankind. Her spirit of democracy has made the Jew not merely more liberal-hearted and liberal-minded than the average European Jew is; she has enhanced his love and zeal for a common-sense religion, for a greater independence and a more outspoken individuality of man and for a higher idealism in woman. Thus American Judaism has become a liberalizing force in our entire social and national life, and its influence is making itself felt more and more, even in England and Germany to-day."

After urging the necessity for a dormitory and for the en-

dowment of chairs for Hellenistic and New Testament Research, for Sociology and Philanthropy, as well as for additional scholarships, the learned and venerable president concluded his noble address with these inspiring words of dedication:

"To Judaism, then, to Progressive American Judaism, with its lofty ideals, we dedicate this college building, to the promulgation and perpetuation of Israel's truths, to the elevation of human nature, to the promotion of justice and righteousness on earth, to the vindication of the name and faith of the Jew, to the glorification of the eternal God, the Father of mankind, we dedicate this house as a temple of divine knowledge and wisdom, and this chapel as its Holy of Holies. May the Shekinah ever rest here to fill the soul of each student and teacher with the fire of holy enthusiasm for truth and justice, and with the spirit of reverence and awe for whatever is holy and good. Let light stream forth from our treasure house of Israel's literature to illumine the eyes and ennoble the souls of all who enter. May we all be consecrated anew to the service of God and man as priests of the Most High."

A very delightful feature of the consecration exercises was the address of felicitation by the famous scholar Doctor Solomon Schechter, the President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Graciously and gracefully did this most honored guest fulfil the amenities of the occasion. Charmingly did he account for his presence when he said:

"My pleasure is not spoiled by hearing and seeing so much here from which I, of necessity, differ. Indeed, if I were in agreement with you, I would have been deprived of the pleasure of being here today at least, in the capacity of President of another College pursuing, to a certain extent, different aims and endeavoring to realize them by largely different methods. Least of all, would I, a mere student, without the least forensic ability, have a right to speak in this distinguished gathering, consisting of so many great scholars, as your illustrious President and other Rabbis here who have grown old while in the service of the Synagogue and famous for their gifts of oratory and speech. But there is also another consideration. Probably you all know the way in which some English statesmen speak of their opponents in the Parliament, referring to them as His Majesty's opposition. This sounds like a paradox, yet it contains a deep truth, implying as it does that both His Majesty's government as well as His Majesty's opposition form one large community, working for the welfare of the country and the prosperity of the nation. The same principle may also be applied to theology, there being, under Providence, room also for the opposition party, which has its purpose and place assigned to it by history. Of course, there are exceptions, but generally there is hardly any phenomenon in Judaism in the way of sect or

movement which has not served a certain purpose in the divine economy of our history."

But though there was this opposition between the two institutions still there was a common meeting ground as the lovable speaker indicated at the close of his address:

"These great principles of God's holiness, God's justice and God's governing the world, are to be especially taught now. And they must be taught for years and years to come. The whole of Jewish literature forms a commentary to it; the whole of Jewish history forms an illustration of it; the whole of Jewish life should bear evidence to it. And in this work we can all combine in teaching. But in order to teach, we must first learn and practice. And this is the purpose for which Colleges are established. And thus may God's blessing be upon this College, and all other Colleges of כלל ישראל in which these great truths of Judaism shall be taught and learned, and then proclaimed to the world, in all their purity and in all their application to the different and various departments of life and thought."

The exercises concluded with a glowing word of greeting from the alumni of the institution through the president, Rabbi David Marx of Atlanta, Georgia. Two other members of the alumni had also taken part in the program, Rabbi Solomon Foster of Newark, New Jersey, who read the Scriptural selection, and Rabbi Leo M. Franklin of Detroit, Michigan, who pronounced the benediction.

In his address, Doctor Kohler had stressed the need of a dormitory for the students of the college. Little did he dream that a new organization which had been called into being during that very week would prove the instrument for bringing this dream into fulfilment. The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods was organized two days before the college buildings were dedicated. The Federation has grown into a mighty organization. How meet and proper it was that the first great communal task to which the home makers, the women in Israel as represented by the Federation set their hands was the providing of a home for the students of the institution. These earnest and devoted women under the guidance of the three noble leaders who have served as presidents during the twelve years of the existence of the organization, Mrs. Abram Simon of Washington, the founder, Mrs. Joseph Wiesenfeld of Baltimore, and

Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg of Cincinnati have erected a superb building for the housing and comfort of the young men in attendance at the college. No sacrifice of time and strength was too great. Sooner than any one had thought possible the work was achieved. Almost to the day just twelve years after the college building and the library were consecrated the dormitory was dedicated with appropriate exercises on January 18, 1925. After the invocation was pronounced by Professor Abraham Cronbach of the faculty of the college, the building was turned over to Mr. Charles Shohl, the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations by Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg, the President of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. Mr. Shohl in turn handed over the building to the Board of Governors through their representative Mr. Alfred M. Cohen, the President. Mrs. Abram Simon spoke beautifully for the donors and Dr. Nathan Krass of New York delivered an eloquent dedication address. Mrs. Joseph Wiesenfield spoke briefly and Mr. Julian Feibelman, the President of the student body, expressed the appreciation of the students. The interesting exercises closed with the benediction which was pronounced by Dr. David Philipson.

The exercises were held in the fine gymnasium which was presented to the college in 1924 by Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg in memory of her never to be forgotten husband whose untimely death in June, 1921, removed from earth one of the noblest of men, J. Walter Freiberg who had been president of the Union from 1911 to the day of his death. Through this splendid gift by a loving wife, an אשת חיל indeed, worthy companion of an unusual man, the fine life of J. Walter Freiberg has been given a lasting memorial. No Jewish theological seminary has ever been so remarkably equipped as is now the Hebrew Union College with its attractive group of four buildings; the college proper, the library, the dormitory, and the gymnasium, that raise their fair fronts towards the sky, a visible symbol of the virility of Judaism and Jewish scholarship in the United States, our blessed country which is the center of Judaism in these latter days as was Palestine in days of old, and successively Babylon, Spain and Poland.

THE LIBRARY

Mention has been made of the beautiful library building donated by Isaac W. Bernheim of Louisville, Kentucky. This building now houses one of the largest libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in the world. In his exhaustive annual report submitted to the Board of Governors in 1913, the year in which the Bernheim Library was donated, the very capable librarian of the college, Mr. A. S. Oko, gave an historical survey of the growth of the library from well nigh negligible beginnings.[26] When the College was founded in 1875, the library contained, barring a few text books, such as Hebrew bibles and grammars, only two works, namely a set of the Babylonian Talmud in twelve volumes and a set of the Midrash Rabbah in two volumes; these constituted the first gift made to the library of the Hebrew Union College. They were presented by Mrs. Rosina Loeb, of Cincinnati. A few months after the College was founded a letter was received by Mr. Moritz Loth, the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, from the famous Jewish philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore, dated London, December 30, 5635 (1875), the first paragraph of which read, "Allow me the pleasure of depositing in the library of the College to be established by the Union of the American Hebrew Congregations, a copy of a Bible in five folio volumes, containing thirty-two commentaries of our most ancient and most celebrated authors, accompanied by a copy of the statutes for the regulation of the college, 'ohel Moshe weYehoodit,' in Hebrew and English, which I beg the Council of the Union will be pleased to accept and regard as a manifestation of the high esteem in which I hold the zealous exertions of our brethren in America for upholding and vindicating our holy law, as revealed on Sinai, and expounded by revered sages of the Mishna and the Talmud." Sir Moses' gift was a very beautiful set of Mikraot Gedolot. In his first report to the Board of Governors submitted in June, 1876, Doctor Wise stated that the library contained one hundred and fifty-four volumes. What a change from this

[26] Annual Report of the Librarian of the Hebrew Union College, May 31, 1913.

modest beginning to the present superb collection of over sixty-eight thousand volumes, built up by gift and purchase during a half century of effort! The more notable collections which in the course of time were secured for the college library have been, a portion of the H. A. Henry library donated by A. Anspacher and others of San Francisco in 1881, the Jonas Bondi library donated by Doctor Isaac M. Wise in 1881 (Doctor Bondi was the father-in-law of Doctor Wise), the Samuel Adler library bequeathed by the owner to the college and received in 1891, from the family of the noted rabbi of Temple Emanuel, New York, the collection of Hebrew books gathered by Samuel M. Benson and donated by his family; in 1893 the Trustees of Temple Emanuel, New York donated 300 volumes of Hebraica including several rare Jewish incunabula and other rare works of the early sixteenth century. The library of the Jewish historian Doctor M. Kayserling of Budapest, Hungary, was presented to the College by Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago in 1903. This collection contained about 3,000 volumes and 6,000 pamphlets dealing with historical material. The Alumni of the College through the establishment of a Rashi Memorial Fund in 1907 made possible the purchase of a collection of over 900 halakhic works from a dealer in Constantinople. From this same fund a Hebrew Collection of over 1,100 volumes, a large number of which pertaining to Kabbalistic literature, was purchased in 1908 in Münster, Germany. The families of Julius Rosenthal of Chicago, and the Reverend Dr. A. J. Messing of Chicago, the widow of Doctor Israel Aaron of Buffalo, and the widow of Doctor S. H. Sonneschein donated their libraries either whole or in part to the College and Rabbi Jacob Mielziner presented the library of his father Professor Mielziner. In 1911 the family of Dr. David Einhorn presented a collection of 500 volumes in memory of this great rabbi.

In 1921 Mr. Marcus Aaron of Pittsburg and his brother presented Ten Thousand Dollars in memory of their father Louis Aaron. This generous donation supplemented by other funds made possible the purchase of the fine collection of Doctor A. Freimann of Frankfort on the Main consisting of seven thousand volumes. In that same year Doctor K. Kohler, after removing from Cincinnati, presented two thirds of his library

which was particularly rich in books on theology and comparative religion. In 1918 Mr. Oko had acquired the Birnbaum collection of Jewish music, the most complete collection of its kind in the world. In 1924 the congregation Beth Emeth of Albany New York presented the library of their late rabbi, Doctor Max Schlesinger. In that same year Mr. Isaac W. Bernheim of Louisville, Kentucky donated five hundred volumes and the widow of Rabbi Louis Bernstein presented his library. The Rev. Dr. Max Landsberg, of Rochester New York donated his fine library in 1925.

Individual donors, too numerous to mention have by gifts of books or money to purchase books increased the number of volumes in the library. A laudable custom was established some years ago by the alumni of the college in accordance with which the members of each class as it reaches a quinquennial anniversary make a donation to the library as a mark of the anniversary. But the greatest gifts received by the library for the purchase of books and manuscripts were the munificent donations of fifty thousand dollars by Mr. Ben Selling of Portland, Oregon and of five thousand dollars by Mr. Joseph Schonthal of Columbus, Ohio in 1923. These sums made it possible for Mr. Oko the librarian to acquire about 10,000 volumes including precious incunabula and first editions and 1,000 valuable manuscripts. Chief among these treasures is the unique collection of scrolls, prayer books and records of the Chinese Jewish Colony of Kai Fung Foo. Among the purchases were also the bulk of the famous E. N. Adler library and the Israel Solomons collection of Anglo Judaica as well as choice sets and individual volumes from the Earl of Crawford collection.

The Birnbaum musical collection referred to above is a treasure trove having many rarities, as set forth in the essay by Professor Idelsohn included in this volume. The librarian who is a devoted student of the works of the eminent philosopher Benedict Spinoza, has gradually built up in the college library the most comprehensive collection of Spinoziana found anywhere. The library contains the famous Joseph Hamburger collection of coins and medals of Jewish interest and a museum of interesting

Jewish ceremonial and art objects rare in many cases and in some unique. Through these collections of books, periodicals, manuscripts, ceremonial and art objects, the present library building has become too small and as a consequence at the convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in St. Louis in January, 1925, the initial steps were taken looking to the acquisition of greater library facilities either by the enlargement of the present building or the erection of a second building. Only the future can disclose what form this effort for the enlargement of the library will take.

The librarians of the institution have been Jacob Ezekiel, Sigmund Mannheimer, J. L. Magnes, Max Schloessinger, and since 1907 the present incumbent Adolph S. Oko. Under the administration of the last named the library, owing to his ability and resourcefulness, has become one of the really great libraries of its kind in the world. The library is now used not only by the faculty and students of the college, but by Jewish and non-Jewish scholars in this country and abroad.

THE FACULTY

But buildings however superb and a library however fine and voluminous are only externals and tools. The searching question is, what is the spirit which dwells within the buildings, what the use made of the contents of the library? The answer to that question is largely determined by the manner of men who guide the destinies of the institution. The great personality of Isaac M. Wise, left its mighty impress upon the students in even a modest building, as did also in another way the sweet gentleness of Moses Mielziner during his two years service as acting president; the fiery earnestness of Kaufmann Kohler exerted a positive influence upon developing youth in the plastic period of life. Associated with these renowned leaders in the task of preparing young men for the rabbinate were the members of the faculty of the institution. During the half century of the existence of the College there have served on the faculty, scholars of repute and men of learning, a number of whom, bright luminaries in the firmament of Jewish scholarship have enriched

Israel Bettan
Moses Buttenwieser
Samuel S. Cohon
Abraham Cronbach
Jacob Z. Lauterbach
Adolph S. Oko~Librarian
David Philipson~Lecturer

The Faculty

Jewish literature by their published studies and books. In the order of their service the members of the faculty have been:

Solomon Eppinger—1875-1890
Max Lilienthal—1876-1882
Emanuel Lowenthal—1877-1878
Abraham Harris—1877-1878
Moses Mielziner—1879-1903
Louis Aufrecht—1878-1882
Ignatius Miller—1882-1884
David Philipson—Sept. 1883- Jan. 1, 1884: Nov. 1888-June 1907—Lecturer, June, 1907-
Sigmund Mannheimer—1884-1909
Henry Zirndorf—1884-1890
David Davidson—1885-1892
Ephraim Feldman—1885-1910
Charles S. Levi—1889-1898
Gotthard Deutsch—1891-1921
Casper Levias—1895-1905
Moses Buttenwieser—1897-
Max L. Margolis—1892-1897: 1905-1907
Louis Grossmann—1898-1921. Emeritus, 1921-
Henry Malter—1900-1907
Kaufmann Kohler, President—1903-1921; Pres. Emer. 1921-
J. L. Magnes—1903-1904
Max Schloessinger—1904-1907
Julian Morgenstern—1907-1921; President, 1921-
David Neumark—1907-1924
Henry Englander—1910-
Jacob Z. Lauterbach—1911-
Solomon B. Freehof—1915-1924
Jacob R. Marcus—1920-
Jacob Mann—1922-
Israel Bettan—1922-
Abraham Cronbach—1922–
Henry Slonimsky—1922-1924
Louis B. Wolfenson—1922-1924
Samuel S. Cohon—1923-
Abraham Z. Idelsohn—1924-
Solomon B. Finesinger—1925–

Doctor Kohler resigned as president in February, 1921 and on May 27 of that year, he delivered his farewell address taking as his theme, "American Judaism, Its Origin, Its Growth and Its Outlook." Since then he has been living in scholarly retirement in New York City, honored as he had been for many years past as the leading theologian and scholar of Reform Judaism in the United States. This eminent position which he held in the estimation of his colleagues was testified to by the publication of a volume of scholarly essays entitled "Studies in Jewish Literature" in honor of his seventieth birthday, May 10, 1913. The volume was published by the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College. The contributors to the volume who united in offering this tribute of their appreciation and admiration to the famed septuagenarian comprised besides the members of the faculty of the institution whereof he was the honored head a number of other celebrated European and American men of learning. During the four years which have elapsed since his retirement from active duties Dr. Kohler has continued his studies and has retained the virility of his thought. The clear strong thinking of this unusual octogenarian appears from the two latest products of his pen, namely, his contribution to the synposium on the general subject "A Revaluation of Reform Judaism" read at the meeting of the Central Conference of Reform Rabbis at Cedar Point, Ohio in July, 1924, and his essay in the present volume. May this great scholar and flaming spirit continue in undiminished mental and spiritual vigor and enrich our Jewish life with the ripe products of his accumulated wisdom for years to come!

Upon the retirement of Doctor Kohler from active service and his designation as president emeritus of the institution in 1921 Doctor Julian Morgenstern, a member of the faculty, was elected acting president in November of that year. In the following October he was elected president for a term of two years. Doctors Henry Slonimsky and L. B. Wolfenson resigned as members of the Faculty in June, 1924 as did also Doctor Solomon B. Freehof. A great loss was sustained by the institution in the death of Professor David Neumark in December, 1924. Doctor Neumark stood easily in the very front rank of Jewish scholars;

his fame shed luster upon the College; his erudition and his keen powers of thought placed him among the great sages of modern Israel.

The faculty greatly depleted by resignation and death consists now besides the president, of Israel Bettan, Moses Buttenwieser, Samuel S. Cohon, Abraham Cronbach, Henry Englander, S. B. Finesinger, Abraham Z. Idelsohn, Jacob Z. Lauterbach and Jacob Mann. Jacob R. Marcus who was granted leave of absence in 1923 is still abroad. Because of the reduced teaching force a number of advanced students were appointed student instructors for the preparatory department in February, 1925. This was following a precedent which had obtained frequently in the course of the years when now and then student instructors had functioned.

Besides the class room work by the members of the faculty lectures have been given now and then either singly or in courses by well-known scholars. Among these may be mentioned Emil G. Hirsch, Richard G. Moulton, Charles F. Kent, H. G. Enelow, Henry Berkowitz, Israel Abrahams of Cambridge, England, Ismar Elbogen of Berlin, and Julius Goldstein of Darmstadt. In 1907 lectures on sociological subjects were given by Professors Jacob H. Hollander and Charles W. Henderson and Judge Julian W. Mack.

The course of lectures given by Doctor Henry Berkowitz was published by the Hebrew Union College Press in 1921 under the title "Intimate Glimpses of a Rabbi's Career." This is the only volume published thus far by the Hebrew Union College Press which was established in 1919.

Besides the individual publications by professors of the institution the following college publications have been issued from time to time. There have been two student magazines The Hebrew Union College Journal 1896–1903, and The Hebrew Union College Monthly which began to appear in 1914 and is still issued monthly during the academic year. In 1904 a volume entitled "The Hebrew Union College Annual" appeared. It had been proposed to make this an annual publication but only this single volume saw the light of day. Another publication with the same title was undertaken by the

Board of Governors of the institution at the instance of Doctor David Neumark who suggested that the quarterly magazine which he had been editing under the title "Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy" be taken over by the Board of Governors and made a college publication. The suggestion was acted upon favorably and in 1921 a Board of Editors consisting of members of the Board and the Faculty was named and entrusted with the task. This Board as first constituted consisted of David Philipson, Chairman, K. Kohler, Joseph Krauskopf, Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Julian Morgenstern, David Neumark, and William Rosenau. Upon the death of Doctor Joseph Krauskopf in June, 1923, Doctor H. G. Enelow was appointed in his place; Professor Jacob Mann was added to the Board in September, 1924. Two volumes of the Annual containing contributions from the pens of scholars in the United States and Europe have appeared. The cooperation lent to the Board of Editors by members of the faculty of such sister institutions as The Jewish Theological Seminary of America and The Dropsie College as well as by other American and European scholars who have contributed essays and studies to its pages is one of the very pleasant features of this publication. A third volume is now in preparation and will appear in 1926.

TEACHERS' INSTITUTE

In 1909 the late Jacob H. Schiff whose name is written so high in philanthropy's hall of fame created a trust fund of one hundred thousand dollars the annual income of which he directed to be divided equally between the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York and the Hebrew Union College for the establishment of teachers' colleges in connection with the two institutions. Such a teachers' college was instituted at the Hebrew Union College with Doctor Louis Grossmann as the principal. In the course of a few years however it became apparent that there were not sufficient students to warrant its continuance. The income from the Schiff Trust Fund has been devoted since the discontinuance of the teachers' institute in Cincinnati to sending the professors of the Hebrew Union College

to various cities throughout the country to lecture before teachers associations and normal classes. The professors of the college have also delivered extension lectures at the summer schools conducted by the Teacher's Institute in Cleveland, Ohio and Chicago, Illinois as well as at similar sessions in New York City and Nashville, Tenn.

In 1923, the Hebrew Union College School for Teachers in New York City was organized jointly by the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College and the New York Association of Reform Rabbis. This school is not connected with the Teachers' Institute above described but is an independent institution. It is supported altogether by funds furnished by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and is an independent department of the Hebrew Union College. The school is conducted by a principal appointed by the Board of Governors. This principal conducts the school under the supervision of the President of the Hebrew Union College and a joint committee consisting of nine members, five appointed by the Board of Governors of the College namely, Messrs. Marcus Aaron and Charles Shohl and Rabbis David Philipson, William Rosenau and Joseph Silverman and four by the Association of Reform Rabbis. namely, Rabbis S. Foster, R. Grossman, S. Schulman and N. Stern. Doctor Schulman is the Chairman of the joint committee. The principal of the school is Mr. Abraham N. Franzblau. The course of study covers two years and the subjects of instruction are Hebrew, History, Bible, Religion, Post Biblical Literature and Pedagogy. The school has been very successful from the start, hundreds of young men and women having enrolled. The graduates of the school will be available as religious school teachers in the congregations of the metropolis and elsewhere.

A summer school covering a period of six weeks, from July 6 to August 25, was instituted at the Hebrew Union College in July, 1925.. Courses are offered by professors of the College in the following subjects: Bible, Biblical Commentaries, Biblical History, Mishna and Talmud, Midrash and Homiletics, Jewish History: Modern and Mediaeval, Hebrew Conversation, Jewish Philosophy, Jewish Theology and Jewish Social Studies. About

twenty students, mostly rabbis from various parts of the country attended the sessions. Credits leading to the degree of doctor of divinity will be given to rabbis for work done in this school. Time alone will tell whether this new department will prove a success.

THE ALUMNI

The graduates of the Hebrew Union College number 256, the most of whom are occupying pulpits throughout the country. Well nigh all the reform congregations are ministered to by men graduated from the Hebrew Union College. The only surviving member of the first class of rabbis ordained by Isaac M. Wise is now the dean of the reform rabbinate of the country in active service. Very few of the rabbis who were officiating in the United States before the year 1883 when the college sent forth its first graduates are still in the land of the living and all of them have retired from active service. These are Kaufmann Kohler, Max Landsberg, F. De Sola Mendes, Meyer Messing, Isaac S. Moses, Samuel Sale and Emanuel Schreiber. May these true and tried veterans continue in health for years to come!

The official roster of the alumni of the College according to classes is as follows (see Catalogue for 1924–1925):

Class of 1883.

Israel Aaron
Henry Berkowitz
Joseph Krauskopf
David Philipson

Class of 1884.

Louis Grossmann
Max Heller
Joseph Silverman
Joseph Stolz

Class of 1885.

Isaac Rubenstein

Class of 1886.

Moses Perez Jacobson
Tobias Schanfarber

Class of 1887.

Edward N. Calisch

Class of 1888.

None

Class of 1889.

Heiman J. Elkin
William S. Friedman
Moses J. Gries
Rudolph Grossman
Adolf Guttmacher
Charles S. Levi
William Rosenau
Isaac L. Rypins

Class of 1890.

Alexander H. Geismar
Clifton H. Levy

Class of 1891.

Samuel Greenfield
Samuel Hirschberg
Israel Joseph
Alexander Lyons
Charles A. Rubenstein

Class of 1892.

Leo M. Franklin

Class of 1893.

Charles Fleischer
Aaron Friedman
Marcus Salzman
M. G. Solomon

Class of 1894.

Abram Gideon
Bennett Grad
Isaac E. Marcuson
David Marx
Isidore E. Rosenthal
Abram Simon

Class of 1895.

Seymour G. Bottigheimer
Morris Newfield
George Solomon

Class of 1896.

Frederick Cohn
Gustav H. Loewenstein
Harry H. Mayer
Abraham J. Messing

Class of 1897.

Harry Levi
Julius Henry Meyer
Harry Weiss
Philip Wolf

Class of 1898.

Max Cohen Currick
Hyman G. Enelow
Joseph S. Kornfeld
Abraham Hirschberg
Leon M. Nelson
Simon Peiser

Class of 1899.

Simon R. Cohen
Theodore F. Joseph
Israel Klein
Leo Mannheimer
Louis Wolsey
Martin Zielonka

Class of 1900.

Abraham S. Anspacher
Abram Brill
William H. Fineshriber
Charles J. Freund
David Lefkowitz
Emil W. Leipziger
Juda Leon Magnes
Jacob Mielziner
Jacob S. Raisin
Pizer W. Jacobs
George Zepin

Class of 1901.

David Alexander
Moise Bergman
Joseph Blatt
Henry Englander
Morris M. Feuerlicht
Solomon C. Lowenstein
Elias Margolis
Martin A. Meyer
Alfred G. Moses
Leon Volmer

Class of 1902.

Solomon Foster
Emanuel Kahn
Eugene Mannheimer
Eli Mayer

Jacob H. Kaplan
Samuel Koch
Maurice Lefkovits
Julian Morgenstern
Abraham B. Rhine
Isidor Warsaw

Class of 1903.

Morris Cahan
Henry M. Fisher
Solomon L. Kory
Nathan Krass
Louis Kuppin
Max J. Merritt
Max Raisin
Jonah B. Wise
Louis Witt

Class of 1904.

Harry W. Ettelson
Harry G. Friedman
Ephraim Frisch
Alfred T. Godshaw
Samuel H. Goldenson
Joseph Jasin
J. Leonard Rothstein
Mendel Silber
Nathan Stern
Joseph H. Stolz

Class of 1905.

Frederick E. Braun
Sidney E. Goldstein
Meyer Lovitch
Joseph Rauch

Class of 1906.

Louis Bernstein
Abraham Cronbach
Nathan Gordon
Isaac Landman
Louis D. Mendoza
Julian H. Miller
Max Reichler
Jacob D. Schwarz

Class of 1907.

Felix A. Levy

Class of 1908.

Joel Blau
George G. Fox
Herman Rosenwasser

Class of 1909.

Louis D. Gross
Louis J. Kopald
William Rice
David Rosenbaum
Samuel Schwartz
Jacob Singer
Aaron L. Weinstein
Horace J. Wolf

Class of 1910.

Israel I. Mattuck

Class of 1911.

None.

Class of 1912.

Israel Bettan
Samuel S. Cohon
Maurice M. Mazure
Jacob B. Pollak

Class of 1913.

Irving M. Bloom
Adolf Rosenberg
David Fichman
Sidney Tedesche

Class of 1914.

Isadore Isaacson
Israel L. Kaplan
Charles B. Latz
Morris S. Lazaron
Lee J. Levinger
Edgar F. Magnin
Louis L. Mann
Marius Ranson
Elkan C. Voorsanger

Class of 1915.

Solomon B. Freehof
Julius Halprin
Harold F. Reinhart
Abba H. Silver
Jacob Tarshish

Class of 1916.

Samuel J. Abrams
Hyman B. Cantor
Abraham Holtzberg
Jacob B. Krohngold

Simon Cohen
Harvey B. Franklin
Raphael Goldenstein
James G. Heller
Julius Leibert
Morris Lichtenstein
Israel J. Sarasohn
Maxwell Silver

Class of 1917.

Benjamin Friedman
Samuel S. Mayerberg
Samuel Felix Mendelsohn
Jacob I. Meyerovitz
Harry R. Richmond
Jerome Rosen

Class of 1918.

Nathan E. Barasch
Abraham J. Feldman
Samuel M. Gup
Harry S. Linfield
Wolfe Macht
Jerome Mark
Louis A. Mischkind
Arthur S. Montaz
Alexander Segel
Jacob Turner
Philip F. Waterman
Max Weis

Class of 1919.

Garry J. August
Barnet R. Brickner
Abraham Feinstein
Joseph Fink
Edward L. Israel
Max Kaufman
Albert G. Minda
Joseph E. Sales
Meyer Salkover
Ira E. Sanders

Class of 1920.

Joseph L. Baron
Solomon Fineberg
Leon Fram
Samuel J. Harris
Bernard Heller
Samuel S. Kaplan
Solomon Landman
Jacob R. Marcus
Abraham I. Shinedling
Harvey E. Wessel

Class of 1921.

Henry J. Berkowitz
Milton Ellis
Iser Freund
Myron M. Meyerovitz
Irving F. Reichert
Frederick I. Rypins

Carl N. Herman
Hyman Iola
Alvin S. Luchs
Harry S. Margolis
William B. Schwartz
Jack H. Skirball
Bernhard J. Stern
Morris D. Youngerman

Class of 1922.

Ferdinand M. Isserman
Julius Mark
Samuel H. Markowitz
Solomon E. Starrels
Harry J. Stern
William Stern

Class of 1923.

Michael Aaronsohn
Solomon N. Bazell
Louis Binstock
Sheldon H. Blank
Max Bretton
Benjamin M. Frankel
Nelson Glueck
Mayer Lipman
David S. Nathan
Walter E. Rothman
Samuel Wolk

Class of 1924.

Philip D. Bookstaber
Harry N. Caplan
Abraham L. Feinberg
L. Elliott Grafman
Theodore Lifset
Walter G. Peiser
Samuel R. Shillman
J. Marshall Taxay
Morris J. Urich

Class of 1925

Howard Fineberg
Abraham Freed
Samuel Gordon
Benjamin Kelson
Harry L. Kronman
Samuel T. Phillips

Of this number ten have died, six are members of the faculty of the Hebrew Union College, nine are serving as directors or officers of Jewish educational or philanthropic organizations, three are engaged in graduate study abroad, and thirty-seven have retired from the pulpit or allied work. This leaves about two hundred in active service as rabbis. With few exceptions,

the graduates of the Hebrew Union College have served well in the cause to which they have devoted their lives. In well nigh every community in which they are heading congregations they have been and are worthy spokesmen of Judaism and humanity. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the purpose which animated Isaac M. Wise in founding the institution has been realized. Through American trained leaders speaking the language of the country, Judaism has been enabled to retain its hold upon the generations born and reared in the United States. The graduates of the college as members of the Alumni Association meet annually at the same time as the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The graduate degree of Doctor of Divinity has been conferred on David Philipson (1886) Israel Aaron, Henry Berkowitz, Joseph Krauskopf and Joseph Silverman (1887), Louis Grossmann (1888) Rudolph Grossman (1889), Joseph Stolz (1898), Hyman G. Enelow (1902) Abraham Rhine (1910), Jacob S. Raisin (1913), Abraham Cronbach and Israel Bettan (1915), Solomon B. Freehof (1922) Simon Cohen (1924) and Abba H. Silver (1925).

The honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity has been bestowed on Solomon Eppinger and Aaron Hahn (1883), Benjamin Szold (1887) Henry Zirndorf (1890), David W. Marks, London England (1891), David Davidson (1892), Moritz Lazarus, Berlin Germany (1894), Moritz Steinschneider, Berlin Germany, (1896), Moses Mielziner (1898), Emil G. Hirsch (1901), Bernhard Felsenthal (1902), Jacob Voorsanger (1903), Sigmund Mannheimer (1909), Ephraim Feldman (1910), Israel Abrahams, Cambridge England (1912), Gotthard Deutsch (1916) and Kaufmann Kohler (1921).

The honorary degree of Doctor of Hebrew Law has been bestowed on Louis Marshall and Jacob H. Schiff (1920), Simon Wolf (1921) Moses Buttenwieser and Louis Grossmann (1922), William Rosenau (1923), Henry Cohen and Claude G. Montefiore London England (1924), George Foote Moore and Max J. Kohler (1925.)

THE FUTURE

In closing this story of a half century of initiative and development, the historian is tempted to relinquish the task of the recorder and to essay the role of the forecaster. What guidance for the future does the experience of the past furnish? Has the time come for drastic changes in method and procedure? It would seem so. In eighteen hundred and seventy-five Jewish youths studying at American colleges and universities were comparatively few. In nineteen hundred and twenty-five they are numbering thousands. In eighteen hundred and seventy-five therefore it would have been folly to have attempted to establish a theological seminary as a post-graduate institution. In nineteen hundred and twenty-five it may well be asked whether it is not the part of wisdom to convert the college into such a post-graduate institution. By making the holding of an academic degree from a college or university a requirement of admission, the entire time of the students can be given to the studies at the College. Such graduates can cover a great deal more ground and do much more intensive work in a four year course than is now done in eight or nine. Many a youth who enters the Hebrew Union College now as an undergraduate collegian is assailed by spiritual growing pains in the adolescent age through which he is passing. He is not entirely sure of himself and his purpose. Such contingencies are far less likely to occur if only mentally mature young men who deliberately choose the rabbinate as their life's profession become students at the College. Yes, and not only mentally mature young men but also mentally mature young women. There is no reason why from the standpoint of Reform Judaism which for decades past has admitted women to full religious fellowship and membership in congregations they should not be functioning as rabbis. In 1923 by a large majority vote the Central Conference of American Rabbis declared in favor of this proposal but the Board of Governors of the institution refused to give their sanction. But some governing body in the future and in all likelihood in a future not far away may reverse this decision and women will be graduated from the Hebrew Union College and serve as spiritual guides of congregations.

When the college opened stipends were granted to students. In time the objectionable eleemosynary feature of the stipend was overcome by advancing needed moneys to students in the form of loans with the understanding that these loans were to be repaid as soon as the recipient was able to do so after graduation. At present these loans are termed scholarships but the change of name does not change the significance for most of the so-called scholarships are really loans. True, there are real scholarships granted for merit. These are gained by students and have no eleemosynary feature whatsoever. Such scholarships should continue and should be awarded in as large measure as possible to capable, worthy, and spiritually minded young men. But the support to students through stipend, loan or pseudo scholarship has been of doubtful value in more than one instance. Many a youth has been attracted by the material advantages offered by the Hebrew Union College, even if he felt no special calling for the rabbinate. It has been an easy way to get an education. These temptations should be removed as far as possible. Scholarships awarded for merit only will do away with the possibilities for the abuse of a high privilege.

The fine library of the College suggests an expansion in a new direction. By the creation of fellowships scholars may be attracted to take up their residence at the college for purposes of study and research. The learned monographs in the form of essays or books which their researches may bring forth would be published by the Hebrew Union College Press which would thus really function and not exist almost entirely in name only as has been the case to the present time. If this consummation should be realized the College would add to its primary purpose of training young men for the rabbinate this further feature of being an institution of research attracting scholars from all parts of the world. These fellows in residence would continue the finest traditions of Jewish learning as expressed in the time honored phrase תלמוד תורה כנגד כלם.

Whatever changes in method and administration the ensuing fifty years may witness along the lines suggested or other,

the foundations as laid during the pioneer years and strengthened in the course of the first half century shall endure. Isaac M. Wise built for the ages. Changes many may be made. New evaluations and interpretations may be given in class room and from college pulpit, new emphases may be laid upon theories and views of Judaism and religion at large, but the everlasting yeas and the eternal verities are sure. These yeas and these verities are stressed by the great phrases חתום תורה בלמדי and הבקר אור which appear upon the seal of the Hebrew Union College. "Seal the instruction among my disciples," sounds the bidding of the Lord in modern as in ancient days, announced by all His messengers in all lands stretching from Isaiah in Jerusalem to Isaac M. Wise in America; hand in hand with that instruction goes the spreading of light. Instruction and Light, Learning and Vision: the foundation and the aim of the Hebrew Union College!

THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE OF YESTERDAY AND A GREAT DESIDERATUM IN ITS CURRICULUM TODAY

By Dr. K. KOHLER, President Emeritus, Hebrew Union College.

OUR JUBILEE CELEBRATION offers a two-fold aspect. Looking backward upon half a century's work, we find cause for thanksgiving and proud joy over what has been accomplished for the good of many. More solemn, however, is a glance forward into the future, as we realize what new tasks may be imposed upon us, and what new ideas and ideals will move us on to attain the success we look for. The Jubilee of the Hebrew Union College we are celebrating this year was to a large extent anticipated by the Jubilee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations two years ago, when we all gloried in the unique achievements of the College under the guardianship of the Union, and voiced our gratitude to God, the Keeper of Israel, for having given us in Isaac M. Wise the great genius who created those institutions which have become the imperishable monuments for the preservation and propagation of our precious ancient heritage in this new land. Indeed, as a prominent Palestinian Rabbi pointing to the Babylonian Jewry once exclaimed: "We can no longer claim the glory of the Torah for ourselves; it is all theirs," so can American Israel well boast that its work for the Jewish faith and for Jewish learning bids fair to outdo that of European Jewry. Where else do you find hundreds of congregations in common with their Rabbis and lay leaders rallied as one soul around the banner of Progressive Judaism, eager to maintain, with all their might, the Torah as their centre and focus of light and truth for generations to come? Where do you find Federations of men and women, young and old, bent upon the dissemination of our lofty truth in the hearts of all,

as powerful in number, in zeal and influence as are ours? The very edifices of our College stand forth as majestic witnesses to the same. True, our sister institutions pursue the same aim and object; still, the initiative in all their endeavors was made under the asupicies of our Union. We have gone forward working in conformity with the spirit of the immortal founder, and the others were bound to follow. Loyal to the principles and ideals of our glorious past, we have inscribed progress and freedom of inquiry upon our banner, and we have succeeded.

Exceedingly modest were its means and facilities, when the College was started by Dr. Wise, but, owing to his indomitable courage and energy and his wondrous resourcefulness, it grew from year to year in power and exetnt during the twenty-five years of his presidency. At first aided by his colleague Dr. Lilienthal, he soon acquired the valued services of Moses Mielziner, the eminent Talmudic scholar, and years afterwards a number of gifted men,—among whom Dr. Buttenwieser, the Bible Exegete, Sigmund Mannheimer, the Hebrew Grammarian, the scholarly Max Margolis, Henry Malter, Ephraim Feldman, Caspar Levias and last but not least the versatile and prominent historian Dr. Deutsch—formed his staff of teachers, Drs. Philipson and Grossman also assisting him as eminent members of the Faculty and as specific lecturers. And how fortunate was he in at once finding the pupils after his own heart, who after the first graduation and subsequently went forth with the glow of enthusiasm of their master to open new fields of labor, broadening the scope of the pulpit, while carrying his inspiring messages to hundreds and thousands, Jew and Gentile, all over the land so as to render Reform Judaism a new power of rejuvenation for all.

It was my privilege—after a three years' interval, in which Dr. Mielziner and Dr. Deutsch functioned as acting Presidents—to become his successor in office, and during the eighteen and a half years of my presidency to more than equal the number of graduates Dr. Wise had sent forth. Greatly encouraged by the Board of Governors, I increased the number of courses of study, taking charge of some myself, and systematized the whole work in accordance with the new demands of our critical-historical age.

The appointment of Prof. Lauterbach, the keen Talmudist, of Neumark, the renowned Jewish Philosopher, and the able Bible exegetes and Hebrew grammarians Julian Morgenstern and Henry Englander and Max Schloessinger gave a new prestige to the College. I also introduced series of lecturers in applied Sociology, Dr. Bogen having been the first lecturer, others following him.

And may I not also proudly refer to the imposing structure reared during my incumbency on the heights of the city, in close proximity to the University, testifying to the outward growth of our institution, and also to the splendid Library buidling donated by Isaac W. Bernheim, which under the able and most energetic librarian Adolph S. Oko became with its rich literary treasures an adequate auxiliary to the institution of learning, and now, thanks to the generosity of many donors, rivals the best Jewish libraries of the world.

The last three years have, owing to the successful efforts of my indefatigable successor Dr. Julian Morgenstern, seen the College working in new directions. Younger men, mostly graduates of our institution, occupy the different chairs alongside of the older professors, and the Gymnasium and the Dormitory, gracious gifts of Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg and of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods to encourage our students who have come in larger numbers, have risen to add to the splendor and attractiveness of the College. But what is of special importance, the financial condition is being so improved as to secure the permanency of the institution for all time. We have thus every reason for rejoicing in this Jubilee.

We must, however, not conceal from ourselves the fact brought out at the recent convention of the Union that the College is in a state of transition, and it requires all the wisdom and energy of the administration to bring it internally as well as externally up to the demands of the time. We must bear in mind that the character of the institution is no longer the same as it was at its foundation. At that time it was planned for a class of young students who had to go for four years through High School, and for another four years through the University of Cincinnati, and correspondingly, there was established the

Preparatory Department, with its elementary courses, and subsequently the Collegiate Department with its advanced studies, through both of which they had to pass before graduation and ordination as Rabbis. A ninth year was added by me to afford the students more time for their graduation work. Since then other students, many of whom College or University graduates, entered our institution better prepared for a more comprehensive grasp of the subjects taught. And today most of the students are of this calibre. These were accomodated by the addition of morning lectures to the regular afternoon lessons. But, after all, the whole system of study must be expanded to answer the higher demands of life. Thus for instance, the course of philosophy, in order to be up to date, must take full cognizance of our modern systems such as Bergson's and Wm. James', as in fact it did under the comprehensive system of the unforgettable Neumark, and not merely dwell on our mediaeval systems of thought, whether that of Maimonides which is based on Aristotle, or any other. So does the teaching of the Talmud and the Codes become profitable for us, who are no longer bound to the Shulḥan Aruk, only when such practical questions as the marriage and divorce laws, the funeral and mourning rites, or the Sabbath and Festivals are discussed so as to be brought into relation to modern life, and this is also actually done by Dr. Lauterbach. Nor is the mere recording of the historical and biographical facts sufficient for the course on history; the students must obtain a deeper insight into the philosophy of history and the deeper forces moving the various periods in order to learn to understand our own time with its problems. In short, not to go further into detail, the higher courses should come into closer touch with life.

And here is the point I have particularly in mind. To be sure, we American Jews no longer live in seclusion. Our life is interwoven by a thousand threads with that of the surrounding world. Even those who still observe the dietary laws do not want to be alienated, as ex-President Eliot suggests, from the rest of men. Our whole thinking, reading and speaking brings us into closest contact with our non-Jewish fellow citizens, and we are constantly confronted with the question: what is, and

should be, our attitude as Jews towards the Christian world. Only blind fanatics and fools speak of the unbridgeable gulf between Jews and Gentiles. Even the Middle Ages, with all their hostility to us, found or sought ways of approach, if not socially, then by means of scientific cooperation and competition. And today when we see a majestic Cathedral rise in our midst, with the motto: "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men" rallying all the creeds in friendship around it, we ought to have a better mutual understanding of each other's idealism and faith than we had hitherto. Yet nowhere is this demand felt so clearly as in our seats of learning, where the students are trained for the leadership of Congregations as ministers. It was well said the other day by Cardinal Hayes: "Tolerance is not enough". What we need today is mutual recognition. Much as we differ from each other in our creeds and doctrines or rites, we have a great deal in common, and we can well afford to learn from each other. If reason is the predominant force of our faith, there are sentiment and mysticism prevalent in the Church. Judaism has made science the sister of our faith; Christianity allied art with its religion. The mighty passion for justice is the characteristic of the Jew throughout the ages, whereas Christianity laid all the stress on love.

We can well understand why the New Testament became a *Noli me tangere* to the Jew, and why the very name of Jesus was shunned by them all these centuries. As soon as the man Jesus was deified, the law forbidding the very mention of the name of other gods (Exodus XXIII, 13) was applied to him, too, and so were the Jews actually called deicides or Christ-killers and laden with curses by the New Testament writers. Nor was there any attempt made by the ruling Church to establish friendlier relations with the maligned race. Only our own great mediaeval authorities took a broader view, and beheld in Christianity, as well as in Mohammedanism, God-appointed agencies for the spreading of the Jewish truth over the world. We to-day have obtained a better knowledge of the sources and of the accomplishments of the Christian faith, and it is in our own interest to learn to know more about them. After all, the New Testament, centered on Jesus as the saviour, has, notwithstand-

ing all its Jew-hatred and malicious charges against the Jews, won the pagan world for Israel's God and for the higher ethics rooted in the belief in Him. Moreover, ever so many phrases of the New Testament have become parts of our ordinary language in Western civilization.

From whatever point then we may look at it, it becomes the imperative duty of the Jewish students in our days to familiarize himself with the New Testament as an off-shoot of Judaism. We proudly claim Jesus as our own, even if we cannot go as far as does Claude Montefiore who wants to raise him to the rank of Israel's great prophets. Likewise should the Jewish teacher be acquainted with the principal facts of Church history as it affected the destinies of the whole Western civilization. This study ought to find a place in the curriculum of the Jewish College, and accordingly there should be a certain time fixed for a *course on the Relations between Judaism and Christianity in the past and at the present time.*

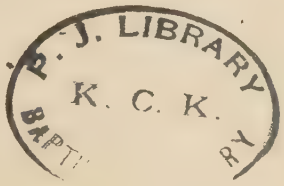
No Jewish minister today can fail to come in touch with his Christian fellows, whether through the press or in personal conversation, and he owes it to himself, as well as to the sacred cause he represents, to be fully prepared and able to stand up in defense of our faith as its fairminded champion, while maintaining a firm scientific footing in accord with the best results of modern research. Very frequently he is called upon to discuss themes pertaining to those relations, and there he finds the opportunity of enlightening his non-Jewish hearers on many points new to them, and this requires a systematic training.

Of course, it would be a great boon to the College, nay, a real *Kiddush ha-Shem*, if some generous philanthropist, in honor of its Jubilee, would endow a Chair devoted to this purpose, or to *Comparative Religion* in general, though it is not easy to find a scholar particularly fitted for the task. In the meantime, those of our Rabbis might step in, who possess the necessary knowledge and practical wisdom to start the work, and deliver different series of discourses to initiate the students, say the Seniors and Juniors, into the subject. There are also many outsiders here and abroad, who would gladly aid in the enterprise, in order to bring Jew and Gentile nearer together. The pro-

motion of good-will among the representatives of these two religions, highly laudable in itself, is not enough. It requires action. Our own efforts in its behalf will work as an incentive to others. So let us be up and doing. How beautiful are the words of the last prophet in that respect: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My name is great among the nations, and in every place offerings are presented unto My name, for My name is great among the nations, says the Lord of hosts" (Mal. I, 11).

But there is another point which requires our utmost consideration. The Committee on the work of the College at the St. Louis Convention was quite in order, when laying special stress on the need of greater spirituality on the part of the students and the teachers, and there were reasons for their doing so. We must not overlook the patent fact that the advanced studies have their own pit-falls. Too often does greater intellectuality in our faith lessen the spiritual view of things, engendering irreverence and doubt, and the future leaders, who are expected by their enthusiasm and zeal to kindle the fire of faith in their hearers, have often nothing but cold reason to offer which only criticizes and disregards the past.

Some of these clamor for an unbridled liberalism which declares the very foundations of religion, such as are God and immortality, to be matters of doubt, and humility no longer finds a place in their system of ethics. In vain we ask for the manifestation of the spirit that made our great seers, singers and sages the messengers of the living God, and which gave the Jew the power to outlive the ages. Nor is there any room in their system for prayer, the power that uplifts man above the earth and links him to the throne of the Most High to enable him to brave adversity; their Reform, instead of regenerating the faith, is but degeneracy, barren phraseology. Yea, disregarding history and psychology, they tell us that no religion has the right to claim any higher value than the other, seeing as they do, in religion only a man-made product, not a dynamic force, superior to the visible cosmos. Utilitarianism, which today rules our sciences, is also the determining factor of the soul's life for these ultra-liberalists, and holiness is stricken out of their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vocabulary. It is high time to overcome these tendencies in our College, and cry out with Moses of yore: "Would that the whole people of God become prophets, as He lays His spirit upon them". Yes, prophets we need, men of the spirit, men of vision, not of mere mentality, men who proclaim Judaism, as did the great seer of the exile, as the light of the nations and as the covenant inter-linking the peoples, the races and the creeds. The College must give us men who embody in their life the faith they preach, and who make their Jewish hearers feel that our truth is the power that is to conquer the world.

EZEKIEL 37:15-28

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE TEN TRIBES

By WILLIAM ROSENAU, Baltimore, Md.

IT IS GENERALLY believed, on what is regarded Biblical warrant, that after the people of the northern kingdom had been deported to Assyria, at first partly by Tiglath-Pilezer,[1] and later altogether by Shalmanezer, i. e., Sargon II,[2] they must have been, because nothing is again heard of them as a political unit, completely assimilated by the general population of Assyria. Hence they are regarded lost for all time beyond separate recognition. Along with this claim, we have the frequent conjecture, that, as a result of successive tides of migration sweeping in different directions over the face of the ancient world, the ten lost tribes ultimately found their way out of Assyria to different countries and have thus been, for one reason or another, variously identified. Abraham Yagel, living in the sixteenth century, saw descendants of the ten tribes in the Falashas of Abyssinia. The Nestorians of Mesopotamia, on the basis of a local tradition, insist, that they are the deported Israelites.[3] The Afghans, too, aim to establish a similar origin.[4] The Karaites, in order to escape the persecution to which Jews in Russia were in former times generally subjected, published the historically-unverifiable fact, that they, the Karaites, had been, by Shalmanezer, already, in the seventh century B. C., transferred to the Crimea as one of his foreign colonies. That the Anglo-Saxons are identified as a remnant of the ten lost tribes is not infrequently asserted.[5]

[1] II Kgs. 15:29

[2] II Kgs. 17:6; 18:11

[3] Grant "The Nestorians or The Lost Tribes" New York, 1845.

[4] Moore "Lost Tribes" London, 1861.

[5] Note the extensive literature on the subject from Richard Brothers "Revealed Knowledge" 1794, down to the present.

Moreover, in China,[6] in Japan,[7] and in North America among the Indians,[8] the people of the northern kingdom are said to have been discovered. A detailed account of these theories regarding the variously-supposed destinies of the ten tribes is given us by the late Joseph Jacobs, in the Jewish Encyclopedia.[9]

The ten tribes were doomed neither to assimilation by the Assyrians nor to unrecognizable dispersion throughout other climes.

Significant in this connection is the observation made by Dr. Schiffer, in his "Keilinschriftliche Spuren der in der zweiten Haelfte des 8. Jahrhunderts von den Assyrern nach Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier (10 Staemme)".[10] Schiffer, after giving a number of contract tablets, drawn up by a distinct class of traders, says in effect: The contracts were made between 650 and 606 B. C. The traders came from the city Kannu', which was not located in original Assyria. Many, if not most, of the names appearing in the contracts, are Hebrew. That these Mesopotamian Hebrew traders formed a separate colony is indisputable. They were no doubt the posterity of the Israelites deported by Sargon II from Samaria, which was made an Assyrian colony. Until the conquest of Assyria by Babylonia, they must have enjoyed group rights and privileges under the law of the land.

Bearing in mind certain historical facts, and analyzing the Thirty-seventh Chapter of Ezekiel, Verses 15 to 28, one is inclined to dispute the two generally-accepted points of view indicated above, as to what happened to the ten tribes, and to lean toward the Schiffer hypothesis.

What are the all-important historical facts to be remem-

[6] Based on account written by two Mohammedan travelers through India and China in 851, and translated into English, London 1733.

[7] N. McLeod "Epitome of the Ancient History of Japan" 1879.

[8] Mallory "Israelite and Indian" 1889. Even Mordecai M. Noah firmly held that there was a clear racial and religious relationship between the early Israelites and the North American Indians.

[9] Jew. Enc. Vol. XII, p. 249.

[10] Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung 1907.

bered? While Assyria was once the absolute political power of the ancient Orient, it was soon succeeded by Babylonia, when the latter, under Nabopolassar, together with Babylonia's allies, vanquished the former in 625 B. C. Moreover, is it not to be presumed, that, as the whole Assyrian population gradually became a part of the Babylonian nation, the deported Israelites, too, were subjected to similar Babylonian adoption or transfer? Sharing a common national and religious origin with Judaeans deported by Nebuchadnezzar 586 B. C.to Babylonia, it is well-nigh, if not altogether, undeniable, that the Israelites, although for one hundred and thirty-seven years Assyrian subjects leading a separate and distinct group-existence and in earlier days constituting a kingdom of their own in the north of Palestine, should nevertheless have made common cause with the Babylonian Jews and figured as a not altogether negligible factor in the exile. It may even be conjectured, that it was these very Israelites, probably largely represented among the returning exiles under Zerubabel, who undoubtedly had been told by their fathers that the Samaritans, living in Palestine, at the time of the Return, were not of the stock of Israel; that they were nothing more than Assyrian settlers;[11] and that, therefore, they were not worthy of assisting in the reconstruction of the temple at Jerusalem, 516 B. C. Furthermore, that which Ezekiel, prophet of the captivity, living, preaching and working in Babylonia,[12] has to say on the constituency of Babylonian Israel, should not be overlooked. Who could have known better than he the component elements of the Jewish community of the exile? It may indeed be asserted, in the light of these historical facts, that, whereas Ezekiel reckoned both with the national and religious differences between the earlier deported Israelites and the later deported Judaeans, he nevertheless wanted their descendants to be one upon their return to Palestine, as they must have been one in the captivity. And to this Ezekiel 37:15-28 definitely and conclusively points. Said Scriptural section surely recognizes, by clear implication, the survival of the incorrectly-de-

[11] II Kgs. 17:24–32

[12] Ezek. 1:1–3, et al.

signated "ten lost tribes of Israel" as part of the captivity during the prophet's life.

It is well, therefore, for the purpose here in hand, to interpret with care the prophecy of the Thirty-seventh Chapter as bearing on this point. The prophet is told to take one stick of wood and write upon it, "For Judah and the children of Israel, his companions." He then takes up another piece of wood and writes upon it, "For Joseph, the wood of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel, his companions" (v. 16). Mark, in the first instance, the significance of the phrase, "the children of Israel, his companions." It can refer only to Benjamin, the additional tribe making up the pre-exilic kingdom of Judah, and not to other tribes; whereas "all the house of Israel, his companions," found in connection with Joseph and Ephraim, must allude to all the other tribes in the destroyed kingdom of Israel, known, as a whole, either as Joseph or Ephraim, the name of merely one, and that, too, the largest of the ten tribes.

True it is, that the phrases, "the children of Israel," and "the house of Israel," are frequently used interchangeably and synonymously by the prophets, including Ezekiel, who lived during the decline of the two kingdoms and during the planning as well as the construction of the Second Commonwealth. However, in the chapter before us, Ezekiel certainly differentiates between the connotations of these two phrases, applying, as it were, by way of explanation, "children of Israel" to Judah's tribal associates, and "the house of Israel" to Ephraim's tribal followers. Besides historical inferences, ample testimony in contemporaneous and subsequent Biblical as well as post-Biblical literature can be furnished to prove the justice of the assumption, that the ten tribes survived their deportation and settlement in Assyria.

The Thirty-seventh Chapter of Ezekiel is not the only intimation made by this prophet, that in his day the ten tribes were still in existence. Note also passages dealing with the redistribution of the land among the tribes.[13]

Already, Hosea, who must have realized that the division

[13] Ezek. 45:8; 47:13, 21, 22, 23; 48:1, 19, 23, 29, 31.

of the kingdom would be the downfall of both houses, and that their union alone would become the cause of the reconstruction and security, said:

ונקבצו בני יהודה ובני־ישראל יחדו ושמו להם ראש אחד ועלו מן־הארץ כי גדול יום יזרעאל:

"Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel. Hos. 2:2. This passage has particular bearing on our point because it is, on account of Hosea's activity, restricted to Israel, regarded a later addition to the text, and treats, as is evident, of a time when Judah, like Israel; had been already destroyed. (Vide Marti. "Hand Kommentar zum Alten Testament").

Interesting, it is, to observe, that Jeremiah uses the phrase, "the house of Israel",[14] apparently to designate the northern kingdom, when he remarks: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah," leading us, naturally, to the inference, that at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation of Judeans to Babylonia, Ephraim, the house of Israel, must have been a separate entity in the Assyro-Babylonian Empire

The second Isaiah, too, must have felt convinced of the survival of the descendants of both kingdoms. Otherwise he should not have said: "It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up *the tribes of Jacob* and to restore the preserved of Israel.[15]

Zechariah harks back to the prophecy of Ezekiel, when Zechariah says: "And it shall come to pass, that as ye were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah and house of Israel: so I will save you, and ye shall be a blessing: fear not, but let your hands be strong. Zech 8:13. Should it be astonishing if we had here telling testimony that the survival of Ephraim as "house of Israel" is fact which Zechariah endeavors

[14] Jer. 31:31.

[15] Is. 49:6.

to present along with the assurance of the survival of the house of Judah?

This is acknowledged to be the proper interpretation of the Zechariah possage as suggested by Marti in his "Hand Kommentar zum Alten Testament." Note also Zech. 10:6–12, which, irrespective of tne date assigned to this section, shows that the descendants of Ephraim must have existed in Zechariah's time. Else, the prophet who wrote these lines should not have spoken of the return of Joseph, or Ephraim, together with Judah.

It should be noted that, as the phrase "the house of Israel" is used by the prophets when they speak of Ephraim, so is the phrase "children of Israel" repeatedly employed by them when they have in mind Judah. By way of example might be cited Jeremiah 32:30 and 56:33, et al.

In the introduction to the Apocryphal Book of Tobit, we have the statement, "The Book of the words of Tobit, the son of Tobiel, the son of Hananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, the son of Raphael, of the seed of Asiel, of the tribe of Naphtali: who in the days of Shalmanezer, King of the Assyrians, was carried away captive out of Thisbe," etc.

According to this statement Tobit is represented as belonging to Naphtali, undoubtedly still recognized in the seventh generation following the destruction of Samaria.

Explaining Leviticus 26:38, "And ye shall perish ואבדתם among the heathens, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up," Rabbi Akibah (135 C. E.) says that ואבדתם "ye shall perish" refers, literally, to the destruction of the ten tribes; while others assert, that it alludes to Israel's dispersion throughout the neighboring places of the exile.

ואבדתם בגוים ר' ע' אומר אלו עשרת שבטים שגלו למדי ואחרים אומרים אין אבדתם אלא גולה:[16]

The latter opinion is shared by the Jewish savants of the fourth century, who reported that the deported Israelites were distributed in three directions.[17]

[16] Sifra 8, § 46.

[17] Vide Jer. Sanh., Ch. 10, 6, p. 29, col. 3.

Although חברא and אחא are synonymous, signifying "allies," it should be remarked, that Targum advisedly reads אַחַיהוֹן, when translating the Hebrew חבריו, both in connection with ליוסף עץ אפרים וכל בית ישראל and ליהודה ולבני ישראל (v.16), and as later justified in the reading וחבריו ביד אפרים ושבטי ישראל (v.19).

Rabbinical commentators of the Bible also seem to acknowledge, that in Ezekiel's day the people of Ephraim could no more have been absorbed by their conquerors than were the people of Judah. Rashi, interpreting the one stick on which was written "For Judah and the children of Israel," says:

עץ זה ליהודה ולשבט בנימין שנלוה עליו

"This stick is for Judah and the tribe of Benjamin, which was allied with it"; while, in explanation of the other stick on which was inscribed "For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim",[18] "and all the house of Israel," Rashi remarks:

זה ליוסף עץ אפרים ושאר תשעה שבטים שהיו אחרי ירבעם שהיו משבט אפרים.

"This one is for Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and all the house of Israel and the remaining nine tribes who supported Jeraboam." The same belief is substantially expressed by Kimchi.

Why Ezekiel reckoned with the old division in the face of a united Jewish community, can easily be conjectured. Ezekiel, by divine command, brought the pieces of wood together so that they were one in his hand, and then is told, that, if the people should ask what this peculiar procedure means, he is to inform them, that, as the pieces of wood were made one,[19] so *the two former kingdoms should become one kingdom.*[20]

[18] Here of course עץ אפרים is obviously a gloss to ליוסף in order to parallel ליהודה ולבני ישראל.

[19] Ehrlich suggests on Verse 17 the change of the impossible reading לאחרים in the text to לאחד to correspond to לעץ אחד in Verse 19. (Vide. Ehrlich "Randglossen zur Hebraischen Bibel." Vol. 5, p. 137).

[20] Toy, in his notes to "The English Translation of the Book of Ezekiel of the Polychrome Bible" (1899), says: "The significance of this symbolic act is not the restoration of the genealogical oneness of the two branches of the nation (for this had never ceased to exist), but their political reunion" (p. 172).

This thought is further accentuated in Verse 21, where we read: "Thus saith the Lord Eternal, behold I will take the children of Israel from among the *nations* whither they have *gone*, and I will gather them from every side and bring them unto their own land." The words "*the nations*," here employed, can refer only to Assyria and Babylonia, of which Assyria had become an integral part in Ezekiel's days. It cannot signify other nations, for the Israelites are not known at this time to have resided in appreciable numbers elsewhere than in these two countries.

Mark that in Verse 21 Onkelos reads, instead of הלכו שם "whither they have gone," דְאִתְגְלִיאוּ לְתַמָּן "whither they have been exiled." According to the implied contention of Targum, to what else could Ezekiel have referred but to all of the original districts where the exiles of both the northern and southern kingdoms were made to take up their abodes; more particularly since in this passage בני ישראל "children of Israel," no longer as in Verse 16, signifies the people of the kingdom of Judah, but, as in the time prior to the division under Rehabam 933 B. C., and as the context proves, refers to the survivors of all the twelve tribes. Who knows but that in Verse 21, perhaps, כל בית ישראל "the whole house of Israel," may have accidentally dropped out?

Moreover, unless Ezekiel had to reckon both with the descendants of the kingdom of Israel and the descendants of the kingdom of Judah, what need should there have been for the prophet's words. "And I will make them into one nation in the land on the mountains of Israel"[21] "and one king shall be to them all for king; and they shall not be any more two nations, nor shall they at any time be divided into two kingdoms any more." (v.22). Ezekiel meant to assert in unmistabable terms, that, as originally all the tribes were known as one kingdom with but one ruler, so the reunion of the descendants of the kingdom of Israel, consisting of ten tribes, and the kingdom of

[21] May not the prophet here have had in mind the mountains in which Ephraim and Judah prided themselves as repective means of mutual defense?

Judah, comprising but two, into one domain, under one and the same monarch, was regarded a *conditio sine qua non* for the public weal.

Ezekiel understood human nature as it expresses itself both in the individual and the group. He tried to warn the people against allowing differences and prejudices to sway them. For the sake of the well-being of all of Israel, Ezekiel did not wish to see the old parties take sides against one another. He knew, that, with a house divided against itself, the continuance of the community soon to be restored was impossible. Contention between dynasties had to terminate. Only one dynasty—the legitimate dynasty of David—was to be recognized. "One shepherd shall be for them all" (for Judah and Ephraim) (v.24). Above all, "the defiling idols," with their detestable things and with all the transgressions mentioned in Verse 23 and no doubt referring to the gross fetichism of the kingdom of Israel, in which the worship of Baal and Astarte was officially practiced at Dan and Bethel, had to be abandoned. To these Ephraim was never again to resort.

The emendation which Ehrlich would make in Verse 23 is not only interesting but warranted. Already, as he points out, Symmachus felt that מושבתיהם "their dwelling-places" was a mistake and that it ought to read משובתיהם. Since however משובתיהם is not used elsewhere by Ezekiel, Ehrlich does not agree to the changed reading of Symmachus from מושבתיהם to משובתיהם even though Bertholet, in Marti's "Hand Kommentar zum Alten Testament," makes the change in accordance with Symmachus. Ehrlich, in the spirit of the thought here developed, would have us read תועבתיהם "their abominations," so that Verse 23 should be rendered, "And I will save them from all their abominations with which they have sinned."

Both Ephraim and Judah, the one as well as the other, were to walk in God's ordinances, and "keep and observe and do His statutes" (v. 24). According to the covenant, which should exist between God and His people, the posterity of Jacob would hold its own, as the prophet claims, in the land promised the patriarch. It was thus, that posterity's numbers should be

increased and its sanctification be recognized (vv. 26 and 27).[22]

In fact, Ezekiel 37:15–18, though of one piece and capable of separate interpretation, may be regarded a further elaboration of the specific thought contained in Ezekiel 37:1–14. When, in the famous vision of the Valley of Bones, it is remarked, "Son of Man, these bones are the whole house of Israel" (v.11), to be resurrected and rehabilitated, what else can "the whole house of Israel" mean but Judah and the ten tribes combined?

However, the distinction between Ezekiel 37:1–14 and Ezekiel 37:15–28 should be marked. Ezekiel 37:1–14 refers to the promise of the construction of the Second Commonwealth; while Ezekiel 37:15–28 indicates the means for the continuance of the Commonwealth. The one section as well as the other can easily lead to the conclusion, that, despite the claim so frequently set up, that ten tribes were lost, Ezekiel may be presumed not to have known them as lost, but may be, in accordance with his prophecy, declared as recognizing the ten tribes still existing and resident with the exiles of Judah under the protection of Babylonia. On the basis of the study of this Biblical cryptogram, if it may be called such, may it not be inferred, that the ten tribes are not to be regarded as having been assimilated among many and various races in the four corners of the earth, but are to be found absorbed, together with Judah and Benjamin, in modern Jewry?

[22]Once more Ehrlich furnishes in this connection a most valuable suggestion. On the basis of the Targum, he would change in V. 26 וְנָתַתִּם to וּבֵרַכְתִּם; so that the text would read; "I will bless them and increase them" etc.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TENSES FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PSALMS

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1. The Precative Perfect

FOR THE ACCURATE INTERPRETATION of any piece of Semitic literature, it is generally understood that a thorough knowledge of the tenses is of prime importance. Tenses, in our sense of the term are, of course, unknown in the Semitic languages. This is seen at once from the very ter ns, Perfect and Imperfect, used to designate the two so-called tenses. In the first place, both the perfect and imperfect are unlimited as to time. The perfect indicates action that has been perfected—either perfected in reality, as an action that has transpired or been concluded,[1] or a state of affairs that has come to exist;[2]

[1] The use of the perfect to denote past action as commonly conceived requires no illustration. "Concluded" has, however, for the Semite a wider meaning than it has for us. He views as concluded an action that is simultaneous with the announcement of it, where we are accustomed to use the present: for example, Gen. 14.22 הרימותי ידי אל יהוה אל עליון "I lift up my hand to the Lord, God Most High" (to affirm), and not, as customarily translated, "I have lifted up"; or ib. 23.11 השדה נתתי לך והמערה אשר בו לך נתתיה לעיני בני עמי נתתיה לך "I give thee the field, also the cave therein I give unto thee: in the presence of the sons of my people do I give it to thee." This explains also such cases as Ps. 10.11 אמר בלבו "He says (or reflects) in his heart."

[2] Two cases are to be differentiated: (1) The use of the perfect to describe a state of mind, which in English is expressed by the present: for example, Ps. 11.1 ביהוה חסיתי "I take refuge in God"; similarly ib. 26.1 אני בתמי הלכתי וביהוה בטחתי "I walk in innocence and trust in God," which the RV. inconsistently renders with the first perfect; or ib. 1.1 אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים לא עמד ובמושב לצים לא ישב "Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the wicked, nor abideth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the company of scoffers." (2) It is used to describe an existing condition or a state of affairs, where English uses sometimes the present and sometimes the first perfect: for example, (a) Ps. 2.1 למה רגשו גוים "Why are the nations

or perfected in thought, as an action that is conceived of as sure to happen (the so-called prophetic perfect),[3] or thought of as inevitable (the perfect of certitude).[4] The imperfect, on the other hand, indicates action that has not been perfected: it is used to depict action as progressing (the imperfect of progressive duration), for example, Is. 6.4 הבית ימלא עשן "The Temple became more and more filled with smoke," in contrast to I Ki. 8.10 הענן מלא את בית יהוה "The cloud filled the Temple." The imperfect is also used to denote action that is of customary or periodic occurrence;[5] and finally it is used to denote prospective or future action.

Compared with the highly developed tense system of the Aryan languages, the Semitic tense system must seem most rudimentary. Yet in the hands of the biblical writers this limited instrument becomes a flexible and adequate medium, enabling them to express the nicest shades of meaning and the most subtle distinctions quite as effectively as Greek or Sanskrit authors are able to do with the more varied verb forms

in uproar "; ib. 3.7 אשר סביב שחו עלי "That round about are set against me;" ib. 10.11 הסתיר פניו "He hideth his face;" (b) ib. שכח אל "God hath forgotten;" ib. 22.2 אלי אלי למה עזבתני "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me."

[3] Cf. Is. 5.13 לכן גלה עמי "Therefore, my people must go into exile;" למענכם שלחתי בבלה והורדתי בריחים כלם 43.14 "For your sake I will send (him) to Babylon, and I will chase them all downstream as fugitives." 44.42 כי גאלתיך "For I will redeem thee." Jer 13.17 נשבה עדר יהוה "The flock of the Lord is led away captive." 15.9 אמללה ילדת השבעה נפחה נפשה באה שמשה בעוד יומם "She that hath given birth to seven fadeth away, she breatheth out her life, her sun setteth in broad daylight."

In the category of prophetic perfects belong also promises put in the mouth of God, for example, Joshua 1.3 לכם נתתיו "I will give it unto you."

[4] Cf. Numb. 17.2 הן גוענו אבדנו כלנו אבדנו "We must die, we must perish, we must all perish!" Is. 6.5 אוי לי כי נדכיתי "Woe unto me, I must die!" Jer. 4.13 אוי לנו כי שדדנו "Woe unto us, we are undone!"

[5] Cf. Sam. 18.5 ויצא דוד בכל אשר ישלחנו שאול ישכיל "David went forth successfully whithersoever Saul sent him" (ישכיל is a circumstantial clause); I Ki. 5.25 כה יתן שלמה לחירם שנה בשנה "So much Solomon gave Hiram every year;" Job 1.5 ככה יעשה איוב כל הימים "Thus would Job do at all times;" Ps. 1.3 והיה כעץ שתול על פלגי מים אשר פריו יתן בעתו ועלהו לא יבול וכל אשר יעשה יצליח. "He is like a tree planted by streams of water, which bringeth forth its fruit in season, and the foliage of which doth not wither; whatever he doeth prospereth."

at their disposal. If these distinctions are often lost for us, the fault lies altogether with the translators who have failed to perceive them. An excellent illustration—one of the many that might be cited—is the opening verse of Deutero-Isaiah נחמו נחמו עמי יאמר אלהיכם — יאמר אלהיכם is rendered by all the translators, old and modern alike, "Says your God", although invariably, when any prophet merely wishes to say that he is speaking in the name of God, he uses, not the imperfect, but the perfect: אמר יהוה—יאמר אלהיכם is a nice case of the imperfect of progressive duration; an accurate translation would be: "Speaks ever more clearly your God." Nothing could be more significant, more in harmony with the general drift of Isaiah 40–55, than this imperfect of progressive duration. By it Deutero-Isaiah, at the very opening of his prophecies, aims to bring out the thought that God is speaking, revealing Himself, through contemporaneous events—through the rise and victories of Cyrus. I shall illustrate this function of the imperfect by one or two other examples: Gen. 2.6 אד יעלה מן הארץ "The mist lifted from the earth;" the use of the imperfect of progressive duration finds its explanation in the very nature of the phenomenon, that the mist lifts in layers. (This process can plainly be seen from the mountain top). Or take Job 16.13f., where Job in highly poetic language describes how he has been stricken by God with a fatal disease: יסבו עלי רביו יפלח כליותי ולא יחמל ישפך לארץ מררתי יפרצני פרץ על פני פרץ ירץ עלי כגבור "His missiles have rained upon me, He hath struck my reins mercilessly, hath poured my gall upon the ground. Blow upon blow He hath dealt me, He hath rushed upon me like a warrior." The customary rendering of the imperfects in these verses with the present is inaccurate: they are imperfects of progressive duration, and as such are descriptive of the nature of the disease from which Job was suffering. A person stricken with elephantiasis actually dies by inches: the members of the body rot away, and drop off one by one.

In the second place, the Semitic finite verb is equivocal as to modality, just as is the nominal sentence, which frequently expresses a wish or an imprecation: for example, Ps. 3.9 על עמך ברכתך "May Thy blessing be granted unto Thy people;" or

Ps. 83.2 אלהים אל דמי לך "Keep not quiet, O God!" or II Sam. 1.21 הרי בגלבע אל טל ואל מטר עליכם "Mountains of Gilboa, let not dew or rain fall upon you." And the Semitic finite verb, it is for our purposes important to note, was primarily a nominal clause. Now as far as the imperfect is concerned, its function as subjunctive or optative, and also its capacity to signify diverse other modalities, which in the Aryan languages are expressed by auxiliaries, are too well known to require further discussion.[6] As far, however, as the perfect is concerned, the fact that it is equivocal as to modality has, at least in Hebrew grammar, by no means received the emphasis it deserves. Leaving out of question for the present the precative perfect, which will occupy us later, I shall, to substantiate my point, refer merely to the use of the perfect in hypothetical sentences, and in sentences expressing a wish that cannot be realized or that has not as yet been realized. As to the perfect in hypothetical sentences, cf. for example, Judg. 8.19 לו החיתם אותם לא הרגתי אתכם "If ye had let them live, I should not slay you;" Gen. 43.10 לולי התמהמהנו כי עתה שבנו זה פעמים "Had we not tarried, verily we might now be back a second time." As to the perfect in

[6] Examples of this function of the imperfect are: I Sam 14.43 הנני אמות "Must I die?" while in verse 45 היונתן ימות means "Shall Jonathan die?" II Sam. 3.33 הכמות נבל ימות אבנר "Had Abner to die like a vile man?" II Ki. 13.14 ואלישע חלה את חליו אשר ימות בו וירד אליו יואש "When Elijah fell ill of the sickness from which he was to die, Joash went down to him." Job 9.29 אנכי ארשע "I needs must stand condemned." Ib. v. 13 אלה לא ישיב אפו "God need not restrain His wrath." Ps. 56.5 מה יעשה בשר לי "What can flesh do unto me?" Jer. 24.2 תאנים רעות מאד אשר לא תאכלנה מרע "Very bad figs unfit to eat." Job. 10.15 לא אשא ראשי "I may not lift up my head." Ib. 11.15 כי אז תשא פניך מטום...ולא תירא "Surely, then mightst thou lift up thy head without harm....and mightst fear no more." Ib. 9.14 אף כי אנכי אעננו אבחרה דברי עמו "How much less could I answer Him, should I know how to choose my words before Him?" I Sam. 20.5 אנכי ישב אשב עם המלך לאכל "I am expected without fail to sit with the king at meat." Am. 3.3 הילכו שנים יחדיו בלתי אם נועדו "Are two men likely to journey together, except they have met by agreement?" Job 13.15 אך דרכיו אל פניו אוכיח "Only my conduct I desire to justify to His face." Jer. 12.1 צדיק אתה יהוה כי אריב אליך אך משפטים אדבר אותך "*Absolutely* righteous art Thou, O God, even though I venture to dispute with Thee—Yet of a question of justice I desire to speak unto Thee." From the examples quoted it will be seen that the context can be our only guide in determining the modality expressed by the imperfect in any given case.

a wish that is past realization or the realization of which is deferred, cf. Num. 14.2 לו מתנו בארץ מצרים "Would that we might have died in the land of Egypt;" Is. 63.19 לו קרעת שמים ירדת מפניך הרים נזלו "O that Thou mightest rend the heavens, that Thou mightest come down, that the mountains might shake at Thy presence." Even with מי יתן the perfect may be used the same way: cf. Job 23.2 (ואמצאהו) מי יתן ידעתי "O that I might know (how to find Him)." The case is analogous to the use of Arabic *laiṭa* with the perfect to express a wish past realization: for example, *jā laiṭanā kad mitnā*, "O that we had died," Tab. Ib, 536, 5, p. 55. Attention must be drawn to the fact that in the example מי יתן ידעתי from Job, the wish that immediately follows אבוא עד תכונתו (likewise depending on מי יתן) is expressed by the imperfect. The precative perfect proper, we shall see later, is invariably found alternating with the imperfect or the imperative: it is by this outward sign that the precative perfect may be unfailingly detected. A similar alternation of the perfect and imperfect marks the use of the prophetic perfect: it is a sure sign by which true prophecies may be distinguished from *vaticinia post eventum*.[7]

As I started out by saying, in interpreting Semitic texts the specific force of the tenses employed must be ascertained, or the chances are there will be more or less serious misunderstanding. As far as biblical literature is concerned, the Psalms more than any other text have suffered from the neglect of this most important point of Semitic syntax. They have suffered particularly from the persistent refusal of the exegetes to reckon with the precative perfect. In consequence, in the case of many Psalms, the meaning has been quite obscured, the different parts of one and the same Psalm, as at present translated, often being inconsistent, sometimes downright contradictory.

Indeed, this is far too mild a statement of the case. There are even four instances where, in order to uphold the prevailing view, the perfect has by a number of scholars been arbitrarily emended to the imperfect or imperative. These instances are:

[7] I treated this point more fully in the article "Where Did Deutero-Isaiah Live?" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXVIII, pp. 102ff.

עניתני of Ps. 22.22,[8] כי מכל צרה הצילני and ובאיבי ראתה עיני of Ps. 54.9,[9] and פדה בשלום נפשי of Ps. 55.19,[10] in all of which there is no getting around the fact that by the perfects a wish or entreaty is expressed. In other instances, in order to remove, to a certain extent, the contradiction carried into the Psalm in question, translations are given that are contrary to all rules; for example, קולי אל יהוה אקרא of Ps. 3.5 and אליך יהוה אקרא ואל אדני אתחנן of Ps. 30.9 are translated respectively: "Loudly I called unto Yahweh," and "I cried to Thee, O Yahweh, unto Yahweh I made supplication," although in neither of the passages are אקרא and אתחנן imperfects of reiterated or customary action, or of progressive duration. Nor does either of the verses form a conditional sentence. The arbitrariness of such a procedure is the more conspicuous, since אקרא in Ps. 3.5 is correctly translated as present even by some of those scholars who translate אקרא and אתחנן of Ps. 30.9 as past tenses.[11] The RV. likewise translates אקרא and אתחנן of Ps. 30.9 "I cried" and "I made supplication", but in Luther one would search in vain for such an elementary mistake or such inconsistency. Luther translates Ps. 3.5 "Ich rufe an den Herrn", and 30.9 "Ich will, Herr, rufen zu dir; dem Herrn will ich flehen."

On a par with this interpretation is the well-nigh unanimous assumption of biblical scholars that the perfects of Ps. 3.8, 4.2

[8] B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen* (1899) and Buhl, in Kittel *Biblia Hebraica*, emend עזרני, while Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* (1898), Briggs, *The Book of Psalms* (I. C. C.), 1906, Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, (KAT), 1914, emend עֲנִיתִי, and Buhl in *op. cit.* gives this emendation first choice.

[9] Street, *The Psalms* (1790) and Briggs, op. cit.

[10] Duhm, *op. cit.*, Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, Buhl, in *op. cit.*, Kittel, *op. cit.*

[11] Briggs, *op. cit.*, and Kautsch, in *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*[3], translate the former as well as the latter as past tenses, while Franz Delitzsch, *Die Psalmen* (1883), Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (1897), Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, Kittel, *op. cit.*, translate only the latter as past. Duhm, *op. cit.*, also translates the imperfects Ps. 30.9 as past tenses, and 3.5 he translates as if it were a conditional sentence. The entire instance but shows that a standard Hebrew syntax is still a desideratum. Brockelmann's *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen*, authoritative as it is on the syntax of the other Semitic languages, has not appreciably advanced our knowledge of Hebrew syntax for the reason that Brockelmann, in his treatment of Hebrew syntax, relies principally on the works of others.

and 8, 61.4 and 6, and 85.1–4 have the force of pluperfects. They explain that, in the people's present affliction, the Psalmist recalls God's wondrous delivery of them in the past. But is it conceivable that any sane writer, when turning from the gloom of the present to the glory of the past, should fail to indicate the change of scene, and just leave it to his readers to divine his meaning? We may be sure that the Hebrew writers of old were governed by the same rules of elementary logic and common sense that govern present day authors. If one had any doubt of this fact, one would only have to glance at Ps. 77 or Ps. 44 to be convinced. In the former the Psalmist's retrospect reads:

"I think of the days of old, of the years that are long past;
I will recall the deeds of God, yea, the wonders of old will I recall;"

and in the latter:

"With our ears we have heard, our fathers have told us
Of the deeds Thou didst in their time, in the days of old."

But I can give even more convincing proof. Surprising though it may seem, I can quote an exponent of the opposite view to bear me out, for Baethgen, who in the case of Ps. 3.8, 4.2, 8, and 85.1–4 states positively that the perfects have the force of pluperfects, declares quite as emphatically in the case of Ps. 61.4, 6 that the perfects cannot be taken as pluperfects. He says, "It is not permissible to refer the perfects, היית and שמעת and נתת to the past," and in connection with the former, היית מחסה לי, adds that "the interpretation, 'Thou wert a refuge for me *formerly*', is inadmissible, since for the expression of such a thought בימי קדם or a similar phrase would be indispensable."[12]

Why the exegetes and the majority of Hebrew grammarians should have tried to reason the precative perfect in Hebrew out of existence is hard to understand, unless they were unconsciously bent on upholding the traditional interpretation of the Psalms. They assumed that the precative perfect is limited to Arabic; the fact that it is equally common in Aramaic seems to have escaped their notice. It is found in Syriac, in Mandaic, and also in the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud, as Nöldeke

[12] *Op. cit.* pp. 9, 260, and 181.

has pointed out in both his *Mandäische Grammatik* (p. 369) and *Syrische Grammatik* (§ 260), and again in *Zur Grammatik des Classischen Arabisch* (p. 66, note 2). In these Aramaic dialects the precative perfect occurs in the same way as in Arabic, that is to say, it is used to express a wish, a curse, an urgent request or entreaty. In proof I shall quote the following examples: (1) from Syriac, *hwaṯ ḥltm* "Farewell!" with which the Peshitta renders Greek ἔρρωσο, the usual formula in closing a letter, as Acts 23.30, *et alit.*; *hwaṯōn 'āhdṯn* "Remember!" Hebr. 13.7; *sab ṭa'nā wahwaṯ lā'eṭ aṅt lī*, "Assume the burden and curse me!" Sim. 316 *ult.*; *hwāt ḫshībā'*, "May she be esteemed," Addai 44 *ult.*; *lā' hwāt mā'nā' lan*, "let us not flag," with which the Peshitta renders Greek μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν Gal. 6.9; (2) from Mandaic, מן פיתה "O that someone might open it,"; מן אסקן "O that someone might lead me up;" and the often recurring curse pronounced over the Moslems, אראב אלמא עלאואיהון ובאטלה מאנדא דהייא לרוגזאיהון "May the world come to an end for them and may Manda de Haija put out their wrath;" (3) and finally from the Babylonian Talmud the curse recommended in Pesaḥim, 110a-b, as a charm against witches, קרח קרחייכי פרח פרחייכי איבדור תבלונייכי זיקא למוריקא חדתא דנקטיתו "May your baldness increase, may the wind carry off your crumbs (with which you conjure), may your concoctions be spilled, may the wind carry off the newly blossomed crocus that you hold in your hand." Nöldeke ascribes the curse quoted from the Mandaic to the influence of the Arabic, but I do not share this opinion. I am inclined to think that Nöldeke himself, in the light of the examples from the Syriac and particularly of the curse from the Babylonian Talmud, to which he draws attention in his later works, would no longer uphold his earlier view.

It must further be noted that the precative perfect is in no wise limited to classical Arabic, but that it has maintained itself in the Arabic dialects up to the present day. Socin, in his *Diwan aus Central Arabien*, III, p. 230, points out as a sure example of the Central Arabian dialect—an example which cannot be traced to the classical language—:*'ọlīt* "Live" or "Fare you well," 63, 17.32. And what is still more important,

the precative perfect is very common also in old North-Arabic. As Lidzbarski has pointed out, in the Safaitic inscriptions published by E. Littman[13] and by Dussaud and Macler,[14] it occurs far more frequently than the editors were aware, being used to express both wishes and curses. Of the examples quoted by Lidzbarski, I shall mention: *ʿallātti luʿina ḏū ḥabala*, "Allat! Cursed be he who destroys this;" *ʿaḥruḏi ʿaʿira ḏū ʿuʿaʿiru*, "Ruda! Blind be he who robs this one of his sight;" *hāʾğadda ʿaʿīḏin raʿiḥa man saʾira ʿasalima*, "Tyche-Awid! May he that remains here find respite and farewell."[15]

The arbitrariness of ignoring the precative perfect in Hebrew is the more apparent when it is remembered that Hebrew shares with all other Semitic languages the use of the perfect to express a wish that cannot be realized, or that has not as yet been realized—a use which is closely related to that of the precative perfect, or which probably developed out of it.

Like the prophetic perfect, the precative perfect is but another variety of the perfect of certitude. Its origin is primarily to be explained by the belief of the primitive man in the magic power of the word. The primitive man reasoned that if he spoke of his wish as already fulfilled, its fulfillment was bound to follow. In the more advanced stages of religious development, the precative perfect was no doubt considered particularly suitable for professing faith in God and expressing the assurance that one's prayer would be answered. This accounts for the fact that the precative perfect is used with particular frequency in the Psalms. It occurs in them to a far greater extent than even Ewald[16] and Böttcher[17] thought, the two scholars who were the first to recognize the existence of the precative perfect in Hebrew.

But although biblical scholars in general persistently rejected the view of Ewald and Böttcher, they were unsuccessful

[13] *Semitic Inscriptions.*

[14] *Missions Dans Les Régions Désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne* par Réné Dussaud avec la Collaboration de Frédérick Macler, Paris, 1903.

[15] See *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, II, p. 347.

[16] *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache* (1870), §203b.

[17] *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache* (1866–68) §939g, §947g.

in ruling out the precative perfect. As a matter of fact, they were compelled to recognize it in certain cases, although then they gave it another name. Thus Baethgen calls the perfects שמעת of Ps. 61.4 and נתת . . . . and היית מחסה לי 6 *perfecta confidentiae*, while עניתני of Ps. 22.22, פדיתה אותי of 31.6, פדה בשלום נפשי of 55.19, פדיתה of 71.23, and כי בשו and כי חפרו of the following verse, as also the four perfects of 102.17–18, and, finally, the curse נפלו בתוכה of 57.7 he labels *perfecta der Gewissheit*, using both terms, as his remarks show, in identically the same sense.[18] Briggs, in his turn, rightly translates and interprets as a curse the perfects of Ps. 83.11 נשמדו בעין דאר היו דמן לאדמה "Let them perish as at Endor, let them be as the dung on the ground," though he fails to tell how they come to be so used.[19]

Just a word or two on the precative perfect in the other Old Testament books and how it has fared in these at the hands of the exegetes. The precative perfect ועיני ראו "That mine eyes may see Him," of the famous passage Job 19.25–27 is most appropriate, fitting excellently with Job's burst of faith in these verses. Yet Budde, in his commentary, and Beer, in Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, emended it to יראו. The other example in Job, עצת רשעים רחקה מני "Far be from me the view of the wicked,"(21.16) they left, however, untouched. כל הגוים נקבצו יחדיו "Let all the nations assemble," of Is. 43.9 has been emended by Gesenius-Kautzsch[20] and many others to יִקָּבְצוּ. on the strength of יאספו of the parallel member. But as I pointed out before, the precative perfect is as a rule found alternating either with the imperfect or the imperative, and it is by this alternation that we are able to recognize it. A clear case of the precative perfect in narrative literature is Ruth 3.9 ופרשת כנפך על אמתך "Spread out thy wing over thy maidservant," since the preceding ותאמר אנכי רות אמתך "And she said I am Ruth thy maidservant," does not fall under any of the categories according to which ופרשת could be classed as perfect with *waw conversivum*.

[18] See *op. cit. ad loc.*

[19] See *op. cit.* II, pp. 218 and 221

[20] See *Hebräische Grammatik*[28], §106, n, note 2.

The statement made above that the Psalms have suffered particularly from the persistent refusal of the exegetes to reckon with the precative perfect, may best be illustrated by contrasting the customary translation of a few of the Psalms that come in question with the correct translation as demanded by the precative perfect.

Psalm 3

No lengthy analysis is needed to ascertain the specific function of the perfects הכית and שברת of v. 7b. Not only the sense of vv. 2–6, but also the imperatives קומה and הושיעני of the first part of v. 7, show that they must be precative perfects. The translation of the Psalm is as follows:

1. O Lord, how numerous have become mine enemies!
   Many are they that rise up against me.
2. Many are they that say of me,
   'No help will come to him from God.'
3. Yet Thou, O Lord, art my shield,
   Thou art my glory—Thou wilt exalt me.[21]
4. I cry aloud[22] unto God,
   He will answer me from His holy mountain.
5. When I lie down to sleep,
   I shall awake,[23] for the Lord sustaineth me.
6. I fear not the myriads of people
   That round about are set against me.

[21] Like נשא ראש Gen. 40.13, II Ki. 25.27, מרים ראש means "to exalt one"; cf. Ps. 110.7. מרים is potential participle and as such may have either the meaning given above or may be translated instead, "Thine is the power to exalt me." In regard to the potential participle, cf. my *Book of Job* pp. 148, note 1, 176, 185, 256, 275, 348, note 4.

[22] The adverbial accusative קולי is ellipsis for קול גדול. Cf. the ellipsis in the Greek, *φωνῇ* "aloud", Iliad 3. 161.

[23] אני שכבתי ואישנה הקיצותי are not coordinate clauses, but a temporal sentence with the perfect in both protasis and apodosis. Temporal and conditional sentences are often formed alike in Hebrew, just as in the other Semitic languages. כי in Hebrew is both temporal and conditional conjunction, just as *iḏa*, *ḏa* in Arabic are used as conditional as well as temporal conjunctions (see below). ואישנה is not coordinate with שכבתי, but dependent on it, being a purpose clause formed with the imperfect with *waw consecutivum*.

7. Rise, O Lord, help me, O my God!
   Yea, smite all mine enemies upon the cheek,
   Break the teeth of the wicked.
8. In God's hand is the victory;
   May Thy blessing be granted unto Thy people.[24]

Psalm 4

That הרחבת of v. 1 must be a precative perfect follows from the fact that it is directly preceded as well as directly followed by an imperative. Accordingly, נתתה of v. 7 must also be precative perfect.

1. When I call, answer me, Thou O God, who wilt right me![25]
   Give Thou breadth and freedom[26] unto me in my distress!
   Have mercy on me and hear my prayer!
2. Fellowmen,[27] how long shall my honor be disgraced?
   How long will ye love vanity, pursue falsehood?
3. Know ye that God will manifest His love unto me[28] most wondrously
   When I call unto Him.
4. Stand ye in awe and sin not!
   Commune with your hearts when on your bed; submit in silence.[29]
5. Make sacrifices for righteousness' sake[30] and trust in God,
6. Even though many are saying,[31] 'Who will ever again make us see happiness?'

[24] The customary translation, "victory" or "salvation", ignores the article of הישועה. The nominal clause על עמך ברכתך expresses a wish (see above).

[25] צדקי is verbal noun, referring in this case to the future. The suffix is objective suffix.

[26] הרחבת expresses two ideas—to make the country free and to promote its growth.

[27] בני איש denotes fellow citizens: cf. 49.3 where the expression is used as antithesis to בני אדם, "men," meaning men in the general sense.

[28] Instead of חסיד לו, read, in accordance with Ps. 31.22, חסדו לי.

[29] Cf. Ps. 62.2, 6; also Lev. 10.3.

[30] צדק is qualificative genetive, like מוסר שלומנו "Chastisement which brought salvation to us," Is. 53.5.

[31] Verses 5 and 6a form a concessive sentence, the protasis of which, that is, v. 6a, consists of a participial phrase, and the apodosis, of an imperative.

Show unto us,[32] O Lord, the light of Thy countenance!
7. Give joy unto my heart—
Greater joy than men feel when grain and wine abound!
8. I will lie down and sleep in peace,
For Thou alone, O God, canst make me dwell in safety.

Psalm 30

The clue to the function of the perfect in the first three verses and again in verse 11 is furnished by verses 9–10. To speak first about the last verse, verse 10: שמע יהוה וחנני יי׳ היה עזר לי "Hear me, O God, and have mercy on me!. O Lord, be Thou my helper!" admits of one interpretation only—the Psalmist prays to God for deliverance from distress. And this being the case, אליך יהוה אקרא ואל אדני אתחנן, v. 8, can have no other meaning than, "To Thee, O God, I call; to the Lord I pray." As a matter of fact, this translation, as I stated above, is demanded also by the use of the imperfect. Now the prayer the Psalmist offers up in verse 9, מה בצע בדמי ברדתי אל שחת "What would be the gain if my life blood were sacrificed, if I were to go down to the engulfing pit?" tells us how desperate was the situation. The prayer is quite in the same strain as verse 3 יי׳ העלית מן שאול נפשי חייתני מיורדי בור. It is obvious then that neither in this verse nor in verse 11 הפכת מספדי למחול לי וג׳ can the Psalmist be speaking of a deliverance that has been accomplished, but of a deliverance that he yearns for: hence the perfects in these verses must be precative perfects. The perfects דליתני and שמחת of verse 1 are prophetic perfects. The imperfect with *waw consecutivum* ותרפאני of v.2 forms a purpose clause, just as does ואישנה of Ps.3.5. Verse 7 must originally have preceded verse 6. The translation is as follows:

1. I will extol Thee, O Lord, for Thou wilt surely deliver me,
And wilt not let mine enemies rejoice over me.
2. I cry unto Thee, O Lord my God, that Thou mayest heal me.
3. O Lord bring up my soul from the brink of Sheol!

[32] The spelling נסה for נשא originated, no doubt, with a copyist and is due to the influence of the Aramaic.

Restore me to life among those doomed to go down[33] to the grave!

4. Sing praise unto the Lord, ye His faithful servants,
And profess His holy name![34]
5. For His anger is but for a moment;
His grace endureth through life.[35]
Though one pass the night in weeping, yet joy will come in the morning.
7. In Thy grace, O Lord, make my mountain[36] to stand firm!
If Thou hidest Thy face, I shall be confounded,[37]
6. Though in my prosperity I thought I should never be shaken.
8. To Thee, O God, I call; to the Lord I pray:
9. 'What would be the gain if my life blood were sacrificed,[38]
If I were to go down to the engulfing pit?
Can he that sleepeth in the dust[39] profess Thee?

[33] יורדי, as the *Kethīb* reads excellently, is potential participle, which the Massorets failed to understand, hence their mistaken correction.

[34] זכר is here a synonymn of שם, just as Exodus 3.15.

[35] The temporal phrases רגע and חיים are the subjects. In Arabic, sentences of this type occur quite often. The two examples here are in construction identical with that from Hamasa 38, v. 7: *ʿamā laʾlu ǧārin ḥalla fīkum binā'imi*, "A stranger who settles among you cannot sleep at night." (The example is quoted among others by Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50). As with the predicate *na'imi* of the latter, so with the predicates אפי and רצוני of the former ב *essentiae* is used. The examples show that this type of sentence is in no wise limited to Arabic—a fact which escaped Brockelmann.

[36] להרי is direct object. Mt. Zion is doubtless meant. The construction of the direct object with ל, as I pointed out in *The Book of Job*, p. 167, is not a peculiarity of Aramaic, but a common Semitic usage. It occurs in the older Hebrew literature no less frequently than in the younger.

[37] Verse 7b is a conditional sentence formed with the perfect in both protasis and apodosis. Sentences of this type not introduced by אם are very frequent in the Psalms. They have often not been recognized, in consequence of which the meaning has been obscured.

[38] ב of בדמי is ב of price: cf. I Ki. 2.23 and Prov. 7.23 בנפשו "at the risk of his life," or "at the peril of his life." As soon as בדמי is understood in this sense we get a highly satisfactory meaning of v. 9a, while the prevailing translations are meaningless and grammatically untenable.

[39] עפר is elliptical for שוכב עפר or שוכן ע'. The full phrase is found in Is. 26.19 שכני עפר; cf. also Ps. 22.30 יורדי עפר.

Can he declare Thy truth?
10. Hear me, O God, have mercy on me!
O Lord, be Thou my helper!
11. Turn my mourning into dancing!
Loose my sackcloth and gird me with joy,
12. That the land of my glory[40] may sing Thy praise without cease,
That I may give thanks unto Thee, O Lord my God, forever.

PSALM 85

Both the continuation in verse 4 with imperatives and the contents in general of verses 4–8 show that the perfects of verses 1–3 must be precative perfects. Only when the perfects of these verses are so taken is the contradiction removed which by the customary translation exists between verse 3 and verses 4–5:

V. 3 "Thou hast taken away all Thy wrath,
Thou hast turned from the fierceness of Thine anger."
Vv. 4–5 "Turn to us, O God of our salvation,
And cause Thine indignation toward us to cease.
Wilt Thou be angry with us forever?
Wilt Thou draw out Thine anger to all generations?"

No art or finesse in interpretation can explain away such a downright contradiction. But if the perfects of vv. 1–3 are translated as precative perfects there is no contradiction; everything is logical and plain. The perfects in verse 10 are prophetic perfects, for note that in the following verse the Psalmist continues with imperfects. The translation of the Psalm is as follows:

1. Be gracious to Thy country, O God,
Bring about a change of fortune for Jacob.[41]

[40] Instead of כבוד: כבודי is to be read, in accordance with the Greek and Syriac. כבודי is used in the sense of "body politic", as in Is. 17.4, Hosea 9, 11, *et al.* With a different connotation כבודי is used in Ps. 7.6, where it means "my precious self".

[41] שבות of the frequently occurring phrase שב שבות is not a derivative of שבה "to make captive," but as Ewald pointed out more than 75 years ago, is a derivative of שוב. The meaning "to bring about a change of fortune" of שב שבות follows conclusively from שב את שבות איוב Job 42.10, as also from Hosea 6.11 בשובי שבות עמי, where the reference is to the impending destruction of the people.

2. Forgive the guilt of Thy people,
   Cover up all their sins.
3. Take away Thy wrath,
   Turn from Thy fierce anger.
4. Return to us,[42] O God of our salvation,
   Cease Thine indignation toward us.
5. Wilt Thou be angry with us forever?
   Wilt Thou draw out Thine anger from generation to generation?
6. Wilt thou not quicken us again that Thy people may rejoice in Thee?
7. Show us, O God, Thy love and vouchsafe Thy help unto us.
8. O that I might perceive what God hath promised;
   For He hath promised[43] peace for His people and His pious ones—
   For all those that return to Him with sincere heart."[44]
9. Verily His salvation is near for those that fear Him,
   His glory is sure to dwell[45] in our land.
10. Love and truth shall meet,
    Righteousness and peace shall kiss each other.
11. Truth shall sprout out of the earth
    And righteousness shall look down from heaven.
12. Yea, God shall grant happiness,
    And our land shall yield its produce.
13. Righteousness shall blossom before Him,

[42] Neither is שובנו transitive, nor does the phrase require any emendation: the pronominal suffix is not direct, but indirect object. For similar constructions, cf. Ps. 5.5 לא ינרך רע "The evil cannot abide with Thee;" Job 6.4 בעותי אלוה יערכוני "The terrors of God are arrayed against me;" 31.8 נדלני כאב "He grew up under me as under a father;" Zech. 7.5 הצום צמתני "Did ye fast for my sake?"

[43] ידבר is imperfect of reiterated action: the promises made through the prophets are meant.

[44] Read in accordance with the Greek וְאֵלַי שָׁבֵי בלבם לה: cf. Baethgen, *op. cit. ad. loc.* and others.

[45] לשכן is emphatic infinitive, as e. g. Ps. 104.21 ולבקש מאל אכלם "And from God they seek their food," or Job 30.6 לשכן חרי עפר "They must dwell in frightful hovels;" see my *Book of Job* pp. 169, 201, 264, 271.

And direct the mind (of the people)[46] to the way of
His footsteps.

Psalm 21

I have purposely chosen this Psalm for another illustration of the precative perfect, since it will give us an opportunity to take up another important point of Hebrew syntax which has often been overlooked in the prevailing interpretation of the Psalms. That נחתה and מנעת of v. 2 are precative perfects may be seen from the fact that they are both preceded and followed by imperfects expressing a wish:

1. May the king rejoice over Thy might, O Lord,
   May he exult exceedingly at Thy victory.[47]
2. Grant him his heart's desire!
   Deny not the prayer of his lips!
3. Yea, meet him with happy blessings!
   Set a crown of fine gold on his head!
4. If he asks life of Thee, grant it unto him,
   Length of days forever![48]
5. May his glory become great through Thy victory.[49]
   Bestow honor and majesty on him!
6. Yea, make him most blessed forever!
   Gladden him with the joy of Thy presence![50]

[46] ישם is ellipsis for ישם לב. The ellipsis is very common: it occurs again Is. 41.20...וישימו...לטען "That they may consider," preceded by the synonyms יראו וידעו and followed by the synonym וישכילו; Job 4.20 מבלי משים "unheeded," 23.6 אך־הוא ישים כי "O if He would only pay heed to me!"

[47] מה was not read by the Greek, the Syriac or the Vulgate, and is accordingly to be omitted.

[48] Verse 4 is a conditional sentence with the perfect in both protasis and apodosis. The translators and exegetes, failing to recognize it, wrongly translate the verse as if it described a past event.

[49] The nominal clause, v. 5a, expresses a wish.

[50] *With the joy of Thy presence*, that is, "the joy that flows from Thy presence." or more properly, "from living" or "abiding in thy presence:" cf. 16.11, where שבע שמחות את־פניך "the fullness of joy that flows from Thy presence," is appositive to ארח חיים, "the way of life," also 140.14 ישבו ישרים את־פניך "The upright will abide in Thy presence." From the latter it seems to follow that את־פניך is ellipsis for שבת or לכת את־פניך; cf. also יחזו פניכמו 11.7 and ישב עולם לפני אלהים 61.8, and ויתהלך חנוך את־האלהים Gen. 5.24.

7. For if the king trusteth in God,
   Then by virtue of the love of the Most High he cannot be shaken.[51]
8. May thy hand conquer all thine enemies,[52]
   May thy right hand ferret out thy foes.
9. Thrust Thou them, as it were into a fiery furnace,
   When Thou dost manifest Thyself.[53]
   (May the Lord destroy them in His wrath,
   and may fire devour them.)
10. Destroy their fruit from the earth
    And their offspring from among men,
11. For they are evilly disposed toward Thee,[54]
    They cherish crafty designs. Let them not prevail!
12. Yea, make them turn their backs *in flight*;
    Aim at their faces with the arrow on Thy bowstring![55]
13. Arise, O Lord, in Thy might,
    That we may sing and praise Thy power.

2. CONDITIONAL AND TEMPORAL SENTENCES

In the Psalms so far discussed we have found three examples of conditional or temporal sentences which have always been taken to

[51] Verse 7 is another conditional sentence, the protasis of which is formed by a participial clause.

[52] מצאה יד ל with the meaning "conquer" occurs again Is. 10.10 כאשר מצאה ידי לממלכות האליל "As my hand conquered the kingdoms of idols."

[53] פניך is ellipsis for שאת פניך, as may be inferred from שאתו (with suffix in place of פנים) of Job 13.11 and 31.23, said of *God's appearance* or *manifestation*. As I pointed out, in *The Book of Job*, p. 195, this meaning of שאת is borne out by the fact that Job 41.17 שאת is used of the crocodile's *appearance* or *emergence* from the water; cf. also ib. p. 265, where I remark that the use of שאת to denote *apparition* may ultimately be traced to the primitive notion, that the thunder storm is the foremost manifestation of Yahweh.

[54] The translations offered for נטו רעה are more or less guesswork. It is generally thought that the meaning is uncertain, but this is far from being the case: חשבו מזמה of the parallel member points to the conclusion that נטו is ellipsis for נטו לבם, which full phrase occurs I's. 119.12. נטיתי לבי לעשות חקיך "My heart is inclined = (or "disposed," or "minded") to perform Thy statutes;" accordingly, רעה is not object, but adverbial accusative.

[55] תכנן is ellipsis for תכנן חץ: cf. 11.2 where we have the full phrase כוננו חצ, and Is. 51.13, where the ellipsis occurs again כאשר כנן להשחית "when he aims with the arrow to destroy." בניתריך is qualificative of the implied חץ.

be statements of past events, but which are in reality conditional or temporal sentences formed with the perfect in both protasis and apodosis. These are Ps. 3.5 אני שכבתי ואישנה הקיצותי כי יי יסמכני "When I lie down to sleep, I shall awake, for the Lord sustaineth me;" 30.6b הסתרת פניך הייתי נבהל "If Thou hidest Thy face, I shall be confounded;" and 21.4 חיים שאל ממך נתתה לו ארך ימים עולם ועד "If he asks life of Thee, grant it unto him, length of days forever." Conditional and temporal sentences, whether or not introduced by a conditional or temporal particle, are so commonly formed with the perfect in both protasis and apodosis, or in either one alone, that this fact should hardly need to be pointed out. The perfect, indeed, is by its very nature especially suited for forming conditional or temporal sentences. As Ewald puts it, "Das Perfectum ist überhaupt die nächste Zeit in Bedingungssätzen:...wir können es kurz das Perfectum der Bedingung nennen".[56] But not only have the translators and exegetes frequently failed to recognize conditional and temporal sentences not introduced by any particle, but even in the case of temporal sentences introduced by a particle, they have wrongly deduced from the use of the perfect that past events are referred to. In view of all this, it will be in place to illustrate the use of the perfect in conditional and temporal sentences by a few examples before taking up the Psalms to which I have especial reference:

Cf. Prov. 18.22 מצא אשה מצא טוב "If one finds a *true* woman, one finds happiness." Ib. 9.12 אם חכמת חכמת לך "If thou art wise, thou art wise to thy own interest." Job 27.19 עיניו פקח ואיננו "When he opens his eyes, he will be no more." Micah 7.8 כי נפלתי קמתי "When I fall, I shall rise again." I Sam. 2.17 עתה תתן ואם לא לקחתי בחזקה "Give it to me now; if not, I shall take it by force." Gen. 43.9 אם לא הביאתיו אליך והצגתיו לפניך וחטאתי לך כל הימים "If I bring him not back and place him before thee, I shall have sinned against thee forever." Ezek. 33.9 ואתה כי הזהרת רשע מדרכו לשוב ממנה ולא שב מדרכו הוא בעונו ימות ואתה נפשך הצלת "But if thou warnest the wicked to turn from his way, and he turns not from his way, he will die for his iniquity, but thou wilt have saved thyself." Ex. 4.14 וראך ושמח

[56] *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, 8 Aufl. (1870), p. 858.

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בלבו "And when he sees thee, he will be glad in his heart." Job 35.7 אם צדקת מה תתן לו "If thou art righteous, what givest thou Him?" II Sam. 7.14 בהעותו והוכחתיו בשבט אנשים "If (or when) he commits wrong, I will chasten him with the rod of men."

Hebrew in common with all other Semitic languages shows this function of the perfect in conditional and temporal sentences. Thus Socin, in his sketch of "The Grammar of Poetry and Prose" of the Arabic of Central Arabia, states: "Temporal and conditional sentences are closely related; the usual conjunction of temporal sentences, *īḏā, ilā, īlā, lā*, is used also as conditional particle. The perfect stands in the protasis after the particle, as well as in the apodosis, for example, *ilā bā' . . . šaāh*, 'If that one sells, this one will buy.' It is noteworthy that the perfect is continued even in clauses depending on the apodosis, for example, *lā ġaṭ taḥanṭal baḷḥeṭā ġiltě ḏa ṭāḥ*, 'When she comes with unsteady step, I think she is about to fall.'"[57]

The examples quoted from Micah 7.8 and Ezek. 33.9 show that like Arabic *iḏa, ilā, etc.*, Hebrew כי is both temporal and conditional particle; also אם is occasionally used as temporal conjunction, cf. for example, Job 17.16 בדי שאל תרדנה אם יחד על עפר נָחַת "To the bars of Sheol will they go down when together we sink into the grave."

Psalm 126

This Psalm is commonly taken as referring to the past, and to substantiate this interpretation, Baethgen says: "Since the perfects of v. 1 and v. 3 can have reference only to the past, the intervening imperfects must belong to the same sphere of time, and also בשוב must refer to the past."[58] And Franz Delitzsch says: "To take the Psalm as referring to the future would be contrary to all rules of syntax."[59] The examples quoted above point, however, to the very opposite conclusion. The two scholars may possibly have

[57] *Diwan Aus Centralarabien* (in Abhandlungen d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., XIX), III, p. 242.

[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

[59] *Die Psalmen*, 4 Aufl. (1883), p. 795.

had in mind the rule stated in Gesenius-Kautszch § 116, r, "Zur ausdrücklichen Hervorhebung einer in der Vergangenheit dauernden Handlung wird dem Particip bisweilen das Perfect היה in der entsprechenden person beigefügt." But this rule has no basis in fact, since the perfect of היה is used with participles and with other nouns in referring also to the present and even to the future. As to the former, cf. Is. 59.2 עונתיכם היו מבדלים ביניכם לבין אלהיכם "Your iniquities separate you from your God," or better expressed, "are a barrier between you and your God;" Ps. 10.14 יתום אתה היית עזר "Thou art the helper of the fatherless;" and as to the latter, cf. Ezek. 21.17 מגורי אל חרב היו "They shall be delivered to the sword" (note that the prophet makes a prediction!); Jer. 25.38 כי היתה ארצם לשמה "Yea, their land shall become a desolation;" also the curse Ps. 83.11 היו דמן לאדמה "Let them be as dung on the ground," and the wish Ps. 61.4 היית מחסה לי "Yea, be a refuge to me," both of which have been discussed above. The translation of Ps. 126 is as folllows:

1. When God restoreth captive Zion, we shall be like dreamers.[60]
2. Then our mouths will be filled with laughter
   And our tongues with rejoicing.
   Then it will be said among the nations,
   God hath dealt wonderfully with this *people*.
3. When God dealeth wonderfully with us, we shall rejoice.
4. O God, bring about for us a change of fortune—
   A change such as is brought about in the streams of the South.
5. Those who sow in tears shall reap with joy:

[60] From the vocalization שִׁיבַת I conclude that the text is not to be emended שְׁבִית but שְׁבִיַת, the construct of the fem. adj. שביה; as to the expression שביה ציון cf. שביה בת־ציון Is. 52.2, where the adjective is used in the attributive, instead of as here in the construct, position. The perfect in v. 1b does not denote a past event, but is to be considered as perfect used in the apodosis of conditional and temporal sentences.

He who carrieth the seed for sowing walketh weeping,
with measured steps,
6. But he who carrieth the sheaves speedeth along joyfully.[61]

Psalm 122

The phrase בְּאָמְרִים used as equivalent to בְּאָמְרָם, of which usage there is no other example anywhere in Hebrew, is generally thought to be correct text, but the explanation proposed by the exegetes in support of this assumption is, to say the least, amazing. Franz Delitzsch, referring to Geiger, *Lehrbuch der Mishna*, § 16, 2, was the first to maintain that in באמרים we have an example of the use of the participle in the language of the Mishna,[62] and his view has prevailed ever since. The fact of the matter is, however, that such an example is not found in the language of the Mishna any more than in biblical Hebrew. What Geiger discusses in the paragraph cited by Delitzsch is, first, the use of the participle with the personal pronoun to form the present tense, and, second, the use of the participle in the plural to express the indefinite pronoun *one*; as examples of the latter he cites קוראין, "one reads", תורמין, "one severs." Now as to the second use of the participle, its use in the plural to express the indefinite pronoun *one*, it is by no means a peculiarity of late Hebrew and Neo-Hebraic, but is a common feature also of biblical Hebrew. Its use is duly pointed out in Gesenius-Kautsch, § 116, t. Of the examples quoted there, I shall mention: Exod. 5.16 ולבנים אמרים לנו עשו "And one tells, (or they tell) us, Make bricks;" Jer. 38.23 ואת כל נשיך ואת בניך מוצאים אל הכשדים "And one will bring out all thy wives and thy children to the Chaldaeans"; Ezek. 36.13 יען אמרים לכם "Because one says unto you." And since the use of the participle with ב to form temporal clauses has no parallel even in Neo-Hebraic, it is obvious that בְּאָמְרִים must be incorrect vocalization for בְּאָמְרָם.

[61] By "measured steps" and "speedeth along", I try to render the meaning expressed by the absolute infinitives הלוך and בוא.

[62] *Op. cit.*, p. 787. Cf. also Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 373: "Jedoch wird das Particip nach späterem Sprachgebrauch (vgl. Delitzsch), ganz im Sinne von באמרם gebraucht".

It must also be emphasized that היו עמדות is classical Hebrew —not a sign of decadent language, as is commonly thought. Of the many similar examples that might be adduced, it will suffice to quote Deut. 9.24 ממרים הייתם, Josh. 5.5 מלים היו, Judg. 1.7 היו מלקטים, Is. 59.2 היו מבדלים, Job 1.14 היו חרשות. What has been remarked with reference to the temporal sentences of Psalm 126, holds good also of the compound temporal sentences, vv. 1–3, of the present Psalm. The perfects of vv. 4–5 are prophetic perfects. The translation of the Psalm is as follows:

1. I shall rejoice when they tell me,
   'Let us go up to the house of the Lord,'
2. When again we set foot in thy gates, O Jerusalem—
3. Rebuilt Jerusalem, like unto a city
   The parts of which are joined to one another;[63]
4. Whither the tribes shall go up, as has been vouchsafed[64] unto Israel,
   The tribes of Yah, to profess God.
5. Yea, thrones for administering justice shall be set up there,
   Thrones for the house of David.
6. Pray for the welfare of Jerusalem!
   May those that love thee find peace.
7. May peace be within thy walls,
   Happiness in thy palaces.
8. For the sake of my brethren and fellowmen I wish for thy peace;
9. For the sake of the house of the Lord our God I desire thy happiness.

[63] That is, by the walls surrounding it.

[64] The abstract עדות is used like a verbal noun: cf. the similar case of צדקי of Ps. 4. 1, above.

TRIAL BY ORDEAL AMONG THE SEMITES AND IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

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I

ONE OF THE MOST interesting ceremonies of ancient Israel recorded in the Bible is the trial by ordeal of the woman suspected of adultery, in Num. 5. The account of the ceremony there given is explicit in all details and the entire procedure is easily comprehended. But the origins of the peculiar ceremony and its basic implications are not at all clear from the consideration of this one account alone. Additional light may be shed upon these questions by a careful study of the entire institution of trial by ordeal among the Semites, scanty though the evidence be. As practiced by primitive peoples in general the institution in its manifold forms and phases has been described with such frequency, fullness and authority by competent scholars that it would be useless and supererogatory to repeat this here. We may therefore proceed immediately to the consideration of the institution among the Semites.

It is interesting to note in the first place that the institution flourishes still today among certain Arab tribes, although in a form quite different from the manner of its observance in ancient Israel. Attention was first called to this fact by Burckhardt. He says,[1] "To every one of the principal Aeneze tribes there is a chief judge, called *mebeshae*, before whose tribunal all intricate cases are decided. Should his endeavours to reconcile the disputants prove vain, this judge directs that a fire should be kindled before him; he then takes a long iron spoon (used by the Arabs in roasting coffee), and having made it red hot in the fire, he takes it out, and licks with his tongue

[1] *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, 69.

the upper end of the spoon on both sides. He then replaces it on the fire, and commands the accused person first to wash his mouth with water, and next to lick it as he has done; if the accused escapes without injury to his tongue, he is supposed innocent; if he suffer from the hot iron, he loses his cause. The Arabs ascribe this wonderful escape not to the Almighty Protector of Innocence, but to the Devil. Persons have been known to lick the red-hot iron (called *beshaa*) above twenty times without the slightest injury." To this account Burkhardt adds the following notice;[2] "The trial before the *mebeshae*, a kind of ordeal, seems an institution peculiar to the Aeneze tribe; at least I know not that it exists among any other Bedouins whom I have visited. It was said, however, that the Meteyr Arabs, who live between Medinah and Nedjd, had formerly the same custom; but they were obliged to relinquish it by express orders from the Wahaby chief. In Hedjaz the *mebeshae* is quite unknown."

A somewhat fuller account of the same institution is given by Featherman.[3] "Among the Aeneze tribes, in cases of murder and manslaughter, or any other cause which 'has blood for its object', where the party charged with the crime denies the fact, and no witnesses are admissible, or in civil matters which the *kadi* has been unable to determine, an appeal is taken to the tribunal of a higher judicial functionary called the *mebeshae*. If the attempt of the judge to bring about an adjustment acceptable to the contesting parties proves unavailing, he has recourse to the ordeal, the result of which leads to a final and irrevocable conclusion. The judge has a fire kindled before him, in which he holds a long iron spoon until its temperature is raised to a red heat. He then withdraws it and licks the upper end of it on both sides with his tongue. After having replaced it and held it in the fire until sufficiently heated, he commands the accused to wash his mouth with water, and then requires him to lick the spoon as he had done. If the tongue of the accused is burned by the hot iron the case is decided against him;

[2] *Ibid.*, 164f.

[3] *The Aramacans*, 385f.; cf. also Crichton, *Arabia*, I, 207; II, 188; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, I, 109.

but if he escapes without injury he is pronounced innocent; but the Arabs attribute this wonderful escape not to God, the protector of virtue and innocence, but to Sheidan. For instituting the ordeal the *mebeshae* receives a compensation equal in value to forty piasters, or a she-camel two years old."

Differing in a few details is the account of this institution by Schmidt and Kahle.[4] "The word *mbašš'a* designates a woman who is supposed to be able to detect thieves in a peculiar manner. She heats the spoon with which coffee-beans are roasted red-hot, makes the person suspected of theft put out his tongue, and touches this with the glowing spoon. If the suspected person receives a wound on the tongue from this, he is the thief; otherwise not."

Somewhat more explicit is the following account;[5] "If a murder or the defloration of a girl should take place without the detection of the culprit, the suspected man and the accusers agree in the presence of honourable men to go to the 'licker', and cause the offender to 'lick'. Each party has to pay 100 mejidis. The wages of the honourable man who accompanies them to the licker is five pounds. His task is to be witness of what he sees while at the licker's. Lickers are very rare. Today there is one in Upper Egypt, another is east of Mâdabâ. The suspected person must lick a red-hot coffee-roaster, given him by the licker. If signs of burning are seen on his lips or tongue he is then considered guilty. The licker says to him: 'May God help you to bear your load'. If his mouth after licking the roaster is still not burnt, the licker says to him: 'You are clean and guiltless'. If the accused one is acquitted, the accuser must pay the licker 100 mejidis and give 5 pounds to the accused and *vice-versa*. After returning home they begin to negotiate for reconciliation."

Describing the same institution, Musil says;[6] "If in eš-Šôbak any one sees a woman with a strange man and accuses her of adultery, she is compelled to lick a red-hot iron with her

[4] *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*, 16.

[5] Haddad, "*Blood Revenge among the Arabs*", JPOS, I (1921), 11;1 also ZDPV, XL (1917), 234.

[6] *Arabia Petraea*, III, 210.

tongue. . . . If thereby she establishes her innocence, her accuser is prosecuted as if he were a murderer, and he and his family must flee. But if she is guilty, she is killed."

Elsewhere Musil says;[7] Among the 'Amârîn. . . . if one fellow-tribesman accuses another, the latter must either flee and then effect a reconciliation, or he must lick (the red-hot iron); they call this *el-biš'e*. The man who compels the accused person to lick is called *el-mubašše'* or *ṣâḥeb el-biš*. If the suspected person should die before he has established his innocence, his nearest relatives must comply with all these demands or otherwise bear the consequences.

"In cases of the most extreme crimes, such, for example, as murder and adultery, trial by ordeal is resorted to. The accused person must go to Teima' and there lick the red-hot iron under the supervision of the *kâhen*. Thereby she says, if it be a woman; 'I come to lick the iron because of the accusations which N., the son of N. has charged against me. I am clean and free from all that of which he accuses me.' Thereupon the *kâhen* hands her a red-hot iron, which she must lick with her tongue. If the tongue is unharmed, she is *bariyye*, clean. In such case the accuser must flee, for bloodguilt rests upon him, just as if he had actually killed someone. . . . . But if the woman's tongue is burned, she is guilty, *waṛîṯe*, and according to the general rule is put to death by her relatives.

"However, this trial by ordeal may err. The story is told of a woman named *Mwêḍiyye*, of the 'Aneze-tribe, that, accused of adultery she came to Teima' in order to lick the iron. But before she entered the dwelling of the *kâhen* she bound a girdle underneath her skirt about her thighs; then before licking. . . . she said: 'I have not come to lick because of love or desire or sensation or passion. I have come to lick because of that which is beneath my girdle'. She did not mean the upper girdle (about her waist), but the one beneath her skirt; and she licked the iron without anything happening to her. Thereupon she went away, but not to her own people, but to those of Ibn Ša'lân, under whose protection she placed herself. Ibn Ša'lân prepared immediately to put her accuser to death. But the conscience of

[7] *Ibid.*, 338ff.

her partner in guilt was moved. He declared publicly that he had committed adultery with the woman, and thereby he saved the life of the accuser. The chiefs of the 'Aneze came immediately to the tent of Ibn Ša'lân and with drawn swords challenged the woman to confess the truth. She acknowledged how she had deceived the *bil'a* (the ordeal), and for this was put to death".

In this account of the ceremony of trial by ordeal it is perhaps noteworthy that the functionary who supervises the trial and administers the red-hot iron to be licked bears the title *kâhen*, the same term as the Hebrew *kohen*, "priest". But of far greater significance for the right understanding of the institution of trial by ordeal, is the fact that it is conducted with a regular, even though simple ritual of procedure; first the accused person declares his or her innocence in a formal and solemn manner, and only after this is the ceremony of "licking" performed. Other less obvious details of importance will be discussed later.

Additional details of interest and significance are given by Jaussen[8] in a quite incidental account of this institution. Ibrahim aṭ-Ṭouāl, charged with having slain two men, is summoned to establish his innocence by means of a trial by ordeal. "Here is what this consists of. An Arab whose reputation is as broad as the desert itself, discharges semi-officially the functions of a judge infallible and supreme. The accused person crouches down before this man, who holds in his hand a bar of iron, flattened at the end, which he has made red-hot in the fire. He applies this three times to the tongue of the accused. If the fire leave no trace of a burn, the accused is declared innocent. The *bāle'* lived at el-'Elā. Aṭ-Ṭouāl could not refuse to submit to the ordeal, for this would have meant acknowledgement of guilt. On the other hand he was very loathe to undertake so long a journey. He settled the matter in this manner. A Bedouin of his acquaintance was summoned. Before a respectable audience he declared this one to be his representative, and in order to render this representation as clear as possible,

[8] *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 439; cf. Landberg, *Arabica*, V, 162ff.

he clad him in his own cloak and gave him forty mejidis. The ordeal resulted favorably for him."

The same institution obtains in Yemen in southern Arabia. Featherman describes the practice there in these words;[9] "In the Fodli country the expedient of the fire ordeal is still brought into requisition when the crime of murder can not be proved by the evidence of witnesses. The fire judge, who is specially appointed for this purpose, after a short prayer, applies a hot knife to the tongue of the accused in the presence of the sultan and the tribal chiefs. If he manifests the least sign of having been affected by a painful sensation, or if a wound shows itself produced by a change of tissue, he is declared guilty."

A fuller account of this institution is given by von Maltzan,[10] as he observed it practiced among the Fodli. "If through the testimony of witnesses it can not be determined who the murderer is, recourse is had to trial by ordeal, of which only the fire ordeal is known in the Fodli country. This applies to both the Raye (the dependant tribes) and the Kobayel (the independent tribes), both of whom seek thereby to determine the person against whom blood-revenge must be directed. In such case even the Kobayel turn to the Sultan, in whose presence the ordeal is performed. He is present in person, but not as an active participant, for he is not the one who officiates at the ordeal. In each country there is only one 'fire-judge', i.e. the person to whom superstition ascribes the magic power to carry out this ordeal in effective manner. Actually there are numerous small states which have no 'fire-judge' of their own; in such case the inhabitants turn to the 'fire-judge' of the neighboring state. Should one who is inexperienced try to perform the ordeal, no one would recognize him. Even the present ruler can not do this, although nothing would hinder that popular superstition should ascribe this office to the ruler. At the present time in the Fodli country it is not the ruler, but a distant cousin of his . . . . who is recognized as the 'fire-judge'.

"No one who is suspected by the people can refuse to submit

[9] *Op. cit.*, 427.

[10] *Reise nach Südarabien*, 262f.

to the fire-ordeal. If such a one belongs to the Kobayel, the tribe of the murdered person can summon him. Should he refuse this suffices as proof of guilt, and he judges himself thereby; for the consequences are quite the same as if the ordeal had decided against him.

"The ordeal is performed with a red-hot iron, which the 'fire-judge', after reciting the prescribed prayer, lays upon the tongue of the accused, naturally in the presence of witnesses, among whom are the chiefs of the Kobayel and the ruler. Should the accused manifest any sign of pain, if he shrinks, or a burn appear, he is regarded as guilty; naturally, however, only after those present have approved this decision. If he is a Raye, he is executed immediately; if he is a Kobayel, he is permitted to return home in peace, and not until then has the tribe of the murdered person the right to discharge their blood-revenge.....

"Naturally everything depends upon the 'fire-judge', whether or not he applies the red-hot iron hard, whether he draws it slowly or rapidly over the tongue, and whether he makes it red-hot or not. Superstition, however, regards him as absolutely disinterested; but I myself believe that it is prudent to maintain good relations with him. In most cases the ordeal is said to result to the disadvantage of the person suspected."

To this von Maltzan adds the footnote, "Obviously we have to do here with a survival from heathenism....Islamic law provides for the conviction of a murderer only through confession, testimony of witnesses, or through the taking of an oath."[11]

Elsewhere[12] von Maltzan described the same institution as it exists in the Yafi'i country. "The Afifi is the most famous 'ordeal- and fire-judge' in this part of South Arabia. Not only the Yafi'i but all the neighboring people (with the exception of the Fodli, who have their own 'fire-judge') honor him in this respect and have recourse to him in doubtful cases. If a murder takes place in these countries and it can not be determined through reliable testimony who the murderer is, it is said at once, 'Let us go to the Afifi at Kara!' The suspected person must accompany his accusers. Should he refuse, he is regarded as condemned.

[11] Cf. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten.*

[12] *Op. cit.*, 294f.

"As 'fire-judge' the Afifi practices the fire-ordeal in quite the same manner as in the Fodli country, only with more hocus-pocus and formality. 'A person is deeply awed by the ceremony,' people who had witnessed it have told me. In addition to this fire-ordeal, he can perform other ordeals even more wonderful. He is supposed to be able to so bewitch a serpent that it will follow the murderer unceasingly and betray him through its proximity.

"Another ordeal; he takes a water-skin upon which holy maxims are inscribed, blows it up and commands that the belly of the guilty party shall be blown up in the same way. The immediate fullness of body of this person naturally indicates his guilt.

"But if nothing else will help, then he assembles the people, causes everybody to sit down upon the ground, and, while reciting prayers he drives a nail into the ground and murmurs a formula to the effect that thereby he nails the guilty person fast. The he calls out *kumu*. 'Stand up!' Everybody then rises except the guilty person, who can not. He is prevented by the nail. This ordeal should be applied only when a number of persons are suspected."

The fire-ordeal was once observed by Bury (Abdullah Mansûr). He describes it in the following terms; "I once saw the ancient ordeal of the red-hot knife administered below this window (of the palace of the Sultan at Lahej). The case was one of theft from a caravan; two men were implicated, one a palace slave, the other a young Arab, a native of the oasis. Each accused the other, and there was a good deal of cross-swearing. Finally, both invoked the ordeal of the knife. In due course a venerable Arab appeared, bringing the instrument with him, which had been in his family for generations and conferred the hereditary right to administer the ordeal.

"It seemed a very ordinary piece of hoop-iron in the rough semblance of a knife-blade some eighteen inches long with the name and attributes of Allah engraved thereon—and fitted with a plain wooden haft.

"An attendant brought a bowl of water and a brazier of live charcoal, in which the knife-blade was inserted. The Arab

youth, as the challenging party, received the ordeal first. He repeated his asseverations of innocence, and rinsing out his mouth with water put out his tongue, which was seized at the tip by the owner of the knife, who drew the instrument glowing dull red from the brazier and with it smote three light blows across the victim's tongue, which was then projected for scrutiny. It merely showed slight white marks where the hot iron had fallen. The slave's turn then came, and whether he flinched at the contact of the hot iron or had failed to keep his tongue sufficiently moist I cannot say, but the heat of the blade picked a small patch of skin off and showed a bleeding surface, which, according to the rules of the ordeal, pronounced his guilt, and he was led away to durance vile."[13]

Still another account of the fire-ordeal and of another form of ordeal, both practiced by the Bedouins of Palestine, is furnished by a reliable authority.[14] "If a person is killed and several are suspected, the judge resorts to the ordeal by fire, *nâr et-tajribeh* (fire of trial), *nâr el-barâ'ah* (fire of innocence) or *baš'ah*. A piece of iron, or a coffee-roaster (*miḥmâseh*) is heated until it becomes red-hot, whereupon the suspects, one after the other, come forward to lick it with their tongues. This barbarous practice is under the direction of the sheikhs of the dervish order er-Rifa'iyeh, who are called *mubašši'in*. The accused person says.....'I challenge you to the *baš'ah*; you will be carried, all your expenses will be paid, and I will pay the fee for the ordeal, as well as all other fees'. Everyone who undergoes the ordeal must pay a fee of 500 piasters for the privilege; this fee is the *baša'ah*. Witnesses accompany the accuser and the accused. The latter licks the hot iron. He who shrinks back, cries, or shows signs of pain is considered as the culprit. Originally this custom may have been introduced to frighten people, and force them to speak the truth. Many a man who feels his guilt tries secretly to find someone to arrange the matter with the accuser before being brought to the ordeal by fire.[15]

[13] *The Land of Uz*, 11f.

[14] Omar el Barghuthi, "Judicial Courts among the Bedouin of Palestine", JPOS II (1922), 52f.

[15] To this Barghuthi adds the foot-note that the most important places

"Another test of the ordeal type, though far more humane, is the *bal'ah*, 'swallowing',[16] which consists in swallowing quickly and without hesitation either something hard, like dry bread, or something nauseating or disagreeable, like medicine. The one that hesitates, complains, or vomits, is accused, even though he may have a very weak stomach. Those who perform the act quickly and with nonchalance are declared innocent, even though they may be the real offenders. The sheikh frightens the accused by repeating some magic words and prayers over the articles to be swallowed, pretending that they thus attain a special potency, which has a different effect upon the guilty and innocent. There is no appeal from the result of the ordeal."

Quite similar to this last form of ordeal is the practice of the Greeks of Alexandria, recorded by Belon.[17] "When they wish to detect a thief, all the suspected persons are required to assemble. Impressive ceremonies are performed under the supervision of the Caloires (a kind of priest), who murmur many secret words during the performance. They prepare dough without yeast, and out of this make little loaves as thick as an egg. Each suspected person must eat three of these loaves, each one entire and without drinking water with it. We once witnessed such an ordeal. The one who had committed the theft could not swallow the third little loaf, and as he tried to force it down, it choked him so that he had finally to spit it out. The Greek clergy guard this rite as a secret. We have heard that it is performed with the 'eagle stone', a bit of the dust of which is mixed into the dough."

Among the Bedouins of Egypt three forms of ordeal are

for the ordeal at present are el-'Ola, Ḫan Yûnis (in the territory of the 'Ayâyûdeh tribe), Šeiḫ Mabrûk (among the 'Azâzmeh) and among the Beni 'Aṭîyeh (Transjordania).

[16] It is perhaps not without significance that the ordeal by fire, as we have seen, is frequently designated by the term *bil'a*, which etymologically means "swallowing". May the inference be drawn from this that the oldest and most primitive form of trial by ordeal had to do with the swallowing of some object, rather than with this test by fire, and that, despite subsequent changes and modifications in the form of the ordeal, the old, original name has survived?

[17] In Paulus, *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orient*, IV, 149.

practiced.[18] They are applied only in cases of crimes committed without witnesses being present. They are under the particular supervision of a kind of judge called *el-mubâšir*. These three forms are ordeal by fire, by water, or by a dream. "The ordeal by fire takes place in the following manner. The judge has a stove heated to white heat. He tries it quickly with his hand three times, and then passes it to the accused person who must touch it three times with his tongue. If marks of a burn remain upon the tongue, the accused is declared guilty. It is thought that in such case fear of being discovered has dried up the tongue, and therefore caused the burn.

"The ordeal by water takes place in the following manner; the *mubâšir* seats himself in a circle together with the accused and the spectators. A metal pitcher, filled with water, is placed in the center of the circle. By a kind of magic it is brought about that the pitcher seems to move around among those present. If it turns completely around until it returns to the judge, the accused is declared innocent; but if it stops before the accused, he is declared guilty.

"Elsewhere a similar practice is employed in order to detect a thief. A circle is formed by those who are suspected. The judge takes a metal pitcher between his two forefingers, blows upon it while reciting an incantation, and passes with the pitcher around the circle. If the judge passes before the thief, the pitcher ought to begin to revolve of its own accord between his hands.

"So far as ordeals by dreams are concerned, the judge sleeps and sees in his dream whether the accused is guilty or not.

"The 'judgment of God' is also employed in civil cases. The judge causes the two litigants to lick the stove, heated to white heat. He whose tongue shows the more severe burns loses the case."

The following case of trial by ordeal is recorded by Niebuhr.[19] A wealthy inhabitant of Jidda reported that two hundred ducats had been stolen from him. A well-known sheikh "caused

[18] Klippel, *Études sur le Folklore Bédouin de l'Egypte*, 24ff.

[19] *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, I, 276.

all the servants to stand in a row, spoke a long prayer, and then put a piece of paper with writing on it in the mouth of each one, and commanded them to swallow it. But first he assured them that no harm would befall those who were innocent, but that divine punishment would be visited upon the thief. Thereafter he inspected the mouth of each servant, and one who had not swallowed the piece of paper confessed that he was the thief. However Mohammedan thieves do not seem to be always so easily frightened."

Trial by ordeal was likewise practiced in ancient Babylonia and Assyria, but in a manner different from any form of ordeal met with thus far. Paragraph 2 of the code of Hammurapi provides that if one man suspects another of having cast a magic spell upon him, but the fact can not be established, presumably by witnesses, then he upon whom the spell has been cast, (and who, presumably, brings the charge), shall go and throw himself into the river. If the river-god seizes him, then he who has cast the spell shall take possession of his house. But if the river-god establishes the innocence of that man, and he remains unharmed, then the one who has cast the spell shall be put to death, and the one who has thrown himself into the river shall take the house of the sorcerer. Likewise paragraph 132 of the same Code provides that if the finger of suspicion be directed against a married woman, that she has consorted with another man, but she has not been detected in the act (and presumably there is no direct evidence of guilt), she shall cast herself into the river (in order to establish her innocence) for her husband. Assyrian law likewise provided for trial by ordeal in a similar manner in a number of cases where direct evidence was entirely lacking or was insufficient to establish guilt.[20]

[20] Cf. Jastrow, "An Assyrian Law Code", JAOS, 41 (1921), 19, 21, 24, 25, 44. Similarly in *Les Mille et Un Jours*, a collection of Persian tales, translated into French by Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, one narrative (p. 651) tells that at Agra in India, if a married woman was suspected of unfaithfulness to her husband, she first took oath that she had not been untrue, and then plunged into a large pool of water, known as the "Pool of Ordeal". If she sank to the bottom she had sworn falsely and had been untrue, but if she floated on the surface, she had sworn truly and her innocence was established

An analysis of these various forms of trial by ordeal among the Semites establishes a number of facts of more than passing significance. In the first place it should be noted that trial by ordeal is resorted to only in extreme cases, when the crime of which the person in question is suspected is one of murder or manslaughter, sorcery (which in its effects is closely akin to murder), adultery, rape, or theft. In no other cases have we found it employed. Moreover it is resorted to only in cases of extreme suspicion, and when there is no evidence of witnesses and all ordinary means of determining guilt seem to fail. The evidence of the ordeal is regarded as infallible and its effects as irrevocable. Occasionally the ordeal carries with it its own consequences and the punishment of the crime, as well as the detection thereof. This is probably the older and more original form and purpose of the institution. More frequently, however, at least in the instances which we have gathered, the ordeal serves only to detect the criminal, after which the punishment follows, inflicted by human agency and in the ordinary manner. The punishment is, however, always extreme, as befits the character of the crime committed.

Moreover, it is no ordinary person who has the power to administer the ordeal. In fact popular superstition holds that the possession of this power is a rare and exalted gift and that those who enjoy it are very few indeed. They are persons whose reputation and authority transcend the bondaries of ordinary tribal and state division, and recourse is had to them by people from all tribes and classes far and wide. They are in no sense religious functionaries, nor can any ordinary priest or religious ministrant administer the ordeal.

In fact in no sense is the entire procedure of the ordeal religious in character. In no case is any particular deity invoked by name, or called upon to decide the guilt or innocence of the persons accused or suspected. Nor does the procedure ever seem to be carried out at a sanctuary of any kind. Wherever the "ordeal judge" happens to be or to reside is the proper place for administering the ordeal, and nowhere else. The various terms by which the "ordeal judge" is designated, *mubašša'* or *mebešae'*, probably "the one who causes a bad taste (by making

the suspected person lick the hot iron)", *mubâšir*, "the doer, or minister", *muballa'*, "the one who causes to swallow", carry with them absolutely nothing of a religious implication, but obviously have their origin solely in the particular office which this functionary discharges. Even the term *kâhen*, by which, as we have seen, the "ordeal judge" is occasionally designated, does not have in Arabic quite the same specific connotation, "priest", as in Hebrew, but means rather "diviner, oracle interpreter, sorcerer".

Furthermore a minute analysis of every detailed description of the administration of the ordeal reveals that the entire procedure is not only not religious, having no connection whatsoever with either deity or sanctuary, but is wholly and entirely magical. The Bedouins still today believe that it is not Allah who confers the power to detect criminals through the ordeal, but Shaitan, the Evil One. As von Maltzan has likewise observed, the entire procedure of the ordeal among the Arab tribes is manifestly of heathen origin and fundamentally opposed to the principles and practices of Moslem law. The purely mechanical, magical character of the procedure is particularly obvious in the story of the woman who frustrated the ordeal by binding a girdle beneath her skirt, in the South-Arabian forms of ordeal with the magic serpent, the blown-up water-skin and the magic nail which fastens the guilty person to the ground, and in the Egyptian Bedouin procedure with the magic pitcher. These ceremonies are usually enforced by attendant rites, or "hocus-pocus", as von Maltzan very correctly called them, all calculated to overawe the spectators and produce upon them the impression of supernatural agency and power. In practically every case the administering of the ordeal is accompanied by the recital, usually in the form of indistinct, and therefore mystifying, murmuring by the "ordeal judge" of formulas and incantations, which, of course, add materially to the supernatural, awe-inspiring effect produced upon the bystanders. In all likelihood "the prescribed prayer", recited by the "fire judge" among the Fodli in South Arabia, referred to by von Maltzan, was nothing more than an incantation.

There can, therefore, be no question whatsoever that in

origin as well as in present practice the institution of trial by ordeal among the Semites was in no sense religious, had no connection of any kind with the worship of any deity or the ritual of any sanctuary, but was wholly magical in character. Moreover, it is clear that its beginnings must go back to the days of the earliest Semitic cultural evolution and precede the foundation of any of the great Semitic religious systems.

As we have seen, among the Bedouins the institution survives still today in its old, original, magical character, with little or no modification of form or import. In its contact, however, with the more advanced Semitic cultures the institution of trial by ordeal necessarily underwent far-reaching change. As we have noted, in Babylonia and Assyria it came to be incorporated into the system of civil law, but still entirely without any positive religious implications.[21] Islam, on the other hand, officially at least, rejected the institution entirely, and, in the case of the woman suspected of adultery, substituted instead the swearing of the fivefold oath on the part of both husband and suspected wife.[22]

II

Into what the institution of trial by ordeal developed in Israel is seen clearly from Num. 5, and particularly from a careful analysis of that chapter. Since the appearance of Stade's oft-cited article dealing with this chapter,[23] Biblical scholars have, following him, distinguished between two main sources in the legislation of the ordeal. The general grounds for this analysis have been stated most recently and most clearly by Holzinger.[24] "Various indications (and particularly the circumstance that the priest gives the woman the water of the

[21] The reference to the river-god, the *il Naru*, in the Hammurapi Code is, of course, purely formal. It cannot mean the god Naru as a specific deity, since no such deity plays any role whatsoever in the Babylonian pantheon. It can, therefore, mean only that the river as an active agent, the river spirit in other words, shall determine the guilt or innocence of the suspected person by causing him to either sink or float.

[22] Cf. Sura 24, 6–9.

[23] "Die Eiferopferthora", in ZAW XV (1895), 157–178.

[24] In Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des A. T.*,[4] I, 209.

curse twice [vv. 24 and 26], as well as minor considerations, such as the two fold designation of the sacrifice [v. 15] and the double application of the sacrifice to the woman) point to the conclusion that in the present statement of the law two versions have been skillfully worked together. The distinction between the two versions is generally held to rest upon the assumption that the one is designed to establish the guilt of the woman, which had been previously taken for granted with certainty, while the other aims to determine whether the suspicion of the husband is justified or not. However, the exact distribution of the chapter between the two versions is quite uncertain, nor has this any bearing whatsoever upon the interpretation of the institution itself."

As the following table shows, there is, as Holzinger admits, great uncertainty and considerable divergence of opinion in the classification of this chapter into these two supposed sources:

Stade		Holzinger[25]		Baentsch[26]		Carpenter and Battersby[27]		Kent[28]	
A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
11–13aα	29		12	14	12b	29	11–12	29	12b
13b	13aβ		13aα b	16–17	13	13b	13ac	13b	13ac
15–17	30a		14	19–20	15	30a	15	30a	15
18aβ b	14bβ		15aα	22	18	14b	18	14b	18
19–20	30b	15aβγ b	16–17	25abα	21	30b	21	30b	21
22a	18aα	18aαβ	19	27a	23	16–17	23–24	16–17	23–24
23–24	21	21	20	28	24	19–20	27b	19–20	26a
25bβ	22b	22b	22a		25bβ	22	25bβ	22	27b
26a	25abα	25	24		26	25abα	26a	25	31
	27–28	26a	27aγb		27b	26b	31	26b	
		27a				27a		27a	
			28			28		28	
		29–30	31						

[25] *Commentary* (in Marti's *Hand-Commentar series*), 19ff.

[26] *Commentary* (in Nowack's *Handkommentar Series*), 471ff.

[27] *The Hexateuch*, II, 191ff.

[28] *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, 109f.; 255f. Passages not recorded in these tables are regarded by the respective scholars as glosses.

Moreover, the distinction drawn by most of these scholars between the two supposed aims of this trial by ordeal, viz. that the one account implies that the guilt of the woman is assumed with certainty and that therefore the ordeal is designed merely to bring this to light and establish it to the public knowledge and satisfaction, while the other account implies that the guilt of the woman is by no means certain and that the ordeal is intended to determine whether the suspicion of the husband is justified or not, is by the very nature of the case fanciful and groundless. Trial by ordeal assumes nothing whatsoever as to the guilt or innocence of the party accused, but leaves it entirely to the ordeal to determine this. Nor is the distinction drawn by these scholars between the divergent purposes of the two supposed versions of the ordeal at all justified by the facts. For whatever establishes the guilt of the woman indicates at the same time that the suspicion of the husband was justified; and *vice versa*, whatever establishes the innocence of the woman indicates at the same time that the suspicion of the husband was groundless and unjustified. Nothing more than this and nothing less is achieved by trial by ordeal. It can not be gainsaid that there are considerable tautology and needless verbiage and confusion in the chapter, particularly at the beginning of this particular section and again at the end, but this need not necessarily indicate a double source, but may be due rather to uncertain and inefficient redaction and glossation, at least in part, and in part to another and more significant cause.

Our investigation of the origins and evolution of the institution of trial by ordeal among the Semites points to one inescapable conclusion with regard to the particular form of the ordeal recorded in Num. 5. It can not have had an origin at all different than that of other forms of ordeal which we have already considered. It, too, must have had its beginning in a practice purely magical in character and altogether unassociated with the sanctuary and cult of Yahwe or any other deity. This *a priori* conclusion is confirmed by an analysis of the chapter different from that proposed by the afore-mentioned scholars.

For when we omit those passages of this section of the chapter which deal with the sacrifice to be offered on this occasion,

the original, typical character and procedure of the ordeal become readily apparent. The following are the passages dealing directly with the sacrifice or necessitated by the insertion thereof; vv. 15aβb, 16, 18aβb, 21, 24–26. With these verses omitted, the following remains as the description of the original trial by ordeal; (12b) If a man's wife go astray and transgress against him, (13) and a man lie with her carnally, and it be hidden from the eyes of her husband, and she keep it secret that she has been defiled, and there be no witness, nor has she been caught (in the act), (14) but a spirit of jealousy come upon him and he suspect his wife, and she has been defiled, or a spirit of jealousy come upon him and he suspect his wife, but she has not been defiled, (15aα) then that man shall bring his wife to the priest, (17) and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel, and some of the dust which is upon the floor of the sanctuary shall the priest take and put in the water, (18aα) and the priest shall stand the woman in the presence of Yahwe and shall let the woman's hair fly loose, (19) and the priest shall cause her to take oath, and he shall say unto the woman; If no man hath lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone astray in uncleanness (from) under thy husband, then be free (from injury) from these bitter waters which bring a curse; (20) but if thou hast gone astray (from) under thy husband and hast been defiled, and some man other than thy husband hath had carnal intercourse with thee, (22) then let these waters which bring a curse enter into thy bowels in order to cause swelling of the belly and falling of the thigh; and the woman shall answer, Amen, Amen; (23) then the priest shall write these curses upon a scroll and shall blot them out in the bitter waters; (24) and he shall make the woman drink the bitter waters that bring a curse; and the waters which bring the curse shall enter into her for bitterness; (27aβb) and it shall be that if she has been defiled and has committed a transgression against her husband, that the waters which bring the curse for bitterness shall enter into her, and her belly shall swell up and her thigh shall fall, and the woman shall be for an accursed thing in the midst of her people; (29) but if the woman has not been defiled, but is pure, then she shall remain unharmed and capable of childbirth. . . . . (31) And the husband shall

be guiltless of any wrongdoing, but the woman shall bear (all consequences of) her sin.

From this account the original procedure can be easily determined. The woman suspected of adultery by her husband, who, however, because of lack of immediate evidence or of the testimony of witnesses, can not prove his suspicion, is brought before the "ordeal judge". He places her before him, with her hair flying loose. He takes water, over which doubtless proper incantations have been spoken, and places in it dust from the ground. He then recites the proper formula or oath, "If thou art innocent, etc. etc., then be unharmed by these waters. But if thou art guilty of this charge, then let these waters enter into thy bowels and bring the curse upon thee, so that thy belly may swell up and thy thigh fall." This oath the woman must confirm by the words, "Amen, Amen". Then the "ordeal judge" writes the words of the oath, to which the woman has just subscribed, upon a scroll and dips this in the water so that the words are erased in the water. In this realistic manner the curse is actually put into the water in a literal sense. Thereupon the woman drinks the water, and thus causes the curse to pass into herself. If she is innocent, she is, of course, unharmed by the water; but if the husband's suspicion be well-grounded, and she be guilty, the curse works itself upon her in the prescribed manner. In either case, no responsibility nor retribution attaches to the husband; the woman alone must bear the consequences.

It is self-evident that this procedure differs in not the slightest essential respect from the various forms of trial by ordeal which we have already considered. It is purely magical in character, without the slightest religious aspect. The magical character of the procedure is particularly apparent in two of the details. The first is the effect to be produced by the magic water, viz., that if guilty, the woman's belly will swell up. We have already had one instance of trial by ordeal in Southern Arabia where the belly of the guilty party is supposed to swell up. That this was a not uncommon circumstance in trials by ordeal and kindred affairs may be inferred from the fact that Doughty records two instances of the swelling of the belly of guilty persons, under the influence of the magician. One was the case of a man and

two women who had stolen a valuable chest from a neighbor's house, and upon being questioned, denied all knowledge thereof. "Then the Mundel took three girbies, and blew them up, and he cast them from him!. .—In a little while the three persons came again running; that man before the women, and all of them holding their bellies, which were swollen to bursting. 'Oh me! I beseech thee, cries the man. Sir, the chest is with me, only release me out of this pain and I will restore it immediately!' his women also pitifully acknowledged their guilt.—Then the Mundel spelled upon his beads backward, to reverse the enchantment."[29] The other was the case of the abduction and murder of a little girl; it was not known who had committed the crime. "The bereaved father sought to a soothsayer,—in the time of whose 'reading' they suppose that the belly of the guilty person should swell".[30]

The second magical procedure is the act of writing the words of the curse, to which the woman has subscribed, upon a scroll, then dipping this in the water by which it is erased, and then causing the woman to drink this. Such a procedure, altogether magical in character, is still in common vogue in the Orient today, and can be made to produce either blessing or curse as the case may be. Thus to cure disease a verse of the Koran is written upon a paper, which is then soaked in water; this is in turn drunk by the patient; it is confidently expected that he will recover very soon.[31]

Undoubtedly two other rites in the ceremony are likewise magical in origin, viz. the sprinkling in the water of dust taken from the ground of the place where the ceremony is performed, and the response of the woman to the oath administered to her, "Amen, Amen," having, of course, the effect of "Let it be as the words of the oath state!" These words by the woman not only complete the oath and make it effective, but they also

[29] *Arabia Petraea*, II, 189.

[30] *Ibid.*, 368

[31] Zwemer, *Arabia, The Cradle of Islam*, 281; cf. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, 80; Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 228; Jaussen, "Le cheikh Sa'ad ad-din et les *djinn* à Naplouse", JPOS III (1924), 155.

make the oath apply to her directly. Without the pronouncement of these words by her, regardless of her possible guilt, and regardless, too, of the religious associations and Yahwe-character which the ceremony in its present form has, the whole procedure would be ineffective and would lead to naught. It is the woman's pronouncement of these words which gives the procedure finality and power. Obviously these words spoken by the woman play the same role as the repetition of the entire oath by the woman suspected of adultery in the case described by Musil.[32] And just as there the entire procedure is magical, has effect only through the power inherent in the recital of the oath, even when spoken without relation to any particular deity, so here the recital of this oath and its affirmation by the woman are of magical character and have magical power.

And as for the dust which is mixed in with the water,we have already noted a parallel to this rite in the form of ordeal practiced by the Greeks of Alexandria, who mix a bit of the dust of the "eagle stone" into the dough of the little loaves which the suspected person is required to swallow.[33] Quite obviously this rite there is entirely magical in character; and if so, then certainly the same rite here in this Biblical ceremony.

The import of the additional detail of the ceremonial, that the woman's hair is allowed to fly loose, is not at all clear from the present account of the ceremony, nor have the various instances of trial by ordeal which we have adduced, brought any parallels to this rite to light. Moreover, rites of magical origin and character dealing with the hair are so numerous and complex in character, and capable of such a great variety of interpretation,[34] that it would be hazardous to venture any hypothesis with regard to the meaning and purpose of this rite here upon the basis of this one instance alone.

Furthermore, it should be noticed that this ordeal carries with it the punishment for the crime, in case the accused person

[32] Above, pp. 116f.

[33] Above, p. 122.

[34] I have dealt with this subject in great detail in a forthcoming work entitled, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites.*

be found guilty. Her "thigh falls away", whatever this may mean,[35] and her belly swells, and she becomes incapable of bearing children. Manifestly the punishment visited upon her through this ordeal is not death, for in addition to childlessness and unhappy physical condition, v. 27 states specifically that she shall be "an accursed object in the midst of her people." No provision is made for further human punishment to be visited upon her. Her entire punishment comes as the result of her undergoing the ordeal and being found guilty thereby. And inasmuch as, as we have seen, this seems to have been a characteristic of the ordeal in its oldest and most primitive and pronounced magical form, that it not only determined the guilt or innocence of the accused person, but likewise carried the punishment with it, in case it found the accused guilty, we must regard this detail of the ceremonial here as further indication of its primitive and originally purely magical character.

And finally not without significance is the provision that regardless of whether the woman be found through the ordeal to be either guilty or innocent, she alone must bear the consequences of the ordeal, while in either case her husband is entirely free from any responsibility or consequences. The significance of this statement is readily apparent when we remember the present general practice in Palestine and among the Bedouins, that whenever one person brings against another a charge which rests upon suspicion alone, and recourse is had to the ordeal, if the person accused be found innocent, the accuser must suffer the consequences, which are in any case severe. They may take the form of a very heavy fine, or the accuser may have to flee for protection to some neighboring tribe, until the matter can be satisfactorily adjusted, or he may have to undergo the same penalty that would have been inflicted upon the accused person, had the ordeal proven him guilty, even to the extent of forfeiting his life. Unquestionably this is the implication of this statement here in v. 31. The reason is, of course, self-evident. Since the husband himself has brought the accusation against his wife,

[35] It is difficult to follow Ehrlich in his emendation and interpretation of this expression; cf. *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, II, 128.

and she is his own particular property, only he alone can suffer through the defamation of her character, in case she be proved innocent by the ordeal, and through her consequent depreciation in value, if any. But since his property, including his wife, is his alone, to do with what he pleases, no responsibility and no punishment can be inflicted upon him for having brought an unfounded charge against his wife and having subjected her to the bitter experience of trial by ordeal.

But does not this very provision imply that in other cases, where unfounded accusations were made by one party against another party not his wife, and the second party was proved by the ordeal to be innocent of the charge, the first party was then responsible and had to undergo penalties, presumably quite severe in character, in exactly the same manner as in the modern practice in Palestine? Unquestionably so, for otherwise the statement here would have no meaning whatsoever. But this necessitates the further conclusion that at one time trial by ordeal was a common institution in Israel, and that it was carried out by means of a definite and generally accepted ritual and legalistic procedure.

This conclusion, which in itself is so natural that it hardly requires confirmation, is, however, borne out by the fact that the Bible does record one additional instance of what is undoubtedly trial by ordeal, an instance which parallels very closely in its essential details the case which we have just considered. Ex. 32, 20 tells that Moses took the calf, which he found Israel worshiping when he came down from the mountain, burned it in fire, ground the ashes very fine, scattered the fine dust thereof upon the water and caused the children of Israel to drink this. The conclusion of this narrative is found in v. 35abα,[36] "And

[36] The chapter is composite, and contains extracts and emendations from various sources. Its analysis is therefore difficult and uncertain. But it is clear that vv. 21–25, which establish the culpability of Aaron and make him responsible for the sin of the people, have no connection whatsoever with v. 20 and disturb the continuity of the thought. Similarly vv. 26–29, which record the faithfulness of the Levites and the punishment visited through them by Yahwe upon the rest of sinful Israel, and the implication of the selection of the Levites as Yahwe's favored tribe and destined for the priesthood, have no connection at all either with what precedes or what follows. They,

Yahwe smote the people because they had made the calf". Unquestionably this, too, is a case of trial by ordeal. In fact the Talmud definitely recognizes it as such.[37] Its obvious purpose is twofold, to determine who among the people had participated in the worship of the calf and were therefore guilty, and likewise to bring upon them the punishment for their sin. The two verses are probably from the Elohist Code. Certainly they are from one of the older strata, and consequently antedate Num. 5, and therefore in all likelihood describe the ordeal in a form older and more primitive than that recorded in Num. 5.

Here, too, just as in the form of ordeal in Num. 5, dust is mixed with the water which the suspected persons are required to drink in the course of the ordeal. And as the result thereof the guilt of some and the innocence of others is established. How this is indicated, whether the bellies of the guilty ones swell up, or some other sign betrays them, the passage does not state. But the consequence of their guilt and of their drinking the magic water of the ordeal, in which the dust is, is that they are smitten; in other words, they lose their lives. This alone can be the meaning of v. 35. For since the verse does not specify the manner in which Yahwe smote the people, we can infer only that their death followed from their drinking the water of the ordeal and being found guilty thereby. The statement that it was Yahwe who smote them thereby can be only a concession to the theological belief and manner of expression

too, disturb the continuity of the thought and must come from some source other than v. 20. And vv. 30–34 are from still a third source, which has in turn absolutely no connection with either vv. 21–25 or vv.26–29 on the one hand, or vv. 20 and 35 on the other. As I have shown elsewhere ("Moses with the Shining Face", HUCA, II [1925] 1-28), these verses belong to a late, secondary stratum of the Yahwist Code, composed but little, if at all, before the Babylonian Exile. The evidence of this is conclusive. It follows, therefore, that the immediate continuation of v. 20, if it have any continuation at all in the chapter, must be in v. 35. And since on the one hand v. 35 quite clearly has no connection at all with any other verse or passage of this chapter, and on the other hand offers the natural continuation of the thought of v. 20, the conclusion is unavoidable that v. 35 is the immediate continuation of v. 20.

[37] *'Aboda Zara*, 44a.

of the Elohist writers. In others words, it seems that this instance of trial by ordeal, like that in Num. 5, also carries with it not only the determination of the guilty parties but also their resultant punishment. The agreement between these two Biblical instances of trial by ordeal is complete and striking.

Returning now to the consideration of Num. 5, and of the entire institution of trial by ordeal in Israel, its course of evolution becomes readily apparent. The institution is manifestly non-Yahwistic in origin and essential character.[38] In fact in origin, like all other forms of trial by ordeal which we have considered, it is not only non-Yahwistic, but non-religious, i. e. it has primarily no relation whatsoever with any deity, sanctuary or religious practice, but is altogether magical in character. In the early stages of Israel's cultural evolution the institution must have been quite general and must have enjoyed a wide application to various extreme crimes, the determination of the author of which rested entirely upon suspicion. And in this primitive form the ordeal not only determined the guilt or innocence of the suspected party, but likewise carried with it, in all likelihood, the punishment for the crime, if the accused person were found guilty.

However, as Israel's culture advanced, and particularly as the worship of Yahwe became more and more firmly established and permeated more and more the entire life of the people, the institution of trial by ordeal naturally tended to be disregarded and to fall into disfavor and disuse, due undoubtedly just to its obvious non-Yahwistic, magical origin and character. A new institution took its place, just as, as we have seen, the same institution superseded trial by ordeal in Islam, viz. the solemn oath taken by the suspected and accused party at the sanctuary and in the name of Yahwe, affirming his innocence, and, unquestionably invoking the judgment of Yahwe and his punishment by Yahwe should he be actually guilty.[39] The implication here is, unmistakably, that Yahwe, seeing and knowing everything, must know with certainty whether the man is swearing truly

[38] So also Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*[2], 138f. and Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 104f.

[39] Ex. 22, 10; cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, 144f.

or falsely, whether he is innocent of the crime of which he is suspected, or is guilty, and if he is guilty and has sworn falsely in the name of Yahwe, then Yahwe will surely vent His wrath upon the guilty man, both for the crime itself and even more so for the far more heinous offense of having taken Yahwe's name in vain and sworn falsely thereby; and the punishment thus inflicted by Yahwe would indicate to the interested human participants in the ceremony that the man was truly guilty, whereas the failure of any unhappy consequences to follow the oath would indicate that the man was innocent and had sworn truly, and had thereby placed himself under Yahwe's protection. And interestingly enough, Ex. 22, 10 seems to imply that in case the person suspected and accused be proved innocent through this process of taking the "oath of Yahwe", no penalty with regard to him is imposed upon the accuser; the oath discharges the obligation of both parties to each other.[40]

[40] Ex. 22, 6–9 seemingly describes a somewhat earlier stage of this evolution from the oldest practice of trial by ordeal to the later practice of determination of guilt or innocence by means of the oath at the sanctuary in the name of Yahwe. This passage deals with the case of the property of A being entrusted by him to B and then being missing. B is suspected of having appropriated it to his own use, but there is no proof of this. Both parties are required to repair to the sanctuary and there both must take oath, A affirming the justice of his charge, and B in turn protesting his innocence thereof. The deity judges between them, and pronounces the one innocent and the other guilty. The party pronounced guilty must pay the party pronounced innocent twice the value of the contested object.

Two significant facts stand out here. First, the deity decides between the two parties. Both must play a like role in the ceremony; not one swears, but both. This procedure reminds forcibly of the cases of trial by ordeal, which we have considered, where both parties to the dispute must lick the red-hot iron. How the deity decides in this case between the two disputants is not stated. It can scarcely be that he inflicts some punishment upon one or the other, for the punishment inflicted upon the person pronounced guilty is clearly stated; he must pay double the value of the contested object. In all likelihood the deity was thought to give some sign indicating which disputant was in the wrong. But this procedure suggests something of the character of the older trial by ordeal to determine the guilty party.

In the second place, if the person accused is proved by the ceremony innocent and the suspicion against him unfounded, the accuser must pay him double the value of the object contested. We have seen that something

It is clear that in this procedure the old principle of determination of the guilt of the accused person and the imposition upon him of the proper punishment through superhuman agency, should he be proved guilty, is still present and effective. But the application of the principle here is altogether different than in trial by ordeal. There it is the magical power inherent in certain specific rites and incantations and in the oath itself as a potent formula which produces the desired effect. Here the magical element, as well as, apparently, all the magical "hocus-pocus", have been discarded. The ceremony no longer is performed at whatever place the "ordeal judge" or magician happens to be, but only at the sanctuary of Yahwe and under His supervision. The oath is taken in His name, and He is invoked thereby to determine with His infallible knowledge the guilt or innocence of the accused, and if guilty, to punish him accordingly. Presumably, too, since the ceremony is performed at the sanctuary, it is under the immediate direction of the priest. The oath is the essential thing. It alone suffices to determine guilt or innocence. Presumably there is some ritual connected with the taking of this oath, but equally presumably it is entirely religious in character, perhaps of the nature of an appropriate sacrifice; certainly it would have nothing of the non-Yahwistic, magical character of the ordeal rites, for such rites would accord but ill with the essential character of the oath in the name of Yahwe in this late form of the ceremony. In other words, it is clear that the ceremony of the oath in the name of Yahwe recorded in Ex. 22, 10 is altogether religious in character and represents a marked cultural progress from the primitive magical trial by ordeal.

But while this very natural evolution went on in Israel,

like this was the probable procedure in ancient times, just as still today in Palestine, in all cases where the ordeal proves the suspicion unfounded and the accusation false, except perhaps, as in Num. 5, where it is a wife falsely accused by her husband.

These two considerations seem to indicate that the procedure recorded in Ex. 22, 6–9 represents an intermediate stage in the evolution in Israel from the old, primitive trial by ordeal to the later, purely religious institution of an oath in the name and at the sanctuary of Yahwe taken by the accused party, recorded in Ex. 22, 10.

and in consequence the institution of trial by ordeal tended to give way more and more to the institution of the solemn oath at the sanctuary in the name of Yahwe, it was equally natural and inevitable that trial by ordeal did not die out completely. Some forms thereof undoubtedly survived for a time, and one in particular for quite a considerable time, viz. the trial by ordeal of the woman suspected of adultery. Nor is this at all surprising. For of all crimes this is on the one hand the most personal, and on the other the most secret, and therefore the most difficult to prove on the testimony of witnesses, and consequently offering the most ground for suspicion. The almost complete helplessness of human judges and courts in determining the guilt or innocence of a wife suspected of adultery, when there were no witnesses, would tend to keep alive the recourse to the trial by ordeal in this particular case, whereas in cases of other crimes, such as murder, manslaughter or theft, the litigants would turn most naturally to the ordinary courts and judges, or in extreme cases resort to the solemn oath at the sanctuary. Still today suspicion of adultery seems to be the most common ground for recourse to trial by ordeal, and undoubtedly for just these reasons.

At any rate, this institution survived in Israel as a recognized and highly esteemed method of determining the guilt or innocence of a wife suspected of adultery, until a very late date. In all likelihood its old, magical, non-Yahwistic character was never lost sight of entirely. But with equal likelihood, under the influence of developing Yahwe-worship, the institution came to be looked upon more and more askance, at least by the official exponents of Yahwe-worship, the priests and prophets. In consequence, no doubt, it came to be relegated more and more to the realm of the improper and illegitimate, and to survive only in the unofficial, and perhaps even secret folk-practice of the people at large. Not impossibly it was one of those institutions which the various prophetic reformations in Israel and Judah, and particularly the Deuteronomic reformation, stamped as idolatrous and forbidden.

But institutions like this, deeply rooted in the practice of the people, can not be killed by denunciation and legislation,

even when emanating from influential and authoritative prophets and priests. Only education can achieve this; and education is always a slow process, especially when it means the education of a people away from a cultural standpoint relatively backward. Despite all suspicion of idolatrous character and all denunciation and reformation, the institution lived on in the practice of the people. And finally, unable to uproot it, the priestly authorities of the post-exilic period, in characteristic manner, solved the problem in quite another way. They legitimized the institution by incorporating it into the established Yahwe-worship. The process was simple, even though superficial. In place of the old "ordeal judge", with his magical or semi-magical power, the priest now becomes the official minister at the trial by ordeal. Correspondingly, the trial by ordeal is no longer carried out at the place where the "ordeal judge" happens to live, but, *ipse facto* at the sanctuary. And accordingly the dust which is mixed with the water is now taken from the floor of the sanctuary. And finally, to conform to the established norms of Yahwe-worship, a sacrifice of relatively simple character is woven into the ceremony, a sacrifice which goes by the technical name, *minḥaṯ qena'oṯ*, "the meal-sacrifice of jealousy", and which is represented as a particular form of that class of sacrifices known as the *minḥaṯ zikkaron mazkereṯ 'awon*, "the meal-sacrifice of remembrance, which reminds of transgression".[41] In this way

[41] The fact that no other instance of this particular class of *minḥa*-sacrifices is mentioned in the Bible, and that in fact the name *minḥaṯ zikkaron* does not occur outside of this chapter, may not be without significance. However, since any number of hypotheses may be advanced to explain this fact, all resting, of course, on pure assumption, it will be wise to attempt none of these here.

But one other hypothesis associated with the particular form of this sacrifice here is tempting, and may be presented, although only as a hypothesis and nothing more. *Mishna Soṭa* II, 1 calls attention to the fact that unlike every other *minḥa*-sacrifice except that of the first sheaf, *minḥaṯ ha'omer*, this sacrifice consists of barley; and unlike the sacrifice of the first sheaf, the barley of which was offered in the form of grits, the barley of this *minḥa* is in the form of flour. Moreover, Num. 5, 15 provides expressly that neither oil nor frankincense should be poured upon this sacrifice, in contradistinction to the regular *minḥa*-sacrifice. In other words, this particular flour-sacrifice was offered perfectly dry. This suggests the forms of the ordeal current in

the adaptation of this old, originally purely magical institution to the official Yahwe-worship was effected. Seemingly the problem was solved; solved, like so many other problems, by a compromise.

Actually, however, the problem was solved in quite a different manner. Probably, even though now officially incorporated into the established Yahwe-cult, the institution was not regarded with high favor by the priests, in the early post-exilic period the official exponents of the true Yahwe-worship. And since the ceremony had now to be performed at the sanctuary and under the supervision of the priests, it was probably an easy matter for them to control the entire institution, and perhaps even to divert the procedure of determining the guilt or innocence of a wife suspected of adultery into some other channel, perhaps to the old, established procedure, which, as we have seen, at a relatively early age, had superseded the trial by ordeal in case of crimes other than suspected adultery, the oath in the name of Yahwe. This is, however, only an assumption. But be that as it may, the conclusion is unavoidable that beginning with its incorporation into the official Yahwe-cult, the institution of trial by ordeal for the woman suspected of adultery tended to undergo further modification, and eventually to fall into complete disuse. A careful study of the legislation in *Mishna Soṭa* conveys the strong impression that the entire institution was in the Tannaitic period purely theoretical and long obsolete. In fact the Mishna states[42] that it was abolished by Rabban

Palestine, where the accused was required to swallow something hard, like dry bread, or something nauseating or disagreeable, like medicine, and among the Greeks of Alexandria, where the person suspected was required to swallow one after the other three little loaves made of dough without any yeast in it, in order to prove his innocence. If he failed in this his guilt was established. Is it possible that this *minḥa*-sacrifice here developed out of another form of trial by ordeal at one time current in Israel where the suspected person was required to swallow a certain measure of dry barley-flour, failure to do which would establish guilt? As has been said, this is only a hypothesis. But as a hypothesis, it is strengthened somewhat by the fact, noted above, that in very remote times swallowing something seems to have been a very common form of trial by ordeal.

[42] IX, 9

Yochanan b. Zakkai because in his day adultery had become too common. Far more likely this tradition is purely legendary and the institution had fallen into disuse long before the time of Rabban Yochanan b. Zakkai.

However, it is interesting to note that two references to the institution are found in early Christian literature. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* XII[43] tells that both Joseph and Mary, suspected of having had marital relations, are required to drink the bitter waters of the ordeal, and then to walk around the altar seven times in order that the effect of the water may be manifested. But the absence of any visible effect establishes their innocence, and proves, of course, that Mary had conceived as a virgin. Similarly the *Protevangelion* XI, 17–20[44] tells that it is demanded that both Joseph and Mary drink the bitter waters. But it is only Joseph who actually does drink them. He then goes away into the mountains, in order to give the waters time in which to take effect. But again the absence of any effect establishes the innocence of both.

Manifestly both these passages misunderstand and misapply the Biblical legislation. For the purpose of the institution expressly stated there is only to determine whether a man's wife has been unfaithful to him and has consorted with another man. And here, both passages state, the ordeal was applied to determine whether a man and woman, betrothed but not yet married, had had marital relations. The two cases are altogether different, and the Biblical institution could literally have no application to this case. In one other respect this case here departs from the Biblical legislation, viz. in that both the man and the woman are required to submit to the ordeal and drink the bitter waters, whereas the Biblical legislation demands this of the woman alone. But it is interesting to note that *Mishna Sota* V, 1 departs from the Biblical legislation in the same manner and likewise requires both the suspected wife and him who is believed to be her paramour to drink of the waters of the ordeal.

Such, we believe, is the history of the institution of trial by ordeal in ancient Israel.

[43] In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ed. Roberts and Donaldson), VII, 373.
[44] In any edition of *The Apocrypha of the New Testament.*

THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE

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THE TERM אנשי כנסת הגדולה has been translated "The Men of the Great Synagogue" or "The Men of the Great Synod." Both of these translations, I have come to believe, rest upon a misunderstanding of what was originally implied by the word כנסת in the term in question. This misunderstanding is directly responsible for the widely divergent views that have been put forth in regard to the אנשי כנסת הגדולה. Because the term was misunderstood, the Talmudic reports anent the אנשי כנסת הגדולה were likewise misunderstood, in consequence, they were interpreted in an arbitrary manner, or they were entirely rejected as having no historical value.[1]

It has been taken for granted that the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה is a designation for a fixed organization, a judicial or legislative body that originated in the period after the Babylonian Exile. Scholars then sought to determine the character and the duration of that body. In a study, deemed by many complete and conclusive, Kuenen pointed out the contradictory conclusions that were reached by various scholars. He then maintained that the basis of all the traditions touching the אנשי כנסת הגדולה is none other than the assembly described in Nehemiah VIII—X, and therefore, he held, to quote a scholar who shared Kuenen's view, that ". . . . everything that is told about it (i.e. the אנשי כנסת הגדולה) except what we read in Nehemiah, is pure fable of the later Jews."[2] I fully agree with Kuenen's criticism of the various

[1] See bibliography given by Schuerer, Geschichte,[4] Vol. II, p. 418; see especially treatises of S. Krauss, The Great Synod, J. Q. R. old series, vol. X, pp. 347-377; A. Kuenen, Over de Männer der Groote Synagoge, Germ. tr. by K. Budde in Gesammelte Abhandlungen z. Bib. Wissenschaft, pp. 125-160; L. Löw, Die Grosse Synode, in Gesamm. Shriften, vol. 1, pp. 399- 449.

[2] W. R. Smith, O. T. in Jewish Church,[2] p. 169. George Foot Moore suggests that the term כנסת הגדולה be translated, "The Great Assembly," Harvard Theological Review, Oct. 1924, p. 310.

hypotheses advanced, but, on the other hand, I do not agree with his conclusion that the reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה are pure fiction. His conclusion is based on a misconception of this term. He contended that there was no fixed organization by that name, hence, he argued, the reports about such an organization are unhistorical. But, the Talmudic reports do not imply that there was a fixed organization by the name of אנשי כנסת הגדולה, Kuenen, like the scholars whom he criticized, argued on the basis of a false premise. An erroneous conclusion, was therefore, inevitable. Startling, as it may at first appear, the reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה do not presuppose a judicial or legislative body after the manner of the later Sanhedrin. All that we can justifiably infer from them is, that there are certain institutions, enactments and regulations, which tradition conceived of as having been introduced by "Men," not necessarily through concerted action, who belonged to the כנסת הגדולה. The word כנסת, in this term, I hold, is a designation for the Community, or the People of Israel. The term, אנשי כנסת הגדולה should, therefore, be translated, "The Men of the Great Community." The duration of that particular community is determined by whatever chronological implications are found in the references to the Men of the Great Community.[3] The terminus a quo of that community is fixed by the tradition that includes Jeshua and Zerubbabel among the Men of the Great Community.[4] The terminus ad quem is fixed by the statement that Simon the Just was one of the last of the Great Synagogue.[5] In other words, the period of the Great Community extended from the beginning of the Persian period in Jewish history to Simon the Just.

The question now arises, which of the several Simons of whom we know was Simon the Just? The determination of the lower limit of the Great Community depends upon the

[3] It was a chance discussion of the subject with my colleague Dr. J. Z. Lauterbach that suggested the hypothesis that I develop in this paper. Why the community of that particular period should have been characterized as "great" will appear later.

[4] Targum to Canticles 7:3.

[5] Abot 1:2.

answer to this question. Rabbinic references are not decisive. Josephus, however, unequivocally identifies Simon the Just with Simon I[6] when he calls this Simon, *ὁ δικαίος* "because both of his piety towards God, and his kind disposition to those of his own nation."[7] Despite this definite identification, Löw would have us believe that Simon the Just is none other than Simon the Hasmonean,"....whom a great congregation of priests and people and princes of the nation and of the elders of the country.....made their leader and high-priest..... because of the justice and the faith which he had kept to his nation, and because he had sought by all means to exalt his people."[8] The reasons for this Simon being honored so signally, would indeed justify his being called "The Just" but, the well known anti-Hasmonean bias of the later Pharisees, and the number of valid objections that can be advanced against identifying the *συναγωγή μεγάλη* of I Maccabees 14:28 with the כנסת הגדולה preclude the identification suggested by Löw. He, as far as I know, stands alone in this identification. On the other hand, a number of scholars hold that Simon II is Simon the Just.[9] What is the main evidence on which this identification rests? The belief, first expressed by Krochmal[10] that in all likelihood, Ben Sira saw the high-priest whom he describes in such glowing terms, is offered as the most conclusive proof.[11] Let it be noted, however, that nowhere in the course of the magiloquent description is Simon referred to as "the Just." The high-priest described is no longer living. The fervor of the description is by no means proof that Ben Sirah saw the high-priest officiating. If anything, the character of the description points to the very opposite conclusion. "How glorious was he

[6] High-priest, 310-291 or 300-270 B. C.

[7] Ant. XII, 2, 5.

[8] I Macc. 14:28-35.

[9] High-priest, 219-199 B.C.; Zunz, G. V., pp. 35, 38; Derenbourg, Essai sur l'histoire de la geographie de la Pal., p. 46f.; Krochmal Moreh Nebuke ha-Zeman, Warsaw ed., p. 115 note, 176 et passim; Jost, Gesch, d. Isr. V. vol. 1, p. 468; Smend, Die Weisheit d. Jesus Sirach, p. 477; Kuenen, Religion of Isr., tr. by A. H. May, vol. III, p. 87.

[10] Krochmal, op. cit. p. 50.

[11] Ecclus. 50:1-21.

when the people gathered round him at his coming forth out of the sanctuary! As the morning star in the midst of a cloud, as the moon at the full..... As the flower of roses in the days of new fruits, as lillies at the water-spring, as the shoot of the frankincense tree in the summer time." The acme of hyperbole is reached in lines such as these which are augumented with one simile after another. Praise is heaped upon praise until the person of Simon is exalted to the very stars. We cannot believe that any author could indulge in such extravagant eulogy with reference to any contemporary, or near contemporary. Such description bespeaks the halo which only the passing of time can create. Strangley enough, while Kuenen, in one place, identifies the Simon whom Ben Sira praised with Simon II, in another, he wrote," but still it is evident that the history of his (i.e. Ben Sira's) nation had already begun to assume the character of sacred history."[12] Does, or can the history of one generation become sacred in the same generation? It is far more likely that Ben Sira was writing under the influence of the hallowed traditions that had grown up about the person of Simon I who lived a century before Ben Sira. Certain it is, that nothing that Josephus records of Simon II fits in with the description given in Ecclesiasticus.[13]

One of the principal reasons that led some scholars to identify Simon the Just with Simon II is connected with their theory that the כנסת הגדולה was a legislative body whose existence must have continued on until another authoritative body took its place. That theory also assumes that Abot gives an unbroken chain of tradition from Simon the Just to the last of the "Pairs" mentioned in the first chapter of Abot. It is evident, that, if Simon I, who lived at the beginning of the Greek period, is Simon the Just of Abot 1:2, a period of nearly 300 years lies between him and Hillel and Shammai, the last named pair of teachers. Such a period, it was seen, is entirely too long to be accounted for by the teachers named as having followed Simon I. Hence, it was concluded, Simon the Just was some Simon later than Simon I. The belief, however, that

[12] Op. cit. vol. III, p. 87.

[13] Ant. XII, 4, 10.

Abot gives an unbroken chain of tradition from Simon the Just to Hillel and Shammai is not justified by the text of Abot. On the contrary, it is clear from Abot 1:4 that there is a break in the chain of tradition. Antigonos, is said to have received the Torah "from them." Since only Simon the Just is mentioned immediately before Antigonos, we would naturally expect the text to say that the latter received the Torah "from him." It is true that some texts read ממנו, but the correctness of this reading is open to strong suspicion as being an emendation to remove the difficulty created by the reading מהם. The very difficulty argues in favor of the correctness of the reading "from them." Some name or names must have fallen out between Simon the Just and Antigonos. It is evident that Simon the Just was identified with Simon II, not because the historical evidence touching Simon II justified this identification, but, rather because a preconceived theory or belief made it necessary. Were it not for this, I doubt very much whether the unequivocal identification of Simon the Just with Simon I as made by Josephus, and by that rabbinic tradition that connects Simon the Just with Alexander the Great would have been questioned. If Simon the Just is Simon the I, it follows that it was the Community of Israel from the beginning of the Persian period to about 270 that was designated as כנסת הגדולה or the Great Community.

There is sufficient evidence of a varied character to the effect that the substantive כנסת, as used in the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה, has a broader connotation than that given to it hitherto, that, in other words, it does not refer to any fixed legislative body, nor to any particular assembly such as the one described in Nehemiah VIII-X. Etymologically, of course, the word כנסת, in its earlier usage, could refer to any kind of assembly, and, therefore, it is true that the assembly described in Nehemiah could have been called a כנסת. But we have no reason to assume that tradition so designated that assembly, or, that it was that assembly that gave rise to the rabbinic reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה. On the contrary, just because those reports are not explicable on the assumption that the assembly described in Nehemiah is the basis of those reports, we should seriously

question whether such assumption is correct, and we should not be ready to conclude that the reports are unhistorical. If with Kuenen we identify the כנסת הגדולה with the assembly described in Nehemiah VIII-X, we must also with him necessarily deny a historical basis to most of the reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה. But, on the other hand, if we do not restrict the meaning of כנסת to a particular assembly, and take it, as I have suggested, in the broader sense of COMMUNITY, it will be seen that the Talmudic reports, far from being fictional, have a historical basis and become historically illuminating.[14]

What evidence is there for the claim, made in this study, that כנסת, in the term כנסת הגדולה, is a designation for the community of Israel of the period whose limits I have already determined? There is no question that in later rabbinic literature כנסת is one the terms by which the community or the people of Israel was designated. But, there is evidence to justify the assumption that this broader connotation of the term was current at least as early as the first century of the common era. And, I hold, that even if there were no literary evidence antedating rabbinic writings of the usage of כנסת in the broader sense, the evidence we have in rabbinic literature would be valid, in that, we have the right to assume that a word or phrase, in a special sense, may, and probably did have currency a considerable time before its first appearance, especially in a literature, which, in part, preserves traditions that were left unrecorded for a long time. It is impossible, for instance, to say how long the term כנסת ישראל was current before its first use in the literature that has come down to us.[15] It is very likely that the term כנסת without being used in combination with ישראל was originally a designation for the people of Israel, and that the term כנסת ישראל, with the emphasis on the second word, origin-

[14] For a presentation of the various meanings of כנסת, see Schuerer, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 501-516; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar z. N. T. aus Talmud u. Midrash, vol. I, p. 734 f.; Krauss, Synagogale Althertümer p. 2 f.; Bacher, in Hastings D. B, vol. IV, p. 636.

[15] For its appearance in the literature of the Tannaite period, see Bacher, Exegetische Terminologie, part 1, p. 85; Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 734.

ated by way of opposition to the claim of the Christian believers that they were "the Israel of God."[16] The Church regarded itself as the true "Synagogue." It called itself the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ* in contradistinction to the "Jewish Synagogue" which it characterized as the "Synagogue of Satan."[17] The terms *ἐκκλησία* and *συναγωγή* are synonymous.

In the Septuagint *ἐκκλησία* always represents קהל in the Hebrew text. The terms קהל and עדה, without any qualifying words, are used very often to designate the community, the people or congregation of Israel. In this study special note must be made of the fact that in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, for some reason not yet clear to me, only the former is used.[18] But קהל and עדה are clearly synonymous terms.[19] The Septuagint renderings of these terms indicate that the Greek translators regarded them as being synonymous. עדה is translated almost uniformly by *συναγωγή* while קהל is translated by *συναγωγή* and *εκκλησία*.[20] The term *συναγωγή*, which, it is agreed, ety-

[16] Galatians 6:16.

[17] See Harnack, Dogmen Geschichte, vol. 1 p. 43; Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 304, 327 ff.; vol. 11, part II, p. 188; F. J. Hort, The Christian Ecclesia, pp. 3-15.

[18] The one exception, viz. II Chron. 5:6, is a dittograph of 1 Ki. 8:5.

[19] Cp. e.g. קהל יהוה Nu. 16:3; I Chron. 28:8 with עדת יהוה Nu. 27:17 Josh. 22:16 in which terms there is apparently no difference in meaning. In this connection compare especially passages in which excommunication is threatened; e.g. in Nu. 19:20, it is מתוך הקהל, in Ex. 12:19, it is מעדת ישראל, in Ex. 12:15, it is מישראל, and in Lev. 17:4, it is מקרב עמו. This, it would seem, proves conclusively that the terms עדה ,קהל, and עם, as applied to Israel as a community are co-extensive. Here, it may be remarked, that the term עם is used a number of times in the books of Ezra and Neh. for the community of Israel, which is the community I identify with the כנסת הגדולה. There is abundant evidence for the synonymity of עם and קהל. Note e.g. the parallelism of these two words in Joel 2:16; Ps. 35:18; Ecclus. 44:15; 46:7. That these two terms are co-extensive appears also from the following; קהל in Ecclus. 50:13 is rendered by עמא in the Syriac; on the other hand, עם in Lev. 10:3 Nu. 32:15 is rendered by *συναγωγή*.

[20] See Hatch and Redpath Concordance to the LXX, vol. 1, p. 1309. Thus, e.g. the קהל יהוה in Nu. 16:3; 20:4 is a *συναγωγή* while in I Chron. 28:8 it is an *ἐκκλησία* cp. also LXX renderings of קהל ישראל in Lev. 16:17 and Josh. 8:35. Because קהל is always translated by *συναγωγή* in Gen., Ex., Lev. and Nu., and, on the other hand, by *εκκλησία* in Dt. (with one exception, viz.

mologically corresponds strictly to the term כנסת, or its Aramaic equivalent כנשתא, occurs fifty-six times in the New Testament. In twelve passages, the term *συναγωγή* very likely, has the broader sense of "community."[21] At any rate, passages such as John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2, in which the term for excommunication is *αποσυνάγωγος ποιεῖν* or *γίνεσθαι*, are significant in this connection. The excommunication referred to could hardly mean exclusion from an individual synagogue, but rather banishment or exclusion from social and religious fellowship with the people.[22] The term "synagogue" would thus seems to be co-extensive with "people" or "community."[23] The early Christian communities patterned their religious and communal organizations after the Jewish and originally had the same nomenclature.[24] One of the very probable reasons why the term *ἐκκλησία* and not *συναγωγή* was finally adopted to designate the Christian community, was because that term had long been familiar in Greek-speaking countries where Gentile Christianity had taken root. It is fair to assume, therefore, that the use of the term *ἐκκλησία* for the Christian community in the local and ecumenical sense, reflects a similar usage of the term כנסת for the Jewish community.[25] This, in other words, means that כנסת is a term

5:19) and in the following books (in the LXX order) to Neh. inclusive, E. Hatch (Essays in Biblical Greek, p. 21) argues that it is reasonable to infer that there is a close similarity of meaning in the Greek words, and that the two translations may be attributed to a difference in the time, place and person of the translator.

[21] For citation of passages see E. B. vol. IV, p. 4833a.

[22] See Handcommentar z. N. T. on John by Holzman, p. 125.

[23] Each "synagogue" or community exercised religious and whatever civil authority it had under the existing government. This is in accordance with what we know of the Jewish communities in Rome in the second century of the common era. The community was called a *συναγωγή* while its place of worship was known as *προσευχή*. See Vogelstein and Rieger, Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. vol. I, p. 39; for inscriptional evidence that *συναγωγή* was a designation for the community, see Schuerer, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 504, note 11; 506, note 13.

[24] See Jackson and Lake, op. cit. vol. I, part, 1, p. 168.

[25] In Acts *εκκλησία* is used preponderantly in the sense of a local community. See I. C. C. Comm. on Gal. by E. DeWitt Buton, p. 420; c.p. e.g. Acts 5:11; 8:1, 3; 11:22, 26. For the ecumenical sense of *ἐκκλησία* see e.g. Mt. 16:18; Gal. 1:13; I Cor. 10:32.

that comprehended not only the local Jewish community, but also, the entire body of Israel, which later was called כנסת ישראל by way of opposition, as was observed, to the claim of the Christian ecclesia that it was the true Israel. Biblical usage of the terms קהל and עדה without any qualifying words such as כל or ישראל would reasonably account for the use of the term כנסת for entire Israel.[26] If then, the term כנסת in the first or second century of the common era was a designation for the community or the people of Israel, it certainly could have that sense in the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה.

Certain it is, that later Jewish tradition as reflected in the Targumim did regard the community or people of Israel as being a כנשתא, for, of the two terms עדה and קהל designating the community, the former is rendered uniformly by כנשתא and the latter is also sometimes rendered by כנשתא particularly in the Targum to the Psalms, although it is generally rendered by קהלא.[27] It is clear that the Greek translators, Josephus and the later Jewish teachers conceived of Israel in the entire Biblical period as being organized and governed after the manner of the

[26] For usage of קהל and עדה in Talmudic lit., see Strack-Billerbeck, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 734.

[27] In the Pent. the rendering of קהל by כינשא is found only in Genesis, viz. 28:3; 35:11; 48:4; the only other occurence of the word קהל in Gen., viz. 49:6 is rendered by אתכנשיהון. Outside of the Pent. the rendering of קהל by כנשתא, is found in the Targum to Pss. 22:23, 26; 26:5; 35:18; 40:10, 11; 89:6; 107:32; Lam. 1:10; Joel 2:16.

In some passages קהל means only a "company" or "assembly," but, in others, it is a designation for the community of Israel. In Ps. 22:23 this term is clearly co-extensive with the later term כנסת ישראל. The word אחי in this passage, which reads, אספרה שמך לאחי בתוך קהל אהללך, undoubtedly refers to all fellow-believers, and the term קהל comprehends, as the contexts shows, both the יראי יהוה and כל זרע ישראל mentioned in the following verse. See Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Yalkut ha Makiri ad loc. Therefore, it is clear that קהל in this passage, and כנשתא which is the Targumic rendering of the word, have the same ecumenical sense which ἐκκλησία came to have in the N. T. If this is correct, we have here another proof that כנסת without the addition of ישראל designated the entire body of Israel, including even, according to the traditional interpretation the גרי הצדק. If, as has been maintained, the Targum to Psalms shows evidence of early composition, the use of כנשתא in the sense indicated, is indeed significant. On Targum to Psalms, see J. E. vol. XI, p. 62.

later communites.[28] The representative leaders of the community immediately after the Exile are subsumed under the term שרי הכהנים והלוים ושרי האבות לישראל.[29] They are also referred to as the השרים והזקנים.[30] The Septuagint render the terms for "elders" and "rulers" by *πρεσβύτερσι* and *ἀρχοντες*. These, it will be noted, are terms that are common in the New Testament for the leaders of the community.[31] It was these leaders of the Great Community who decided every important step taken and gave sanction to every measure introduced in the period of history covered by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.[32]

The designation "MEN" in the term, "Men of the Great Community" refers to these leaders of the people. In a number of biblical passages, the term "men" undoubtedly has the implication of the "leaders" of a certain city, locality or community. In some passages the evidence is beyond question. Thus, in the passage אנשי עירו הזקנים והחרים[33] the last two words are in apposition with אנשי. The writer, in order to leave no doubt as to what is meant by the term "men," states specifically that they are the elders and nobles. And again, the אנשי ישראל, referred to in I Samuel 8:22, were the representatives or leaders of Israel. This is clear from verse 4 of the same chapter, in which we read that it was "the elders" of Israel who came to Samuel with the request that he set a king over the people. There is no doubt that the "men of Israel" are identical with "the elders of Israel." The Septuagint leaves no doubt as to this identification through the rendering of זקנים by *ἄνδρες*.[34] The term אנשי ישראל in the sense of "the leaders of Israel," in all likelihood, was in the original text of Ezra 2:2 which gives a list

[28] See Jos. Ant. IV, 8, 14; the LXX, which ordinarily renders זקנים by *πρεσρύτεροι*, also renders the Hebrew by the collective term *γερουσία*; e.g. in Lev. 9:1 and always in Dt. save once; see G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, vol. 1, p. 390., c.p. also Targ. to Ps. 107:32 and Cant. 6:2.

[29] Ezra 8:29.

[30] Ibid. 10:8.

[31] See Schuerer, op. cit., vol. II, p. 251.

[32] Ezra 4:2, 3; 9:1; 10:8; Neh. 10:1.

[33] I Ki. 21:11.

[34] The LXX renders the term "men" by *ἄρχοντες* in Josh. 9:14; Ju. 8:15, and on the other hand, זקנים by *ἄνδρες* in Dt. 21:10; I Sam. 11:3.

of the names of the men under whose leadership the people are represented as having returned from the Exile.[35] The list concludes with the words מספר אנשי עם ישראל. The difficulty and confusion created by these words in their present connection are reflected by some of the versional renderings. It appears to me fairly certain that the list of names concluded with the words אנשי ישראל, which, interpreted as meaning "the leaders of Israel" would be a fitting conclusion to the list of names given. Indeed, the parallel text as found in I Esdras 5:8 concludes the list of names with *τῶν προηγουμένων αυτῶν*, which ordinarily would represent the Hebrew ראשיהם or שריהם but, which here, in all likelihood represents, a Hebrew text that read אנשי ישראל.[36] Having

[35] Some scholars hold that, what purports to be a census of the exiles who returned as given in Ezra chap. 2 and in the parallel passage in Neh. chap. 7, is, in reality, a census of the people made in the time of Ezra. (See Batten's Comm. on Ezra and Neh. in the I. C. C. series, p. 73).

[36] The words that conclude the list of names in Ezra 2:2, viz. מספר אנשי עם ישראל cannot, as they stand, be connected with the names that precede; hence, they are construed by scholars as being a caption for the census that follows. But, such a caption is not in keeping with the other captions found in this chapter. The census in Ezra 2:3-60 first gives the enumeration of the "Israelite" class, then of the Priests, then of the Levites and finally of the Nethinim. (For this four-fold division, see Neh. 11:13; for three-fold division, see, Ezra 10:5; Neh. 10:35. In the latter, the "Israelite" class is designated by the term העם, in contradistinction to "the Priests" and "the Levites.") Each of the last three classes of the four-fold division is captioned by one word giving the name of the class about to be enumerated. That one word begins the verse in which the first family of that class is named, and, it has an atnaḥ under it as if to indicate its captional character. Thus, v. 36 begins with the word הכהנים; v. 40 with הלוים; v. 43 with הנתינים. In the light of this use of a single word as a caption to designate the class about to be enumerated, it is fair to assume that the "Israelite" class was similarly captioned. In Ezra 10:5, the term העם is the designation for the "Israelite" class. That word, undoubtedly, stood at the beginning of the census of the Israelites, but, by mistake, was placed before, instead of after the word ישראל, which accounts for its being without the article in the present text. The Peshitta text, indeed, omits עם before ישראל.

The presence of מספר in the text מספר אנשי עם ישראל is undoubtedly a dittography of מספר the name of one of the leaders. The Greek Vatican transliterates מספר in the parallel text in Neh. 7:7 as a name which points to the dittographic character of this word. Sufficient evidence, I believe, has been given to justify the emendation proposed, namely, that the text originally concluded

shown that the term אנשי ישראל is a designation for the leaders or representatives of Israel, it follows that it is synonymous with such expressions as זקני ישראל, זקני העדה, and זקני העם. Remembering that ישראל, עדה, and עם, are often co-extensive terms, it follows that the term אנשי ישראל corresponds strictly to the term אנשי דכנשתא which is applied to the leaders Ezra, Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Mordecai and Bilshan.[37] It is evident, then, that the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה does not refer to members of a society or of a fixed organization, but merely to the leaders of the people of that community that was characterized as "great."

There is no reason to believe that these leaders were organized as a legislative body that met regularly. All that we are justified to infer from the evidence available is, that the leaders came together or were called together probably by the high-priest whenever necessity for taking action arose.[38] These representatives were, so to speak the קרואים of the community, who came or were called together when action on matters of communal importance had to be taken. That is about all the reference by Hecataeus of Abdera, who lived about 300 B. C. to the government of the Jews, can be safely interpreted to mean.[39]

The term "Men" is a general term including all the leaders of the entire period of the Great Community. Therefore, the

the list of names with אנשי ישראל. This reading solves all the difficulties experienced by the ancient translators and modern commentators.

[37] Targum to Cant. 7:3.

[38] A specially convened assembly was known in Greek as *σύγκλητος*, with which term we might compare the LXX rendering *σύγκλητοι βουλῆς* for קראי מועד in Nu. 16:2, and *ἐπίκλητοι τῆς συναγωγῆς* for קרואי העדה Nu. 1:16; 26:9.

[39] *Τοῦτον δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους φησὶν ἐκφέρειν τὰ παραγελλόμενα...*

Citation from Textes D'auteurs Grecs et Romains Relatifs au Judaisme, by Th. Reinach, pp. 17, 18. The use of the two terms *ἐκκλησία*, and *σύνοδος*, it seems to me, implies two different kinds of assemblies, the one, of the people and the other of their representatives. *ἐκκλησία* here, is probably used in the Greek sense of an assembly, to which the people or citizens were summoned. The fact that these terms are used in the plural would seem to imply that assemblies were called from time to time. If the term *σύνοδος* meant a fixed body that met at stated intervals the plural would hardly have been used.

tradition which on the one hand, included among the Men of the Great Community Jeshua and Zerubbabel at the beginning of the Persian period, and on the other hand, Simon the Just in the Greek period, creates no chronological difficulty, such, as was felt by those who assumed that term אנשי כנסת הגדולה referred to a fixed assembly.[40] Unnecessary is the assumption that has been made, that an unreliable Jewish chronology compressed the entire Persian period into a little more than one generation, and that, therefore, tradition could conceive of men, who lived two hundred years apart, as having belonged to the same body.[41]

Kuenen made a point of the silence of Josephus and of other ancient writers about a legislative body by the name of the "Great Synagogue," in support of his thesis that the reports about אנשי כנסת הגדולה are fiction. But, he would not have had occasion to make this point had he construed the word כנסת in the sense of "community." As the אנשי כנסת הגדולה were none other than the leaders of the Great Community, neither Josephus nor any other ancient writer had reason to mention a "Great Synagogue" as having functioned in the Persian period. Jo-

[40] Azariah de Rossi of the sixteenth century was the first to note this seeming difficulty, see מאור עינים chap. 37, Wilna ed.

[41] This compression is assumed on the basis of the statements in Seder Olam Sutta and Rabba that the Persian rule lasted 54 years; see Ratner's ed. of Sed. Olam R. p. 140. Ratner maintains that the reading נ"ר = 250 should be נ"ב = 52, which reading, he points out is confirmed by Yalkut to Ezra, par. 1068. According to Aboda Zara 9a and Seder Ol. R., chap. 30, the duration of the Persian rule over Judea was 34 years. But, these statements, I suggested in my study "Problems of Chronology in the Persian Period," (Journal of Jewish Lore and Phil. pp. 100-103) do not refer to Persian rule from the conquest of Babylon to Alexander the Great, but, from the time when the Jewish community was truly re-established on the basis of the Torah as the fundamental law of the community. This, according to a number of scholars, took place soon after the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem. According to these scholars, Ezra arrived in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes II, that is, in 398 B. C. By a different process of reasoning, I came to the same conclusion, and I maintained that the assembly in which the Torah was read by Ezra took place in 385 B.C., exactly 52 years before the Greek period. The statement that the Persian rule over Judea lasted 34 years, reflects another tradition of the community having been more firmly established on the basis of the observance of the Law. For detailed discussion of this point, see my Problem of Chronology.

sephus, however, does refer, a number of times, to the leaders who guided the destinies of the Jewry of that period.[42] The term חכימיא דכנשתא רבתא for the leaders of early post-exilic Israel is equivalent to "the elders of the Great Community," for the term "elders" in later Jewish tradition was sometimes synonymous with the term חכמים.[43]

I now consider three rabbinic reports that gave, and are most likely to give the impression that the אנשי כנסת הגדולה did constitute a fixed legislative body. If these reports are satisfactorily explicable in the light of the hypothesis I have advanced as to the meaning of the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה, all the other reports are even more so. According to one authority the אנשי כנסת הגדולה instituted for Israel benedictions and prayers, also benedictions for Kiddush and Habdalah.[44] This report does not justify the assumption that these "Men" constituted a fixed organization. All that we need infer from this report is that the later teachers thought that a part of liturgy originated with the leaders of the Great Community. This ascription of authorship of a part of the liturgy to the Men of the Great Community, is in keeping with the evident tendency of the later authorities to refer back to time immemorial such institutions and enactments whose origin was unknown. It was natural that the Men of the period of the Great Community in which the oral law had its beginnings should have been considered the authors of such laws and institutions whose origin went back beyond recorded tradition. Even an individual leader of the Great Community was thought of as having had the authority to make decisions and to effect certain regulations.[45] The report, then, that the אנשי כנסת הגדולה introduced certain liturgical formulae does not imply that a fixed organization instituted them. The leaders of the Great Community either individually, or acting in concert,

[42] Ant. XI, 1, 3; 4, 3; 5, 1, 4, 5.

[43] Targum to Cant. 6:5. For זקנים interpreted as חכמים see Jer. Targum to Lev. 19:32 and Sifra ad loc. אין זקן אלא חכם cp. Kidd. 32b; also Targ. to Ps. 107:32. The Samaritan Targum often renders the term "the elders" by "the wise," see S. Kohn, Sam. Studien, p. 25.

[44] Ber. 33a.

[45] For important institutions connected with the name of Ezra, see J. E. V, p. 322, for Takkanot ascribed to Haggai, see J. E. VI p. 146.

were thought of as having introduced measures deemed timely or necessary. Another reason for some enactments and regulations having been referred back to the Men of the Great Community, may have been prompted by the desire of the Pharisees to avoid recording the priestly or Sadducean origin of such enactments and regulations.

According to another report, 120 elders including some prophets instituted the Eighteen Benedictions.[46] Though the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה is not found in the passages that give the number of the elders, it is taken for granted that the 120 elders are identical with the אנשי כנסת הגדולה. Granting that this indentification is correct, it does not follow that these elders constituted a fixed organization. All that we can rightly infer. from the rabbinic reports is that it was believed that at one time in the period of the Great Community some 120 religious leaders had instituted the Eighteen Benedictions.

[46] Meg. 17b; according to Jer. Ber. 4d, the number is given as 120 elders, 80 and more of them being prophets; Jer. Meg. 70d and Ruth R. speak of 85 elders and among them 30 odd prophets. By comparing these texts and making three emendations, scholars are agreed that the correct number is 120. It is believed, that this number was arrived at by adding together the 84 names in Neh. 10:2-28, the 32 names found in Neh. 8:4, 7; 9:4, 5 and adding to this total, the names of Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachai. In view of the fact that an examination of the several lists that are presumed to have been added together, reveals that some of the names occur in duplicate and even triplicate, it may well be questioned whether the number 120 was arrived at in the manner proposed by Krochmal. Inasmuch as the Talmudic reports specifically state that a number of prophets were among the elders, it is an arbitrary procedure to single out Haggai, Zechariah and Malachai, and to count them separately. Furthermore, if the number 120 was arrived at by adding together the lists of names in question, the absence of the name of Ezra from all the lists would have been noted in some way, probably by giving the exact number of names and then mentioning Ezra by name. It is very likely that the number 120 does not represent an addition of lists of names but is rather a round number which, a later age believed represented the number of all the leaders of the Great Community.

Possibly the terms זקנים and שרים applied to the leaders of the Great Community, refer to two classes of leaders, the one religious the other civil. At any rate we have an echo of such distinction in Sabb. 54b-55a. If there was such a distinction, we can understand why the later teachers ascribed religious enactments which were believed to have been made in the Great Community to "the elders," a term familiar to them for representative leaders.

Only one other tradition need be considered in this connection, namely, the one that identifies the Soferim, to whom certain textual corrections, called תקוני סופרים are ascribed, with the אנשי כנסת הגדולה.[47] This identification, in the light of my interpretation of this term, merely means, that the Soferim, who were considered the authors of those emendations, were leaders or Men of the Great Community. It is significant that the Soferim of only the Great Community, in other words, the earliest Soferim of the post-exilic community, are credited with textual emendations. May not this tradition have its origin in the fact that the earliest Soferim were probably the redactors of the Torah or the authors of the Pentateuch in its present form? There is ample evidence to the effect that the earlier laws, not to mention the historical narratives, underwent a constant process of amplification through addition of comments, glosses and illustrations, somewhat in the same manner that earlier Mishnas were elaborated and developed into our present Mishna.[48] That process continued to the time of Ezra and in all likelihood, in a greatly restricted degree for a time after Ezra. Even accepting the traditional view that the Torah that Ezra placed before the people was complete in its present form there is reason to believe that the earliest Soferim, when they desired to teach something that was not deducible from the text of the Torah, did not hesitate to introduce some slight changes in the text, in order that it might yield a justification of the law or custom they desired to teach. This, in other words, means clearly that "..the Soferim changed and corrected the text of the Torah which they originally had."[49] It has been observed

[47] Mid. Tanḥuma to Ex. 15:7, Lublin print, 1902, p. 142; the same emendations credited to the Soferim, are ascribed to Ezra in the masoretic work אכלה ואכלה Frensdorf's ed. no. 168. See, Geiger, Nachgelassene Schriften, vol. IV, pp. 48, 49. Lauterbach gives cogent reasons for considering the reading in Tanḥuma as original and not a later insertion. He also gives the probable reason why the later teachers refrained from repeated reference to textual emendations. Mid. and Mishna, J. Q. R. New Series, vol. VI, p. 35.

[48] For manner in which a simple Biblical law was elaborated see M. Jastrow, "The Nazir Legislation" in Journal Bib. Lit. vol. 33, pp. 266-285; J. Q. R. New Series, vol IV, pp. 357-418.

[49] Lauterbach, op. cit. pp. 34-36. Krochmal, op. cit. Warsaw ed. p. 179.

correctly, that inasmuch as the Torah in its present form was transmitted to later generations by the Soferim it is impossible to ascertain to what extent changes in the original text of the Torah were made.[50] There can be no doubt that at some point in the latter part of the Persian period a stop was put to changes being incorporated in the Torah text which became closed, so to speak, against further modifications. That point lies somewhere between the time of Ezra and the Samaritan schism. Who made the text sacred and immutable? In all likelihood, it was the religious leaders, whose authority was recognized by the community, who declared the text to be inviolate. It is only on this assumption that we can account satisfactorily for the discontinuance of the process of amplifying or modifying the text that continued up to and beyond the time of Ezra. These religious leaders in the latter part of the Persian period, were probably the Soferim, who, realizing the necessity of safeguarding the text of the Torah, urged that no further changes or additions be made. What they did, they must have done by agreement, but, that is far from saying that they constituted a fixed legislative body. The work of the earliest Soferim, then, consisted of redacting, fixing and preserving the text of the Torah, and of expounding it, the Soferim who followed them had their activity limited to teaching and interpreting the Law that was transmitted to them.[51]

[50] Lauterbach, ibid.

[51] In this connection, I venture the opinion that the injunction עשו סייג לתורה ascribed to the Men of the Great Community, was an injunction to safeguard the text of the Torah from further changes or modifications. There, is no doubt, however, that even after the text was fixed and declared to be immutable, errors were made by copyists so that texts had to be corrected by official correctors to accord with a standard codex. (See L. Blau, Studien z. Althebräischen Buchwesen, p. 97 ff.) With the development of that form of exegesis in which orthographic details came to play a part in the interpretation of the text, it was very important that the text should be safeguarded even from the most insignificant variations from the standard text, hence, the saying of Akiba מסורת סייג לתורה (Abot, Taylor ed. 3:20). In this dictum we have a suggestion as to the meaning of the term סייג in the injunction "Make a fence for the Torah." The primary significance of the term מסורת was a "fetter" for the law. (C. Levias, Word Studies, H. U. C. Annual, 1904, p. 147 i.e. from root אסר). The injunction, then, called for the fixation

While on the one hand, Targumic tradition designated Israel, ever since the Exodus, by the term כנשתא or כנשתא דישראל on the other hand, the community of post-exilic Israel was called כנשתא רבתא;[52] which, of course is the equivalent of the term כנסת הגדולה. The question now arises, why was the particular community after the Exile to Simon the Just called the Great Community? There are several likely reasons, one or more of which may account for that Community having been characterized as "great." Before I present these, I would suggest that the word הגדולה may, originally have been read הַגְּדוּלָה, which reading removes the obvious grammatical difficulty that exists in a noun without the article having an attributive with the article. The proposed reading is suggested by the statement in the Palestinian Talmud that when the Men of the Great Community arose, they restored "the greatness" (הַגְּדוּלָה) to its former state.[53] If the suggested reading be adopted then the

of the text, so that it should not undergo further changes. Later the term מסורת came to mean "orthography." The use of the plural as well as of the singular of this word, is explicable only on the assumption of a primary meaning suggested above, "while, on the assumption that it originally meant "tradition," such a use of the plural would be strange indeed "(Levias, ibid.) Only when the Masorah (I am paraphrasing Levias) had become a traditional discipline, did the term become connected with the root מסר, and hence, came to mean "tradition." The saying of Akiba should be interpreted as follows: "Masorah, (fixed textual tradition) is a fetter (lit. fence) to the Torah." Cp. Jer. Meg. 74d where מסורת refers to the traditional Scripture text. Two early commentaries on Abot interpret the term מסורת in Abot. 3:20 as having reference to the system of rules for the reading of the Bible text. (See Abot, Taylor ed. p. 35, note 33).

The injunction of the Men of the Great Community to guard the law against further additions and changes, was probably dictated not only by the thought of putting an end to such changes as were made by the Soferim, but also by the conviction that must have grown up that after the Samaritan schism that it was most imperative to fix and safeguard the text of the Torah in order to check up any falsification of the text that might be attempted, as indeed it was, by the Samaritans to suit their purpose.

[52] Targum to Cant. 6:5.

[53] Jer. Ber. 11c; Jer. Meg. 74a. In the parallel passage Joma 69b the word עטרה occurs instead of גדולה . The tradition in these passages, does not give, as is supposed, (cp. Taylor, Abot, p. 111) the origin of the attributive in the term כנסת הגדולה. The question that is asked in these passages, is not

term אנשי כנסת הגדולה would be literally translated, "The Men of the Community of Greatness," which, in meaning, is equivalent to the term the Great Community.[54] Why was the early post-exilic community characterized as being "great" or "distinguished?" A community may be great by comparison with other communities less great, or it may be great by reason of inherent virtues, or by reasons of distinction conferred upon it by its leaders or by outstanding events that took place in it. Early-exilic Israel might well have been regarded by a later age as having been great from all these points of view.

In comparison with pre-exilic Israel, it was great if only

"why was the אנשי כנסת הגדולה so called?" but, "why were they (i.e. the men who used the triad of divine attributes in their prayer) called "Men of the Great Community?" Two answers, representing variant traditions, are given to this question. According to the report in the Jer. Talmud, it was because they restored the "greatness" to its pristine glory, by using in their prayer the three divine attributes הגדול הגבור והנורא (Neh. 9:32) that Moses used (Dt. 10:17), while Jeremiah (32:18) and Daniel (10:17) omitted one of these attributes in their prayer. The report cannot be interpreted to mean that the כנסת was called "great" because the "men" used the attribute גדול in the course of their prayer, for Jeremiah likewise used this attribute in his prayer, the stress, rather, is to be laid on the use of all three divine attributes. According to the report in the Bab. Talmud, the "Men" were called or classed with the "Men of the Great Community" because they restored the crown (of the Law) to its pristine glory.

If the Talmudic passages in question really meant to give the origin of the attribute הגדולה as applied to a fixed organization known as כנסת, the text would have read למה נקראה כנסת הגדולה, instead of למה נקראו אנשי כנסת הגדולה. Furthermore, if the name of the organization was אנשי כנסת הגדולה would it not have been said that Simon the Just was one of the last of the אנשי כנסת הגדולה instead of that he was one of the last of the כנסת הגדולה? And again if the term כנסת הגדולה were a designation for a fixed organization the addition of the word, אנשי to the name of that organization would be strange and unusual. For, nowhere do we find an enactment ascribed to the "Men" of a legislative body, it is always the body itself that is said to have made the enactment. But, granting that the Talmudic reports in question are concerned with giving the origin of the attribute הגדולה, they would then mean that the Community was great, because in it the "greatness" (of God) or the "crown" (of the law) had been restored to its pristine state by its leaders

[54] As far as my theory is concerned גדולה may also be pointed as an adjective. For similar construction, cp. שעיר המשתלח Sabb. 9, 3; אמה העברית Kidd. 1, 2; see Geiger, Nachge. Schriften, vol. IV, p. 285.

because, idolatry, always present hitherto in various forms, was conspicuously absent from the post-exilic community. Even the generation that originally received the Torah was of little faith and rebellious against its leaders. And, when, later, Israel occupied its own land, the Torah was sadly neglected. Again and again Israel is represented by historian and prophet as going after strange gods. In the entire pre-exilic period, the Torah was more honored in the breach than the observance. How different the picture that is drawn of the community that returned from the Exile! Within a few months after the people had returned, they came from the cities where they had settled to Jerusalem as ONE MAN to participate in the erection of a temporary altar that they might fulfill as speedily as possible the provisions of the Torah touching sacrifice.[55] In the second year of their coming *all* classes of the people under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua gave themselves to the sacred task of rebuilding the temple.[56] And when the temple was finally completed, again the *entire* community participated with joy in its dedication.[57] And, in connection with the most solemn and significant event in the life of that community, the people are again represented as having come together as ONE MAN to Ezra with the request that he bring before them the Torah of Moses.[58] It was the community of Israel that took the initattive in the matter of having the Law read and interpreted. Never before, nor after, was Israel represented as having been so completely united in the high resolve to know God and to serve Him. Truly, a glorious כנסת, was that, at least to a retrospective view.

But, even if post-exilic Israel had not been so represented, even if the people had accepted the Law only passively, and had agreed through their representatives to observe the Law, that community might well have been regarded as "great." For, was not the Torah restored to it in its pristine form, was not God's glory and greatness proclaimed anew in it? The crown

[55] Ezra 3:1, 2.
[56] Ibid 3:8.
[57] Ibid 6:16.
[58] Neh. 8:1.

of the Torah was once more exalted? A second Moses had ushered in a new spring-tide in the life of Israel. Greatness and distinction had come to that community, if for no reason, other than that the Torah, which had been forgotten and neglected, was again restored and made the fundamental law of the community.

But, not only by way of contrast to pre-exilic Israel was the community, after the Exile to Simon the Just, great, but also by way of contrast to Israel after the period of the Great Community. What did the later teachers see in the community of Israel that followed the Great Community? The introduction and practice of alien customs, apostasy, disloyalty to the faith of the fathers, unholy ambitions for worldly power on the part of godless leaders, temporal interests stressed above the religious after political independence had been won in the Maccabean period, the house of Israel hopelessly divided into warring camps. What a contrast such a picture presented to the picture of the Great Community, in which the religious interests were dominant, and, in which the Torah was the supreme quest of a united people. Surely, in the light of all this, the Pharisees, from whom the reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה came down to us, had reason, indeed to view early post-exilic Israel as "The Great Community." True it is, that in the writings of the post-exilic prophets and of the Chronicler, serious shortcomings are deplored and denounced, evils, such as that of religious indifference expressing itself in the neglect of the Temple and of the needs of its ministers, intermarriage, Sabbath violation, but, these sins naturally faded from the view that envisaged the Israel of that period in the light of a community completely united in its desire to know and to fulfill the Torah of Moses. Well known is the manner in which the Chronicler idealized pre-exilic Judah. In the same manner, an age removed by several centuries from the period of the Great Community idealized post-exilic Judah and regarded that period as the golden age of the second Temple.[59]

[59] One other reason why early post-exilic Israel was characterized as "great" may possibly be linked with the Biblical term קהל רב as applied to the community of Israel in Pss. 22:26; 35:18; 40:10, 11. These Pss., it may be

None of the reasons given hitherto as to why the כנסת was characterized as being "great" is convincing. Kuenen held that the assembly described in Nehemiah VIII-X was termed a כנסת הגדול to distinguish it from other assemblies referred to in the Chronicler's history.[60] That assembly, he maintained, was of such transcendent importance, of such an epochal character, that in truth, it was "great" as compared with other assemblies,

observed incidentally, are regarded by a number of scholars as referring in part, or in whole, to conditions that confronted Israel in the Persian period. (See Baethgen's commentary on Psalms in the Hand-Kommentar series, pp. 62, 96, 112.) The Targum rendering of קהל רב in these passages is כנשתא רבתא. The term קהל in Ps. 35:18a has its parallel in b of the same verse, in the term עם עצום. What possibly did the qualifying words רב and עצום mean to the Tarmugist? Israel, in reality, was neither numerous nor mighty as compared with other peoples, on the contrary, Israel was painfully weak and insignificant as compared with other nations. But, in a religious sense, Israel, at his best could be considered great and mighty by the believer in God's word, that Abraham was destined to become the progenitor of a גוי גדול ועצום. (Gen. 18:18; for similar phraseology with reference to Moses, see, Dt. 9:14; with reference to Israel, Dt. 26:5). Targum Onk. renders the phrase in Gen. by עם סגי ותקיף, and Targ. Pseud. Jon. by עם רב ותקיף. The Targum rendering of עם עצום in Ps. 35:18 is עמא תקיפא. Is there not possibly some connection, in thought at least, between the Targumic renderings of the Genesis and Psalm passages? Do these renderings possibly reflect a Jewish tradition that in early post-exilic Israel the promise made to Abraham was fulfilled? (Outside of the Psalms, the term קהל רב as used in Ez. 17:17 and also the term קהל גדול as used in I Ki. 8:65; Ez. 38:5 have reference merely to large numbers. Only in the Targum to Psalms is the קהל רב rendered by כנשתא רבתא)

[60] Op. cit., p. 141; Wasserman held that the term כנסת הגדולה was originally a designation for the assembly of all the people referred to in Ezra 10:7, while the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה was applied to the assembly of the leaders of the people at that time; the temporary assembly of the leaders, he supposes, became a permanent body and retained the original name. Thus, he like the other scholars, took for granted that the term אנשי כנסת הגדולה is a designation for a fixed legislative body. (Die Manner der grossen Synagoge, Hypothese uber d. Ursprung diesses Namens, Jost's Isr. Annalen, vol. 2, pp. 163–64.) After this paper was in proof my attention was called to the article by Jacob Ezekiel Löwy in his ספר בקורת ההלכות (1863, pp. 243, 260) in which the author assumed that the כנסת הגדולה is identical with the entire Jewish people, but, he also identified it with the קהלה גדולה referred to in Neh. 5:7. He furthermore assumed that the אנשי כנסת הגדולה were the leaders of the people of this entire Jewish community. He held that the כנסת הגדולה ceased at the beginning of the Greek period when Israel was no longer under one government.

and, therefore, he concluded, a later age rightly characterized it as a כנסת הגדולה. Granting the correctness of his contention that it is that assembly that is referred to by the word כנסת in the term כנסת הגדולה, the reasons cited by Kuenen for its having been called "great" by later teachers, do not appear to me to be valid. For, neither the Chronicler nor the rabbis attached to that assembly the importance which some modern scholars attribute to it—scholars, who hold that the Pentateuch, or at least an important legal section thereof, was promulgated in that assembly for the first time, and that the new law entirely changed the emphasis of Israel's religion. It should be remembered, however, that the rabbis did not believe that a new law had been introduced to that assembly, but rather, that an old law had been re-introduced and revitalized. To the later teachers that assembly was only one of several assemblies in which important steps were taken to insure fulfillment of the prescriptions of the Torah, which, to their way of thinking, had been forgotten or neglected. Furthermore, it may well be questioned whether modern scholars have not exaggerated the importance and significance of that assembly, and whether the law that was read at that time did radically change the trend and stress of Judaism.[61]

The initiative role played by the people in every important step taken is generally overlooked. It was the people who took the first step in having the law brought before them and taught to them.[62] It was not thrust upon them from without. Ezra at no time took the initiative. It was the representatives of the community who first brought to the attention of Ezra the extent to which intermarriage had taken place and who urged that drastic steps be taken to deal with that evil.[63] If that assembly was great, it was not primarily because of what was done in it by the leaders, but because of the attitude of the Community, as expressed in its eagerness and earnestness to hear and fulfill the Torah. In other words, it was the Com-

[61] See George Foot Moore, Rise of Normative Judaism, Harvard Theological Review, vol. XVII, p. 314 ff.

[62] Neh. 8:1.

[63] Ezra 9:1 f.; 10:7, 8.

munity that was great and not the assembly. It is only as we remember this, that we can explain satisfactorily why Ben Sira failed to mention Ezra in his praise of the Jewish Worthies.[64] Ezra was only one of the leaders who helped the community to realize its desire to be religiously re-integrated. If, on the other hand, we regard Ezra and not the Community as the moving spirit of that assembly, the silence of Ben Sira touching the work of Ezra, is indeed perplexing and presents a difficult problem that is reflected in the various attempts made to account for this silence.[65] Later Jewish teachers, who stressed the supreme importance of the teaching, study and practice of the Torah, naturally exalted the person of Ezra only because of his work in restoring and expounding the Torah.

The activities attributed by Talmudic reports to the Men of the Great Community may be characterized as canonical, liturgical and institutional. I have already suggested some of the reasons why such activities were attributed to the Men of that Community. While those reports are anachronistic in particulars, they nevertheless have a historical basis. Thus, the report that the Men of the Great Community "wrote" the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther and the Twelve Minor prophets[66] is clearly impossible of acceptance in the light of the established conclusions of modern Biblical criticism, whatever be the interpretation that may be given to the expression "wrote." Yet, that report, in all probability, is an echo of the canonical activity that took place in the period of the Great Community. Modern scholars are practically unanimous in holding that the Pentateuch received its present form in the Persian period. And there is reason to believe that the collection of the books now belonging to the second division and possibly of some books now in the third division was begun in that period.[67]

If, as is maintained, the absence of a Temple cult in the

[64] Ecclus. chap. 50.

[65] See my Ezra the Scribe, Journal of Jewish Lore and Phil. vol. 3, p. 319 f.

[66] Bab. Bat. 15a.

[67] See Buhl, Canon and Text of O. T. tr. by Macpherson, pp. 12, 13; also my Ezra the Scribe, p. 328.

Exile, inaugurated the earliest form of synagogal assemblies and worship, surely there is reason to believe that some liturgical formulae for use apart from the Temple worship were instituted in the period following the Exile. The use of the terms ברכה and תהלה in Nehemiah 9:5, in the later technical sense of these words,[68] is presumptive evidence that side by side with the development of a Temple liturgy, a liturgy for use outside of the Temple began to be developed. This would account for the report that the Men of the Great Community instituted the Eighteen Benedictions and other prayers. The Men of the Great Community, according to an anonymous report introduced that method of exegesis that led to the development of the Halakah and Agadah.[79] That report, as well as those that ascribe to the Men of the Great Community institutions and regulations that are not explicitly set forth in the written Law, are undoubtedly reminiscent of the fact that one of the activities of the Soferim consisted of expounding the written Law in connection with the development of the Oral Law. In the light of the interpretation that I have presented, it is apparent that the reports about the אנשי כנסת הגדולה, far from being pure fiction, have their roots in historical facts.

[68] I. Elbogen, Der jüd. Gottesdienst, p. 4.
[69] Jer. Shekalim, 48a.

PALESTINE IN JEWISH THEOLOGY

FIRST PART OF STUDY COVERING TO THE YEAR 70

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THE FELICITOUS COMBINATION of *God, the Torah, and Israel*[1] into the indissoluble unity that constitutes Judaism, appears also with the significant addition of *the Land of Israel.*[2] Indeed so close has been the kinship between Palestine and Israel, and of such far-reaching nature has this relationship been in the development of the Torah and of the idea of God, that it is impossible to trace the growth of any one of these foundations of Judaism without reference to the others. Palestine not only formed the background for the unfoldment of Israel's religious life, but has to a great extent determined both its lines of progress and its character. The physical atmosphere of Palestine formed the nursery of Israel's rich spiritual idealism. Nor has Palestine remained a mere museum of Jewish antiquities. Despite two thousand years of Jewish dispersion throughout the world, it has retained a powerful hold upon Jewish custom, law, and ritual. The land of ancient memories has been enshrined in Jewish hearts as the land of future promise. Linked with the Messiah idea and with the belief in the Resurrection, Palestine was transferred from the realm of geography to that of faith. Not even the Reformation of Judaism has wholly separated the religion of the Jew from its native soil. The breath of the ancient Bible land inspirits many an institution and practice cherished by Reform

[1] Zohar, Leviticus 73a; ג' דרגין אינון כתקשרין דא בדא קב"ה אורייתא וישראל; and Israel Besht's Kether Shem Tob, pt. II. p. 2a: קב"ה ואורייתא וישראל כולא חד.

[2] Mostly in Modern Hebrew literature: קב"ה ואורייתא וישראל וארעא דישראל. This combination is not unknown in older Rabbinic literature. Thus Midrash Zutta, Shir Hashirim (ed. Buber) p. 8, reads: נקרא הקב"ה (בשבעים שמות) ובחר בישראל שנקראו בשבעים שמות ונתן להם את התורה שנקראת שבעים שמות והוא עתיד לנחם בירושלים שנקראת שבעים שמות.

Judaism. The Zionist movement has placed Palestine on the agenda of modern Jewish endeavor. The relation of Palestine to Judaism, therefore, assumes practical significance for Jews of every phase of religious belief.

The extent to which Palestine affected Judaism and its institutions, down to the Fall of the Jewish state and Temple, in 70 C.E., is the subject of the first part of the present paper.

I

We must note at the outset that the union between Judaism and Palestine is historical rather than organic. It had not yet made its appearance in the days of Moses. Not alone tradition but also scientific investigation traces the origin of the Torah to No-man's land, to the desert. At Sinai (=Horeb), Israel entered into a covenant with Jahweh, and began to follow His ways and ordinances. Evidence tends to show that Jahweh was associated with that region. The Blessing of Moses speaks of His coming from Sinai.[3] The even more ancient ode of Deborah likewise describes His advent from Sinai, by way of Mt. Seir, to the aid of His people.[4] The Elijah stories also show that Horeb was considered "the Mountain of God."[5] This is unquestionably the belief of the narratives of the Exodus. At the Mount of God, at Horeb, Jahweh revealed Himself to Moses in the thorn-bush.[6] Thither too the newly freed slaves pilgrimed to receive the words of Jahweh.[7] The whole framework of Deuteronomy rests on this tradition. The same view faces us in the Psalms.[8]

While residing at Sinai, Jahweh moved before the Israelites not only on their desert wanderings, but also into their new home. Whether in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, or through His deputized angel, he led them on their perilous jour-

[3] Dt. XXXIII: 1ff. cf. Habakkuk III: 3; Psalm LXVIII: 8 ff.
[4] Judges V: 4-5.
[5] I. Kings XIX.
[6] Ex. III.
[7] Ex. XIX-XX; XXXIII: 17-XXXIV.
[8] Ps. LXVIII: 8-9. On the other hand Psalm XVIII and II.Samuel XXII regard the heavens rather than Sinai (=Horeb) as Jahweh's dwelling place.

ney.[9] The Ark and the Tent of Meeting constituted His portable abode.[10] He received the ministrations of Israel's priests, and in turn protected the Israelites and gave them food and shelter. Their wars were also His wars—*milḥamoth Jahweh*.[11] He helped them to defeat the Amalekites.[12] He led them in their conquest of Palestine. In thunder and lightning He fought their battles and insured their victory.

It was in Palestine that the religion of Israel flowered forth in its variegated colors. There, too, a problem of foremost significance presented itself to the people: the problem of the relation of Jahweh to their newly acquired land. Children of their time, they shared the beliefs of their neighbors that even as nations, so their gods enjoy proprietory rights upon certain lands. Accordingly Palestine appeared to them not only as the land of the Canaanites but also of the Baalim. Whereas the Canaanites could be dispossessed, the Baalim belonged to the soil. As its *possessors*, they claimed the homage of its inhabitants. The situation was aggravated by the transfer of the Israelites from a nomadic to an agricultural economy. As part of their adjustment to the new conditions of settled life, they were compelled to learn from the old settlers the art of plowing, sowing, and harvesting, of tending orchards and vineyards. These were connected in the minds of the Canaanites, with the Baalim who, through union with the soil, produced all vegetation. They fertilized the land; they made the trees to grow and to yield fruit; they replenished the wells and the streams with water; they too sent down rain and dew from heaven. To secure their good will, proper rites had to be performed in their honor.[13] The very process of cultivation of the soil led the Israelites to worship the gods of the soil, to offer sacrifices to them, and to celebrate their harvest festivals.[14]

Nor did this involve a falling away from Jahweh. He was their covenant God who fought their battles and helped them gain

[9] Ex. XXIII: 21-33.
[10] Ex. XXIII: 7-11; Numbers X: 33-36.
[11] Jud. V: 23; Num. XXI: 14.
[12] Ex. XVIII: 8-16.
[13] Cf. Hosea II.
[14] K. Budde, Religion of Israel, pp. 57-58.

a footing in the land. To Him they continued to turn for help in times of stress.[15] However in the land itself not He but the Baalim were the masters.[16] While the Baalim received homage, Jahweh was not wholly overlooked. A syncretism followed. Both Jahweh and the Baalim were worshipped side by side. In the case of the city of Shechem where the population was mixed, a covenant god presided over the Canaanite and Israelite elements. It seems that while the former called him *Ba'al*-B'rith, the latter knew him as *El*-B'rith.[17] The fusion of the two forms of religion is evidenced in the instance of Gideon. Though a strong champion of Jahweh, he is named *Jerubaal*. Saul, too, calls one of his sons *Ish-Baal*; and even David names one of his *Baaljada*.

As the God of the victorious people, Jahweh steadily extended His sway over the land. The desert deity was gradually transformed into the God of the land flowing with milk and honey. He banished the Baalim and established Himself in their place.[18] In fact He Himself became a sort of Baal. The use of the Canaanite dialect—שפת כנען[19]— by the Israelites facilitated their investing of Jahweh with the attributes of the Baalim.[20] The high places where they had formerly been worshipped, were consecrated to Him. Gibea, Rama, Mizpah, Penuel, Gilgal, Bethel, Beersheba, etc., became centres of Jahwism. Traditions arose connecting some of them with the Patriarchs.[21] Despite their transfer to another deity, these places retained their old cults. The agricultural character of their worship—as evidenced by the Code of the Covenant—remained

[15] Judges VI.

[16] The people are so deeply attached to the Baalim that they clamor for the execution of Gideon for destroying the altar of Baal and cutting down the Ashera. Judges VI: 25-32.

[17] Judges IX: 4, 46.

[18] Budde, Op. cit. p. 106.

[19] Is. XIX: 18.

[20] Unsuccessful attempts were made to take over for Him, the name of Baal. Hosea II: 18.

[21] Gen. XII, XVIII, XXIII, XXVIII, XXXII: 25-33; XXXIII: 18-20; XXXV: 13 ff; XLVI: 1-3; etc. Cf. also Judges XVII-XVIII; Judg. I: 21; XIX: 11-12; II. Sam. V: 6-9; XXIV, etc. V. also Baudissin, Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte, on Heilige Gewässer, Bäume und Höhen, vol. II. pp. 145-269.

unaltered. The Pesaḥ or the Spring festival which the Israelites celebrated in honor of Jahweh in their nomadic days, was now attached to the Ḥag ha-Mazzoth, the festival of the farmers. The festivals of First Fruits—Ḥag ha-Bikkurim—and of Ingathering or Autumn Harvest—Ḥag he-Osif—now formed part of Jahweh worship.[22] References are found also to festivals of sheep-shearing, vintage,[23] etc. These celebrations were marked by singing, dancing and merry-making at the sanctuaries. Though held in the honor of Jahweh, they retained much of the orgiastic nature of Baal worship.[24]

The adaptation of Jahweh and His cult to Baal levels was particularly marked in the North where agriculture stood on a higher plane than in Judah, and where Baalism was consequently more strongly entrenched;—hence the worship of Jahweh under the presentation of calves—symbols of Baal[25]—at Beth El and at Dan, following the disruption of the Monarchy.[26] Mazzebas, or pillars, representing abodes of the spirits, were reconsecrated to Jahweh.[27] Canaan's elaborate cult of divination was associated in the popular mind with Jahweh. Sacred trees appear to have been used for oracular purposes. Jahweh's voice was heard from the tree tops.[28]

By the time of the establishment of the Monarchy, Jahweh was so completely naturalized in Canaan, that David curses his slanderers because they had driven him out of "the inheritance of Jahweh" and compelled him, as a resident of foreign lands, to serve other gods.[29] As the Lord of the land, He could be rightly worshipped only within its precincts. Its soil became sacred property. A few centuries later, Na'amon the Syrian asks for a few mule-loads of Canaanitish earth which he desires to take to

[22] Ex. XXIII: 13 ff.; XXXIV; Dt. XVI; Lev. XXIII; Num. XXVIII.

[23] Judg. IX; 27 ff. (at Shechem); XXI: 19ff. (at Shilo, cf. also I.Sam. I-II: 13-17 and IX: 19-24); Judg. XI: 40ff. (at Gilead; cf. the weeping for Tammuz = Adonis).

[24] Cf. Isaiah XXVIII: 1, 7-8.

[25] Benzinger, Die Bücher der Könige, p. 90.

[26] I. Kings II: 27-33.

[27] Gen. XXVIII: 18, etc.

[28] Am. V: 7; Judg. IX: 37; II. Sam. V: 24.

[29] I. Sam. XXVI: 19 cf. Gen. IV: 14, 16

Damascus that he may be able to worship Jahweh there, and Elisha the champion of Jahwism of his day, grants the request.[30] As late as the fall of Samaria these beliefs held firm ground. The colonists that were transplanted by the Assyrians into Samaria "feared not Jahweh; therefore Jahweh sent lions among them, which killed some of them. Wherefore they spoke to the king of Assyria, saying: 'The nations which thou hast carried away, and placed in the cities of Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land; therefore He hath sent lions among them, and behold they slay them because they know not *the manner of the God of the land*.' Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying: 'Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them [him] go and dwell there, and let him teach them *the manner of the God of the land*.' So one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear Jahweh."[31] As with the Israelites at the time of the conquest, so with the Assyrian colonists, the adoption of the local deity did not necessitate the abandonment of their own deities. "They feared Jahweh, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away.[32]

As the Baalim, so Jahweh came to be identified with particular shrines. Beth-el, Shechem, Shiloh, Gibeon—each claimed that Jahweh placed His name within it.[33] It was Jahweh's connection with Jerusalem that was destined to exert the greatest influence on the religion of Israel. After conquering this Jebusite stronghold and turning it into the capital of the newly consolidated empire, David placed within it the Ark of the Covenant, which served as the Palladium of Jahweh.[34] Following the dire consequences of his census, David saw the destroying angel about to smite the city, when he was halted by Jahweh at the

[30] II. Kings V: 17.

[31] II. Kings XVII: 25ff.

[32] Ibid v.33.

[33] Jer. VII: 12; C.O. Whitehouse, art. Hebrew Religion, in Encycl. Brit. XIII; p. 180.

[34] II. Sam. VI; I. Chr. XIII; XV: 3, 12ff, XVI: 1ff, XVIII; XXI-XXII; cf. Ps. CXXXII.

threshing floor of Arauna the Jebusite. On the spot where Jahweh revealed Himself so effectively as to stop the pestilence, David built an altar and offered a sacrifice. On it Solomon later erected the magnificent sanctuary which permanently housed the Ark of Jahweh[35] and which served henceforth as the token of His presence.[36] "It was virgin soil. Only the plough and the threshingsled had reigned over it; no worship had been instituted there till Jahweh chose it for Himself as a place to reveal Himself and to dwell in. The legends of the Patriarchs could not compete with such attestation, and the course of events contributed its share to establish ever more firmly the preeminence of Jerusalem, until at last this single sanctuary remained the sole survivor, and became the centre of the religious world.

"With the dedication of the temple-site at Jerusalem Jahweh had taken final possession of Canaan and removed His residence thither. That was the close of this stage of development; but it was not fully recognized and preached until much later, in the time of Deuteronomy."[37]

As the seat of Jahweh's Ark and as the royal sanctuary, the new Temple gained preeminence over all other places of worship in Palestine. In a sense, it at once became the national sanctuary.[38] Thither people from all parts of the land pilgrimed to celebrate the autumn feast and possibly also the Passover.[39] Nevertheless the new Temple could not check the progress of the local cults. Indeed, as the books of Kings and the sermons of the Prophets testify, Canaanitic rites invaded the Temple itself. Its entire worship, its festivals, and its sacrifices were Canaanitic. Not even Hezekiah's and Josiah's religious reformations totally eradicated its Canaanitic elements. In refined form they permanently entered into the higher religion of Israel.

[35] II. Sam. XXIV; I. Chr. XXI.

[36] II. Sam. XV: 25.

[37] Budde, op. cit. pp. 110-111.

[38] Cf. I. K. XII: 27 ff. v. W. B. Smith: Prophets of Israel, pp. 437 ff.

[39] Cf. Ps. XX.

II

It was only the original austerity of Jahweh that prevented His sinking into the swamps of Palestinian Baalism. To His champions He ever stood out distinct from all other gods, "glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders."[40] In the voluptuousness of the local cults (of the Kedeshim and Kedeshoth, etc.) as in the offering of human sacrifices, they beheld the degradation of Jahweh. The stories of Noah's cursing Canaan,[41] of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah,[42] and of the concubine of Gibeah,[43] as of the sacrifice of Isaac,[44] show the revolt of the leaders of Jahwism against "the excrescences of the over-civilization" of Canaan and its cults.[45]

This revolt found expression in Jonadab b. Rechab's cry: "Back to the desert."[46] Following the awakened enthusiasm for Baalism—due to Jezebel—he despaired of ever seeing Jahwism retain its true character in Canaan. He therefore established an order, and charged its men: "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons forever; neither shall ye build houses nor sow seed, nor plant vineyards, nor have any; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land wherein ye so-journ."[47] The very atmosphere of agricultural life in Canaan appeared to the Rechabites as polluting. Jahweh the God of the desert could be worshipped aright only in the desert. As late as the time of the Babylonian Exile, they continued to lead a nomadic existence.[48] Their idealization of the desert period as the golden days of Israel's loyalty to Jahweh found its way

[40] Ex. XV: 11.
[41] Gen. IX: 20-27.
[42] Gen. XVIII-XIX.
[43] Judg. XIX-XX.
[44] Gen. XXII.
[45] v. Budde, op. cit. p. 71.
[46] II. Kings X: 15.
[47] Jer. XXXV: 6-7.
[48] Ibid v. 11. According to Hegesippus, as quoted by Eusebius, the Rechabites existed in the first Christian century. Hist. Eccle. II. 23, 17. See Encycl. Biblica Col. 4020. Ta'an IV: 5 states that the appointed time for the service of the Rechabites in the Temple was the 7th of Ab. See Jew. Encycl. X: 341.

into the words of Hosea[49] and of Jeremiah.[50] Their abstinence from wine may have survived in the Nazaritic order.[51]

More constructive was the attitude taken by the great prophetic reformer Elijah. The legends that cluster about him present the same idea of flight from the country of the Baalim. In despair, the prophet turns unto "the mountain of God, unto Horeb" for renewed courage.[52] But he does not remain there. The scene of his activities is Canaan. There he champions the nobler conception of religion. He not only refutes the belief that Baal controls either the fertility of the soil or the element of fire, but also denies the very reality of Baal.[53] His whole career is one long struggle to convince Israel that Jahweh alone is God, that He alone can send rain and fire, and that He demands absolute loyalty and justice, of His people.[54] It is significant that Elijah selects as his successor the prosperous farmer Elisha. The antithesis between agriculture and Jahwism, which drove the Rechabites back to the desert, completely disappeared in the teaching of Elijah and of his followers. While adjusting Jahwism to Canaan, prophetism succeeded in safeguarding the pure character of Jahwism.

This prophetic attitude to Palestine is reflected in the early Pentateuchal narratives, in the sermons of the prophets and in the Deuteronomic code. That Jahweh specially singled out Palestine for His people Israel stands out as their basic belief. In His covenants with Abraham,[55] with Isaac,[56] and with Jacob,[57] He swore to give the land to their children. As the Land of Promise, it formed the goal of Moses and of the Israelites whom he led out of bondage.[58]

[49] Hosea II: 16; XII: 10.
[50] Jer. II: 1 ff.
[51] Amos II: 11-12; Num. VI.
[52] I. K. XIX.
[53] I. K. XVIII.
[54] I. K. XXI.
[55] Gen. XIII: 14-18; XV: 18-21; XVII: 8; XXVIII: 4.
[56] Gen. XXVI: 3.
[57] Gen. XXVIII: 13, 16-17; XXXV: 12-15; XLVIII: 4; L: 24; Ex. XXXII: 12; Ps. CV: 9 ff.
[58] Ex. III: 8, 17; VI: 8; XII: 25; XIII: 5; XXXIV: 11 ff.

"Thou in Thy love hast led the people that Thou hast redeemed;
Thou hast guided them in Thy strength to Thy holy habitation. . .
Thou bringest them in, and plantest them in the mountain of Thine inheritance,
The place, O Jahweh, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in,
The sanctuary, O Jahweh, which Thy hands have established."[59]

Though connecting Jahweh with Canaan, these narratives do not limit Him to Canaan. They speak of His call of Abraham at Haran[60] and of the help extended him at the court of Pharaoh;[61] of His message to Jacob at Padan Aram[62] and of His protection of Joseph in Egypt.[63] There He manifested His power over the Egyptians and their gods, by delivering His people amid signs and wonders.[64]

Literary prophecy voices the same view. Amos, while rising to the religious height from which he beheld Jahweh as the cosmic God[65] who controls all nature, speaks of His revelation in Zion. Amos evidently thought of the Temple when he said: "Jahweh roareth out of Zion, and from Jerusalem He uttereth His voice."[66] Thither Jahweh led the Israelites and there He dispossessed the Amorites for their sake.[67] For them, any other land is *unclean*, possibly because it is not consecrated to Jahweh.[68] Hosea considers the union between Jahweh and Palestine so strong that the worship of any other deity within its borders constitutes rank harlotry and base ingratitude.[69] Not the Baalim

[59] Ex. XV: 13, 17.
[60] Gen. XII: 1-4.
[61] Gen. XII: 17.
[62] Gen. XXXI: 1.
[63] Gen. XXXIX: 23.
[64] Ex. VI-XI.
[65] Am. IV: 1 ff, 13; V: 8; VII: 1-18; 15; VIII: 7-9; IX: 1 ff.
[66] Am. I: 2.
[67] Am. II: 9-10; IX: 7.
[68] Am. VII: 17; v. Marti's Dodekapropheton, p. 214.
[69] Hos. II: 7 ff.

but Jahweh is the master of the land. He alone produces her fertility. As for Amos, so for Hosea, the chief danger that threatens the Israelites through exile is their enforced estrangement from Jahweh:

"They shall not dwell in Jahweh's land;
But Ephraim shall return to Egypt,
And shall eat unclean food[70] in Assyria.
They shall not pour out wine offerings to Jahweh,
Neither shall they be pleasing unto Him;
Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners,
All that eat thereof shall be polluted;
For their bread shall be for their appetite,
It shall not come into the house of Jahweh.
What will ye do in the day of the appointed season,
And in the day of the feast of Jahweh?"[71]

Despite his universalism, Isaiah too, regarded Jahweh as linked with Palestine. His angel chorus singing the praise of the thrice Holy, indeed proclaims: "the whole earth is full of His glory" (more correctly: "the fullness of the whole earth is His glory").[72] But using his eyes of man, he beholds the majesty of Jahweh in the Temple of Jerusalem, and with his human tongue he speaks of the Temple as Jahweh's house, and of the rock on which it was built as the "Mount of the house of Jahweh."[73] Jerusalem was to him the religious centre not only of his own land,[74] but of the world.[72] To it all nations will flow to be taught Jahweh's ways of righteousness and universal peace. "For out of Zion shall go forth instruction (Torah) and the word of Jahweh from Jerusalem."[75] Isaiah speaks of "Jahweh of Hosts who

[70] Cf. Ezek. IV: 12. The later and more advanced idea is presented in Is. XIX: 19 ff.

[71] Hos. IX: 3-5; v. also III: 4, and Marti's Dodekapropheton, pp. 37-38, 70-71; G. A. Smith, The Twelve Prophets I. pp. 279-280; cf. M. Buttenwieser's Prophets of Israel, pp. 320-321.

[72] Isaiah VI: 3.

[73] Is. II: 2 (cf. Micah IV: 1) and XVIII: 7.

[74] Is. XXX: 29; XXXIII: 20 ff.

[75] Is. II: 3b, and Micah IV: 2b.

dwelleth on Mount Zion,"[76] of "the place of the name of Jahweh of Hosts, Mount Zion,"[77] and of "Jahweh who has a fire in Zion and a hearth in Jerusalem.[78] He looks to the day when none "shall hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Jahweh as the waters cover the sea. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the root of Jesse, that standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek; and his resting place shall be glorious."[79] In the ideal state of the future "he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is written unto life in Jerusalem; when Judah shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof, by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of destruction. And Jahweh will create over the whole habitation of Mt. Zion, and over her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory shall be a canopy. And there shall be a pavilion for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and for a refuge and for a covert from storm and from rain."[80] The Psalm that is embodied in Isaiah XII interprets the spirit of the prophet in calling:

"Cry aloud and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion,

For great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee."[81] "To Isaiah the whole mountain land of Israel but especially the plateau of Zion is holy."[82]

Historical circumstances invested this belief with special significance. Sennacherib's invasion of Judah had cast the people into a state of panic. The fall of Jerusalem seemed imminent. Isaiah, who had frequently preached that evil threatened his people because of their disregard of the laws of Jahweh

[76] Is. VIII: 18.
[77] Is. XVIII: 18.
[78] Is. XXXI: 9.
[79] Is. XI: 9-10.
[80] Is. IV: 3-6.
[81] Is. XII: 6. Similar expressions appear in the Psalms, e. g. XX: 3; XLVI: 5-6, 8-12; XLVIII; LXXVI: 3; XCIX: 2; etc.
[82] W. R. Smith, Prophets of Israel p. 438.

and of their being led astray by irresponsible leaders, now appeared with a message of hope: "Out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and out of Mount Zion they shall escape; the zeal of Jahweh of Hosts shall perform this."[83] Not for Israel's but for His own sake, will Jahweh deliver His city by crushing the Assyrians, who presumptuously vaunt their superiority over Jahweh.[84] The miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem was hailed as an undoubted confirmation of Isaiah's faith.[85] The city was rescued from the jaws of destruction, and not by human strength. What greater proof was required that "Jahweh of Hosts who dwelleth in Zion" protects His own house and city? Neither the righteousness of the people nor their wickedness affected the ultimate safety of Jerusalem, but the presence of Jahweh rendered it inviolable. "Isaiah, to be sure, left it to others to draw the dangerous inferences from his teaching. But *drawn*, they inevitably were."[86]

It is against these inferences that Micah of Moresheth raised his voice. He threatens the heads of the nation that abhor justice and "build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity," also the priests and prophets that sell themselves to the highest bidder, and, in total ignorance of the moral character of Jahweh, confidently claim:

> " 'Is not Jahweh in the midst of us?
> No evil shall come upon us.'
> Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field,
> And Jerusalem shall become heaps,
> And the mountain of the House as the high places of a forest."[87]

[83] Is. XXXVII: 32.

[84] Budde writes: "It makes no difference if ever so many of the numerous prophecies in this strain are rejected as of later origin, the fact remains indisputable that Isaiah prophecied thus and no otherwise throughout the period of extreme necessity." Op. cit. p. 155. Cf. Is. X: 12, 28 ff; XIV: 24-27; 28-32; XVIII; XXIX: 1-6, 7 ff; XXX: 7 ff; XXXI: 4 ff; XXXVII: 27-29, 33-35. v. also W. R. Smith's Prophets of Israel, Lecture VIII. A different view is taken by M. Buttenwieser, Op. cit. pp. 283-285.

[85] Is. XXXIII.

[86] Budde: Op. cit. 159.

[87] Micah III: 12.

Probably in response to Micah's stern message Hezekiah carried out his religious reforms, hoping thereby to render Zion worthy of Jahweh's presence.[88] It may have been with the view of offsetting Micah's gloomy prediction, that the editor of his book appended to this prophecy of doom, the hopeful message which we meet in Isaiah:[89]

"But in the end of days it shall come to pass,
That the mountain of Jahweh's house shall be established
as the top of the mountains,
And it shall be exalted above the hills;
And peoples shall flow unto it"[90] etc.

So firmly was this dogma of the inviolability of Zion established in the minds of the people that, a century later, Jeremiah ran the danger of being put to death for casting doubts upon it. He had warned the people that the Temple, which they regarded as Jahweh's personal residence, would not save them from Jahweh's offended wrath. "Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and offer unto Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye have not known; and come and stand before Me in this house whereupon My name is called, and say: 'We are delivered,' that ye may do all these abominations? Is this house whereupon My name is called, become a den of robbers in your eyes? Behold I, even I, have seen it, saith Jahweh. For ye go now unto My place which was in Shiloh, where I caused My name to dwell at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of My people Israel."[91] Jeremiah's words sounded like the basest treason in the ears of the people. He escaped death at their hands only through the protection of Aḥikam ben Shafan. Another prophet, Uriah ben Shemaiah, actually paid with his life for attacking the belief in the inviolability of Jerusalem.[92]

[88] Jer. XXVI: 18-19; II. K. XVIII: 4 ff.
[89] Is. II: 1-4.
[90] Micah IV: 1 ff.
[91] Jer. VII: 3 ff; cf. also Zephaniah I-III: 13.
[92] Jer. XXVI.

Nationalistic Judean philosophy accounted differently for the fall of Shiloh, and held out a brighter hope for the future of Jerusalem and the house of David. Jahweh was provoked to anger by the disloyalty of His people, by their high places and graven images.

"And He forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh,
The tent which He made to dwell among men;
And delivered His strength into captivity,
And His glory into the adversary's hand . . . . .
Then Jahweh awaked as one asleep,
Like a mighty man recovering from wine.
And He smote His adversaries backward;
He put them a perpetual reproach.
Moreover He abhorred the tent of Joseph,
And chose not the tribe of Ephraim;
But chose the tribe of Judah,
The mount Zion which He loved.
And He built His sanctuary like the heights,
Like the earth which He founded for ever."[93]

To Micah, Uriah, and Jeremiah, the belief that Zion, as the residence of Jahweh, is indestructible irrespective of the low moral standards of its people, presented a serious stumbling block in the way of spiritual progress, for it removed all sense of moral responsibility. It was only the tragic fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the sanctuary in 586 that effectively shook the people's complacency.

It must not be inferred that Jeremiah dissociated Jahweh from Jerusalem. He rather interpreted this relationship in the light of his loftier conception of Jahweh. In his teaching, all traces of monolatry vanish, and a complete ethical monotheism is proclaimed. For him Jahweh is "the true God, He is the living God, and the everlasting King. . . He hath made the earth by His power, He hath established the world by His wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by His understanding."[94] As

[93] Ps. LXXVIII: 60 ff.
[94] Jer. X: 10 ff. cf. Jer. V: 21 ff.

the universal Creator, Jahweh transcends any particular people or land. Thus, in his oracle against the nations, Jeremiah—unlike Amos I:2—states:

> "Jahweh doth roar *from on high,*
> And uttereth His voice *from His holy habitation.*"[95]

Nevertheless in a certain sense, Jahweh continues to be the portion of Jacob:

> "And Israel is the tribe of His inheritance."[96]

He is Israel's God and Israel is His people. He planted them in the land flowing with milk and honey, in fulfilment of his oath unto the Patriarchs.[97] Accordingly, Palestine was especially consecrated to Him. Its Temple is dedicated to His name.[98] Hence idolatry constitutes a defiling detestation.[99] To the exiled nation's cry: "Is not Jahweh in Zion? Is not her King in her?" Jahweh replies: "Why have they provoked Me with their graven images, and with strange vanities?"[100] He demands further: "What hath My beloved to do in My house, seeing she hath wrought lewdness with many?[101] Envisaging the impending doom of his people, the distressed prophet pleads:

> "Why shouldest Thou be as a man overcome,
> As a mighty man that cannot save?
> Yet thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us.
> And Thy name is called upon us;
> Leave us not."[102]

While counselling his brethren that were deported to Babylon to identify their welfare with that of their new home,[103] the prophet sounds the hope that "He that scattereth Israel will

[95] Jer. XXV: 30.
[96] Jer. X: 16.
[97] Jer. XI: 4-5.
[98] Jer. VII: 10; XXIII: 11; XXXII: 34-35; XXXIV: 15.
[99] Jer. VII: 30; II: 7.
[100] Jer. VIII: 19 also II: 27, 28.
[101] Jer. XI: 15 ff.
[102] Jer. XIV: 9; cf. Zephan. III: 14 ff.
[103] Jer. XXIX.

gather him . . . . And they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow unto the goodness of Jahweh, to the corn, and to the wine, and to the oil, and to the young of the flock and of the herd."[104] The land of Judah, after her restoration, will again be called "the habitation of righteousness, the mountain of holiness"[105] and "Jahweh is our righteousness."[106] The whole city of Jerusalem "shall be built to Jahweh," and the entire valley shall be "holy unto Jahweh."[107] In the days of Israel's repentence, not the Ark of the Covenant but the whole city of Jerusalem will be known as "the Throne of Jahweh, and all the nations will be gathered unto it, to the name of Jahweh, to Jerusalem."[108]

The Deuteronomic Code, resting on the foundations of the prophets, shares their views on the relation of Jahweh to Palestine. While the framework of Deuteronomy stresses the importance of the Ark of the Covenant,[109] the Code itself makes no reference to it. The whole of Palestine is Jahweh's land. He lavishes special care upon it. "The eyes of Jahweh thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year."[110] He dispossessed the other nations and gave the land to His people of Israel, out of His special love for them and out of His desire to have them champion His cause of goodness and justice.[111] Within the land, Jahweh chose one place for His dwelling. Though not expressly named, Jerusalem is meant. There Jahweh caused His name to dwell, and there alone He is to be worshipped.[112] Thither the people were directed to pilgrim

[104] Jer. XXXI: 10-12.

[105] Jer. XXXI: 23.

[106] Jer. XXXIII: 16.

[107] Jer. XXXI: 39-40.

[108] Jer. III: 17-18. Duhm considers this passage of post-Exilic origin, but on wholly subjective grounds. v. his Jeremia pp. 40-41. A similar hope is expressed in Jer. I: 15.

[109] Dt. X: 1-8.

[110] Dt. XI: 12.

[111] Dt. IV: 37-38; VI: 18-25; VII-IX; etc.

[112] Dt. XII: 11-14; XV: 19 ff; XXVI: 2. This is clearly a restriction of the earlier practice recognized in the Code of the Covenant, Ex. XX: 24, and illustrated in the historical books.

thrice annually, to celebrate before Jahweh.[113] The centralization of worship represented the final result of David's policy of making Jerusalem the center of the nation. As the central sanctuary, placed in the nation's capitol, the Temple on Zion came to be viewed by the people as the Palladium of Jahweh. Even the prophets, as we have seen, looked to it as specially honored by Jahweh's presence. "*Under the conditions of the time*," writes Driver, "the single sanctuary was a corollary of the monotheistic idea. Worship at different places would tend (as in the case of Ba'al and many other ancient deities) to generate different conceptions of the god worshipped, and might even lead to the syncretistic confusion of Jahweh with other deities. The concentration of worship in a single spot was thus a necessary providential stage in the purification of the popular idea of God."[114]

The spirituality of God is impaired here and there in Deuteronomy. Thus we read: "Jahweh thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy, that He may see no unseemly thing in thee, and turn away from thee."[115] In general however, the higher conception of Jahweh animates the entire book. "He is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath; there is none else."[116] In His might, He produces fertility and brings drought, in order to reward or to chastise His people.[117] While he delights in the land of Israel, He is not dependent upon it. Hence should Israel stray from Him and break His covenant, He will forsake the people and hide His face from them, and "they shall be devoured, and many evils and troubles shall come upon them; so that they will say in that day: 'Are not these evils come upon us because our God is not among us?' "[118]

[113] Dt. XVI: 1-17.

[114] Driver, Dt. p. XXIX. His final conclusions are based, surprisingly for a scholar of his type, on doctrinal prejudice. Ibid.

[115] Dt. XXIII: 15; v. also IV: 19.

[116] Dt. IV: 39; X: 14 ff.

[117] Dt. XI: 13 ff; XXVIII-XXX; cf. Lev. XXVI.

[118] Dt. XXXI: 17 ff, also Dt. XXVIII: 63-64; Cf. Josh. XXIII-XXIV, Jud. II; I. K. IX: 6-9; etc.

III

The prophetic conception of Jahweh as independent of Palestine, helped to save Judaism during the national calamity of 586. The priest-prophet Ezekiel, following Hosea and Jeremiah, denounced heathen worship as harlotry which defiles the soil of Palestine. In his vision, he beholds the chariot of the glory of Jahweh removing from the sin-laden city and from its contaminated sanctuary.[119] The idolatry, the immortality, and the injustice committed in them drive Him away.[120] "The iniquity of the house of Israel and Judah is exceedingly great, and the land is full of blood, and the city full of wresting of judgement; for they say: "Jahweh hath forsaken the land, and Jahweh seeth not.' "[121] Having sinned against Jahweh, the land shall be delivered to destruction.[122] Through disloyalty, she forfeited the protection of her God.[123] Indeed Jahweh shows His might by turning the land into a desolation. Consequently the Exile appears as the manifestation of His avenging justice. But Jahweh is a God of compassion. He is pained by the stern measures to which He is driven. He follows His people into captivity, where He is unto them "as a little sanctuary," and promises to bring them back to their own land where, purified in heart and renewed in spirit, they will be reunited with Him.[123] "For in My holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel, saith the God Jahweh, there shall all the house of Israel, all of them serve Me in the land; there will I accept them, and there will I require your heave-offerings and the first of your gifts, with all your holy things. With your sweet savor will I accept you, when I bring you out from the peoples, and gather you out of the countries wherein ye have been scattered; and I will be sanctified in you in the sight of the nations."[124] For His own name's sake will He restore Israel to His grace.[125] His

[119] Ez. I-II, X, XI: 22 ff.
[120] Ez. VIII: 6.
[121] Ez. IX: 9; also XXII: 29-31; XXIII: 38-39.
[122] Ez. XIV: 13 ff; XV: 8.
[123] Ez. XI: 16 ff. XXVIII: 25-26.
[124] Ez. XX: 40-41; v. XXXIV: 24-28.
[125] Ez. XXXVI: 8-38.

dwelling place will again be in Israel. He will be Israel's God and Israel will be His people. "And the nations shall know that I am Jahweh that sanctify Israel, when My sanctuary shall be in the midst of them."[126]

The constitution which Ezekiel drafted for the restored nation is theocratic in character. It conceives of the people centered around the Temple, devotedly carrying out the sacred laws of Jahweh. It is indeed a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. Fittingly the rebuilt Jerusalem is renamed "Jahweh is there."[127]

A few of Ezekiel's fundamental ideas are paralleled in the Priestly Code and particularly in the Code of Holiness. They evince the same regard for the sanctuary[128] and "prescribe rules to guard it against profanation."[129] The people of Israel as Jahweh's people is linked with the holiness of the land: "Ye shall therefore keep all My statutes and all My ordinances, and do them, that the land whither I bring you to dwell therein, vomit you not out. And ye shall not walk in the customs of the nation which I am casting out before you; for they all did these things, and therefore I abhorred them. But I have said unto you: 'Ye shall inherit their land, and I will give it unto you to possess it, a land flowing with milk and honey.' I am Jahweh your God, who have set you apart from the peoples. And ye shall be holy unto Me."[130] Defilement of the land will be rigidly punished. The people will be scattered among their enemies and their land will be desolate, "and shall be paid her Sabbaths while she lieth desolate without them; and they shall be paid the punishment of their iniquity." However, exile will not spell the rejection of the people by Jahweh. In keeping with His character He will remember the covenant with their fathers and restore them as His people.[131] It is to avoid such

[126] Ez. XXXVII: 22-28. v. XXXIX: 25-29.

[127] Ez. XLVIII: 34.

[128] Lev. XIX: 30; XX: 3; XXI: 12; XXIII; XXVI: 2 and Ez. V: 11; VIII: 6; XXIII:38 ff; XXV: 3; XLIII: 7 ff.

[129] Driver, Literature of the O. T. p. 140 f.

[130] Lev. XX: 22-26; also XVIII: 24-30.

[131] Lev. XXVI: 27-45. v. Ez. XXXVI: 16-36, XXXVII, XXXIX: 23-29.

dangers that the elaborate body of law is prescribed, regulating every phase of the life of Israel.[132]

It is significant that Ezekiel, the most particularistic of the prophets, should have so effectively emphasized the universalistic doctrine that Jahweh is not limited to any particular land. Though declaring that the Israelites will be forced to eat their bread "unclean" in the lands of their exile,[133] he demonstrated the possibility of worshipping Jahweh in distant Babylonia. He thus taught the exiles that would hang their harps upon the willows, how to sing Jahweh's song in a strange land.

It was left to Deutero-Isaiah to blend the national hopes and the lofty universalistic aspirations into perfect harmony. He interprets the stirring events of his day, the crash of Babylon and the rise of Persia as a world-power, as parts of Jahweh's plan of universal salvation. Jahweh comforts Zion, makes her wilderness like Eden, and fills her with joy, with praise, and with song. The ransomed captives shall return jubilantly to Zion. They shall be protected by the shadow of Jahweh's hand, in order that heaven and earth shall be firmly established.[134] Israel's restoration in Palestine represents the practical manifestation of Jahweh's sovereignty. Rapturously the prophet hails Jahweh's return to Zion:

"Break into joy, sing together,
Ye waste places of Jerusalem;
For Jahweh hath comforted His people,
He hath redeemed Jerusalem. . . . . .
Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence,
Touch no unclean thing;
Go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean,
Ye that bear the vessels of Jahweh.
For ye shall not go in haste,
Neither shall ye go by flight;
For Jahweh will go before you,
And the God of Israel will be your rearward."[135]

[132] Lev. XXVI: 3-26; etc.
[133] Ez. IV: 12.
[134] Is. LI: 3ff; LV: 12-13.
[135] Is. LII: 7-11.

The reunion of Jahweh and Zion holds out the promise of endless moral progress. It represents the kingdom of God on earth:

"And all thy children shall be taught of Jahweh,
And great shall be the peace of thy children.
In righteousness shalt thou be established;
Be thou far from oppression, for thou shalt not fear,
And from ruin, for it shall not come near thee."[136]

An anonymous prophecy, strongly resembling Deutero-Isaiah, adds:

"And a highway shall be there, and a way,
And it shall be called the way of holiness;
The unclean shall not pass over it."[137]

The universalistic and the national ideals likewise blend in the prophecies that are embodied in Trito-Isaiah. The righteous Jews and the God-loving aliens that keep the Sabbath and hold fast the divine covenant "will be brought to My holy mountain, and made joyful in My house of prayer;

Their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices
Shall be acceptable upon Mine altar;
For My house shall be called
A house of prayer for all peoples.[138]

The Temple stands out as the center to which all nations shall stream to worship God.

"And they shall call thee The City of Jahweh,
The Zion of the Holy One of Israel."[139]
"Thou shalt also be a crown of beauty in the hand of Jahweh,
And a royal diadem in the open hand of thy God.
Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken,

[136] Is. LIV: 11-14.
[137] Is. XXXV: 8. Cf. Pss. XCVI-XCIX.
[138] Is. LVI: 1-7.
[139] Is. LX: 14.

Neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate;
But thou shalt be called My Delight is in Her,
And thy land Espoused;
For Jahweh delighteth in thee,
And thy land shall be espoused.
For as a young man espouseth a virgin,
So shall thy sons espouse thee;
And as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride,
So shall thy God rejoice over thee."[140]

Recognizing full well that the heaven is God's throne and the earth His footstool, and that no house can be properly built for Him, the prophet declares that nations from afar shall come to the holy mountain of Jerusalem.

"And it shall come to pass,
That from one new moon to another,
And from one sabbath to another,
Shall all flesh come to worship before Me,
Saith Jahweh."[141]

Zechariah likewise predicts that "many peoples and mighty nations shall come to seek Jahweh of Hosts in Jerusalem, and entreat the favor of Jahweh."[142] For "thus saith Jahweh: I return unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem; and Jerusalem shall be called The City of Truth; and the mountain of the Lord of Hosts, The Holy Mountain."[143] The whole country will again overflow with prosperity. Jerusalem will be so populous that her ancient walls will not be able to contain her. Jahweh Himself will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will glory in the midst of her.[144]

In the additions to Zecharia, the same high hope is expressed. The Apocalypse that depicts the judgement of the nations that war against Jerusalem, states:

[140] Is. LXII: 3-5 and 11-12. v. also LXV: 18 ff. v. also Zeph. III: 14-20.
[141] Is. LXVI.
[142] Zech. VIII: 22; II: 15.
[143] Zech. VIII: 3; I: 16-17.
[144] Zech. II: 9.

"That living waters shall go out from Jerusalem:
Half of them toward the eastern sea,
And half of them toward the western sea;
In summer and in winter shall it be.
And Jahweh shall be King over all the earth;
In that day shall Jahweh be One and His name one."[145]

Furthermore the nations that shall survive "shall go up from year to year to worship the King, Jahweh of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles. And it shall be that whoso of the families of the earth goeth not up unto Jerusalem to worship the King, Jahweh of hosts, upon them shall be no rain."[146]

A dissenting voice was raised by Joel. Probably in response to the bitterness engendered by incessant warfare, he draws a different picture of the day of judgement. The nations shall be given over to destruction, while Israel will be saved:

"So shall ye know that I am Jahweh your God,
Dwelling in Zion My holy mountain;
Then shall Jerusalem be holy,
And there shall be no strangers pass through her any more."[147]

IV

It was the glory of the Second Temple that it became the house of prayer for many peoples.[148] In this regard it indeed exceeded the glory of the more magnificent Temple of Solomon. The conviction grew general that God cannot be domiciled in any structure whatever, for His majesty transcends all earth and heaven,[149] also that His worship cannot be limited to any one land. Malachi announces that "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My name is great among the nations; and in every place offerings are presented unto My name, even pure oblations; for My name is great among the

[145] Zech. XIV: 8-9, v. also Obadiah vs. 17, 21, and Is. XXIV: 23.
[146] Zech. XIV: 16-17, etc.
[147] Joel IV: 17. v. also II: 21-27.
[148] Cf. Ps. CII: 14-23.
[149] I. K. VIII: 16 ff. and II. Chr. VI; II: 2-5.

nations, saith Jahweh of hosts."[150] The prophet may have thought of the Jewish people living in distant lands and continuing there their religious life.

During the Second Temple the religious life of the Jewish people took on new forms. On the one hand it grew more intimately connected with the soil. The restored exiles felt that Jahweh had done wondrously for them. As from a grave, the nation was restored to new life. The reorganized community took the form of a theocracy. Ezekiel's ideal constitution, modified by the Priestly Code and the Code of Holiness, took shape in the life of the people. Due to political circumstances, the high priest became the head of the nation. Everything therefore centered around the priests and the sanctuary. Wherein the Deuteronomic Reformation failed, the Reformation of Ezra-Nehemiah succeeded. The Torah now became the foundation of Jewish life. What it implied for the agricultural community in Palestine, is clearly seen in the following pledge of the Great Assembly: "Also we made ordinances for us to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God; for the showbread, and for the continual meal-offering, and for the continual burnt-offering, of the sabbaths, of the new moons, for the appointed seasons, and for the holy things, and for the sin-offerings to make atonement for Israel, and for all the work of the house of our God. And we cast lots, the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood-offering, to bring it into the house of our God, according to our fathers' houses, at times appointed, year by year, to burn upon the altar of the Lord our God, as it is written in the Law; and to bring the first-fruits of our land, and the first-fruits of all fruits of all manner of trees, year by year unto the house of the Lord; also the first-born of our sons, and of our cattle, as it is written in the Law, and the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks, to bring to the house of our God, unto the priests that minister in the house of our God; and that we should bring the first of our dough, and our heave-offerings and the fruit of all manner of trees, the wine and the oil, unto the priests, to the chambers of the house of our God; and the tithes

[150] Malachi I: 11, v. also Is. LXVI: 18-19.

of our land unto the Levites; for they, the Levites, take the tithes in all the cities of our tillage. And the priest the son of Aaron shall be with the Levites, when the Levites take tithes; and the Levites shall bring up the tithe of the tithes unto the house of our God, to the chambers, into the treasure-house. For the children of Israel and the children of Levi shall bring the heave-offering of the corn, of the wine, and of the oil, unto the chambers, where are the vessels of the sanctuary, and the priests that minister, and the porters, and the singers; and we will not forsake the house of our God.[151]

Here we have the germ of most of the distinctive elements of post-exilic Judaism. Under Pharisaic influence, there developed a vast body of law that was wholly contingent upon Palestine (מצות התלויות בארץ) and upon the Temple (בזמן הבית). It dealt with (1) sacrifices, first-fruits, tithes, pilgrimages, etc.; (2) civil and military government and administration of justice; agricultural obligations (חובת קרקע); and (4) regulations concerning defilement and cleanliness (טומאה וטהרה). This legal material formed the basis of the Mishna. Through it Jewish life in Palestine, and to a lesser degree in the Diaspora, found expression. A distinguished element of Jewry, that of the Kohanim and Leviim, was wholly dependent upon it.

On the other hand, the spread of the Jewish people over distant lands, during the Exile and the Second Temple, necessitated a readjustment of the relation of Judaism to Palestine. The Deuteronomic law provided for the centralization of worship in Jerusalem, and prohibited the establishment of Temples in other places. Before the new law could entrench itself in the life of the people, Jerusalem was destroyed. The Jewish refugees and exiles in foreign lands were faced with the alternative of falling away from Judaism altogether or of breaking with the Deuteronomic law. They chose the latter. Like Ezekiel in Babylon, so Jeremiah in Egypt urged the people to worship their God.[152] The Jewish colonists of Yeb in the Upper Nile region, even proceeded to erect a sanctuary, before the Persian

[151] Nehemiah X:33-40.
[152] Jer. XLIV.

conquest of Egypt, where they conducted sacrificial services for over a century.[153] There may have been similar places in other parts of the Diaspora.[154]

During the Maccabean struggle, Onias IV, the son of the murdered high-priest Onias III, fled to Egypt, where he obtained royal permission to build a temple and an altar to God, at Leontopolis, in the Heliopolite nome (some twenty miles north of Cairo). Josephus informs us that this temple was "like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer."[155] On the basis of his excavations at Tell el Yehudieh, Flinders Petrie corroborates Josephus' report, and adds that the whole city of Oniah formed "as close a copy as could be arranged of the temple hill at Jerusalem," only on a smaller scale.[156] There "Onias found other Jews like to himself, together with priests and Levites, that there performed divine services."[157]

This Temple functioned uninterruptedly until the outbreak of the War of the Jews against Rome. To prevent its becoming the center of agitation among the strong and influential Jewish communities of Egypt, Vespasian ordered it demolished. But the Roman governors of Egypt were contented to strip it of its possessions and to close its gates.[158] It seems that it was subsequently reopened for worship. As late as the fourth century, R. Isaac, a contemporary of Rava, stated that he heard of the permissibility of offering sacrifices in the temple of Onias in his day.[159]

The Palestinian Jewish authorities shared different views about this temple. This division of opinion is reflected in the works of Josephus. In the Jewish Wars, where he regards

[153] A. Cowley, Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra, Intro. and Nos. 21, 30-33.

[154] Is. XIX: 18 ff. LXVI: 19 and Mal. I: 11.

[155] Ant. XII: 3, 1-3.

[156] Flinders Petrie, Israel and Egypt, pp. 108-110.

[157] Ant. XII, 3, 3.

[158] Jewish Wars VII, 10, 2.

[159] שמעתי שמקריבין בבית חוניו בזמן הזה Megil 10a. References to the Temple of Onias are found in Jer. Sanh. 1, 2, 5a–68; and in Jer. Ned. 6, 8, 23a. For its later history, see Maimonides, Mishna Comment. Men. XIII.

Onias III, the son of Simon, as its builder, Josephus supposes that it was erected in order to spite the Jews of Jerusalem.[160] In his Antiquities, where he takes the more correct view that Onias IV built the temple, he speaks respectfully of it, setting forth the conversion of the Egyptians to the God of Israel as one of the motives that prompted its construction.[161] The Mishna naturally regarded this temple with displeasure, and considered the priests officiating in it disqualified for service in the Temple in Jerusalem.[162] Its sacrifices being offered outside of Jerusalem,[163] were not held proper. The Gemara presents one tradition that Onias erected an altar for idolatrous purposes and another that he built it for God's sake.[164]

Opposition to it may have existed among the Egyptian Jews, themselves. This may account for Philo's silence concerning it. On the other hand the LXX reading of עיר הצדק "the city of righteousness," for עיר החרס "the city of destruction" in Isaiah XIX: 18, indicates the high regard in which the temple of Onias was held by some Jews in Egypt.[165] Its erection may have filled them with pride as betokening the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy (XIX:19). However they did not permit it to replace the Temple of Jerusalem as the center of their religious interests.[166]

Jewish life in the ever widening Diaspora found its fullest expression in the Synagogue. As the only objects of its assemblies were the study of the Torah and prayer—and under no condition, any form of sacrifical worship—no possible objection could be raised against the Synagogue. In every Jewish settlement one or more Synagogues sprang into existence as rallying points for the Jewish people and as centers of culture and religion.

[160] Jewish Wars VII, 10, 3.
[161] Ant. XIII, 3, 1; XII, 5, 1; 9, 7.
[162] Men. XIII: 10.
[163] i. e. קרבנות חוץ
[164] Men. 109b.–110a.
[165] Graetz, Geschichte d. Juden III, 34 ff. Jost, Geschichte d. Judentums I, 116 ff.
[166] Ant. XIII, 3, 4.

As a "miniature sanctuary,"[167] the Synagogue linked the Jews of each community into a close bond of fellowship, and at the same time, united them with the rest of Jewry both of the Diaspora and of Palestine. It effectively fostered the sense of Jewish unity.

Thus Jerusalem, as King Agrippa proudly declared, had long before become "the metropolis,[168] not only of the one country of Judea, but also of many, by reason of the colonies which it has sent out from time to time into the bordering districts of Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria in general, and especially that part of it which is called Coelo-Syria, and also with those more distant regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greater part of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia, and the furthermost corners of Pontus. And in the same manner into Europe, into Thessaly, and Boeotia, and Macedonia, and Aetolia, and Attica, and Argos, and Corinth, and all the most fertile and wealthiest districts of Peloponnesus."[169] Also in the islands of Euboea, Cyprus and Crete, in Babylon and in all the countries, beyond the Euphrates, Jews had settled.

While identifying themselves with the countries in which they lived, the Jews of the Diaspora piously looked upon "the holy city as their metropolis in which is erected the sacred temple of the Most High God."[170] Philo bears testimony to the respect in which "the most beautiful and renowned temple" is held "by all the east and by all the west, and regarded like the sun which shines everywhere."[171] The Jews of all lands considered it as a duty and privilege to assist the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Josephus writes that "all the Jews throughout

[167] Megil. 29 a: ואהי להם למקדש מעט (יחזקאל י״א) א״ר יצחק אלו בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות שבבל

The great Synogogue in Alexandria is spoken of with pride by Philo (Younge's trans. IV, 129) and Sukka 51 b.

[168] Cf. Ex. R. XXIII, 11 עתידה ירושלים להעשות מטרפולין לכל הארצות

[169] Cited by Philo, on the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, XXXVI. Younge's transl. IV. p. 161.

[170] Against Flaccus, VII, Younge vol. IV. p. 70.

[171] On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, XXIX. Ibid, p. 142. Also On Monarchy Bk. II, II; Younge vol. III. p. 192.

the habitable earth, and those that worshipped God,[172] nay even those of Asia and Europe, sent their contribution to it [the temple of Jerusalem]."[173] Philo too states that every year sacred messengers were sent from Jerusalem to Babylon and many other regions" to convey large amounts of gold and silver to the temple, which has been collected from all the governments, traveling over rugged and difficult and almost impassable roads which they look upon as level and easy inasmuch as they serve to conduct them to piety."[174] In his treatise On Monarchy, Philo glories in the hope that "as long as the race of mankind shall last, the revenues likewise of the temple will always be preserved, being coeval in their duration with the universal world. For it is commanded that all men shall every year bring their first fruits to the temple, from twenty years old and upwards; and this contribution is called their ransom. On which account they bring in the first fruits with exceeding cheerfulness, being joyful and delighted,[175] inasmuch as simultaneously with their making the offering they are sure to find a relaxation from slavery, or a relief from disease, and to receive in all respects a most sure freedom and safety for the future." Owing to the abundance of these contributions, "there is in almost every city a storehouse for the sacred things to which it is customary for the people to come and there to deposit their first fruits, and at certain seasons there are sacred ambassadors selected on account of their virtue, who convey the offerings to the temple."[176] Philo makes special mention of the Jew's of Rome "contributing sacred sums of money from their first fruits and sending them to Jerusalem by the hands of those who were to conduct the sacrifices."[177] The withdrawal of those funds from the Roman provinces was frequently objected to on the part of local officials. However, from the days of Caesar onward the sending of sacred tribute

[172] i. e. converts to Judaism.
[173] Ant. XIV, 7, 2; Shekalim III: 4.
[174] On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, XXXI, Ibid. p. 148.
[175] Cf. Bikkurim III: 3-4.
[176] On Monarchy Bk. II. ch. III; Younge's transl. vol. III. p. 193.
[177] On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, XXIII; Younge IV, 134.

to Jerusalem was everywhere sanctioned, as a matter of state policy.[178]

Nor did the Jews of the Diaspora content themselves with sending tribute to the Temple. At great cost and much inconvenience, large bodies of Jews made regular pilgrimages to their mother country on festal occasions. "Innumerable companies of men from a countless variety of cities," writes Philo, "some by land and some by sea, from east and from west, from the north and from the south, come to the temple at every festival, as if to some common refuge and safe asylum from the troubles of this most busy and painful life, seeking to find tranquility, and to procure a remission of and respite from those cares by which from their earliest infancy they had been hampered and weighed down."[179] From the pages of Josephus too we learn of the large numbers of pilgrims from all parts of the Diaspora to Jerusalem.[180] He estimates the number of Jews assembled at Jerusalem for the Passover celebration as 2,700,200, adding that "this multitude is indeed collected out of remote places."[181]

Josephus speaks of the altar at Jerusalem as "venerated by all Greeks and barbarians,"[182] and declares that the Temple mount "is adored by the whole world, and for its renown is honored among strangers at the ends of the earth."[183] Among the gentiles who honored the Temple with their gifts, he includes not only the numerous converts to Judaism for whom loyalty to it formed part of their adopted faith, but particularly those who remained heathens and would not care to confess their belief in the *superstitio Judaica*. To be sure, their sacrifices were acts of courtesy toward the Jewish people and no real

[178] Ibid. XL. pp. 167-168; Ant. XVI, 6, 2-7; XVIII, 9, 1, Schürer, History of the Jewish People, Divis. II. Pt. II. pp. 289-290.

[179] On Monarchy Bk. II. ch. I; Younge's transl. vol. II. p. 191. A good picture of the pious Jew of the Diaspora pilgriming to Jerusalem for the festivals, is presented in Tobit I: 4-8.

[180] Ant. XVIII, 2, 2; XVIII, 9, 1. v. also Yoma VI: 4 and Ta'an. I: 3.

[181] Wars, VI, 9, 3-4.

[182] Wars, V, 1, 3.

[183] Wars, IV, 4, 3.

indication of genuine devotion to Judaism.[184] Nevertheless, as in older times so during the Graeco-Roman period, the offerings of the gentiles and their devotions[185] were viewed with special regard by the Jewish people. As non-Jews, they could not offer such sacrifices as were of an obligatory character, i.e. sin-offerings, trespass-offerings, and sacrifices presented by those who had issues, by women after child-birth, etc.;[186] nor could they because of their lack of the necessary Levitical purity, bring thank or peace-offerings. But they could bring votive and free-will offerings (נדרים ונדבות), burnt-offerings, meat-offerings and drink offerings. These sacrifices were sent from distant lands. And they occasionally came from people of great political prominence and royal personage like Cyrus,[187] Alexander the Great,[188] Ptolemy III,[189] Antiochus Sidetes,[190] Marcus Agrippa,[191] Vitellius,[192] and Augustus.[193]

In addition to the sacrifices, it was common for gentiles to bestow gifts upon the Temple at Jerusalem. While some were prompted to do so, by political considerations, others had no other motive than that of reverence for the famous house of worship. According to the Letter of Pseudo-Aristeas, Ptolemy Philadelphus on the occasion of his request that elders be sent to him to translate the Scriptures into Greek, donated "fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups" and a hundred talents in money "to provide sacrifices for the temple and for other needs."[194] While this story may belong to the realm of fiction, it faithfully

[184] Schürer, History, Div. II. vol. I. pp. 299-300.

[185] Lev. XXII: 25; I. K. VIII: 41-43.

[186] Shekalim 1. 5; Tosephta Shekalim I: 7. Men. V: 3, 5, 6; VI: 1.

[187] Ezra VI: 10.

[188] Ant. XI, VIII, 5.

[189] Contra Apion II, 5.

[190] Ant. XIII, 8, 2.

[191] Ant. XVI. 2, 1. and Philo, On Virtues and Office of Ambassadors. ch. XXXVII.

[192] Ant. XVIII, 5, 3.

[193] Philo, Ibid, ch. XL.

[194] Vs. 33 ff. and Ant. XII, 2, 5-9.

depicts the practice of the Ptolemies, of presenting gifts to the Temple of Jerusalem.[195] The author of II Maccabees testifies that "even kings themselves did honor to the Place and glorify the temple with the noblest presents; so much so that Seleuchus the king of Asia actually defrayed out of his own revenues, all the expenses connected with the ritual of the sacrifices.[196] The Romans too showed similar signs of respect to the Temple. After his conquest of Jerusalem, Socius offered a golden crown.[197] Marcus Agrippa, who on his visit to Jerusalem was so greatly impressed with the buildings and with the solemnity of the priestly service that he paid daily visits to the temple, as a token of respect presented gifts for its adornment.[198] Augustus too, despite his antipathy to Judaism, "commanded perfect sacrifices of whole burnt-offerings to be offered up to the most high God, every day, out of his own revenues," which—according to the claim of King Agrippa—were continued in his day.[199] Philo states further that Augustus "adorned our temple with many costly and magnificent offerings.[200] His consort, Julia Augusta, too, presented the temple "with some golden vials and censers, and with a great number of other offerings, of the most costly and magnificent description."[201] These together with other sacred utensils that were donated to the temple, were melted down by John of Giscala during the siege of Jerusalem. Josephus writes indignantly: "this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners; and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear, and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple.[202] Roman donations, it appears, were frequent at the temple.[203] At the out-

[195] II. Macc. V: 16. Ant. XIII. 3, 4.
[196] II. Macc. III: 2-3.
[197] Ant. XIV, 16, 4.
[198] Philo, On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors, ch. XXXVII.
[199] Ibid. ch. XL.
[200] Ibid. ch. XXIII.
[201] Ibid. ch. XL.
[202] Wars, V, 13, 6.
[203] Ibid. IV, 3, 3; II, 17, 3.

break of the revolution in the year 66 C.E., Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high priest, "who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner." Josephus considers this unprecedented step as "the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifices of Caesar on this account." The leading priests and Pharisees, representing the peace party, were not slow to recognize that by rejecting the sacrifices of the Romans, the Jews ran the risk of not being able to offer their own.[204]

Sacrifices and prayers "for the life of the king and his sons"[205] became a standing feature of the worship of the Second Temple. These continued all through Persian and Graeco-Roman times. Even during the Maccabean wars, at a time when a large portion of the people warred against the King of Syria, sacrifices were offered for him.[206] When the gentile authorities did not defray the expense of the sacrifices, the Jewish people defrayed it.[207] During Roman times these offerings served the Jews as a partial substitute for the divine honors which the heathens paid the Caesars. Thus King Agrippa assures Caligula that the Jews are "inferior to none whatever in Asia or in Europe, whether it be in respect of prayers, or of the supply of sacred offerings, or in the abundance of its sacrifices, not merely of such as are offered on occasions of the public festivals, but in those which are continuously offered day after day; by which means they show their loyalty and fidelity more surely than by their mouth and tongue."[208]

Philo views the sacrificial service as intended not alone for Israel but "in behalf of all mankind."[209] He believes that Israel was consecrated to the priesthood "that it might forever offer up prayers for the whole universal race of mankind, for

[204] Wars, II, 17, 1-3.

[205] Ezra VI: 10. Cf. also I. Baruch I: 5-13.

[206] I. Macc. VII: 33.

[207] Contra Apion, II, 6. Possibly the sacrifices *for* the emperors were apart from those *by* them.

[208] Philo, On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors XXXVI: pp. 161.

[209] On Animals fit for Sacrifices III; Younge vol. III. p. 213.

the sake of averting evil from them and procuring them a participation in blessing."[210] The Pesikta, too, regards the sacrifices offered on the Feast of Tabernacles as intended for all the nations.[211] And the Talmud presents this homily of R. Eliezar: "These seventy oxen[212] [offered up on the first seven days of the Feast of Tabernacles], for whom are they meant? For the seventy nations. And for whom is the single ox (sacrificed on the eighth day) intended? For the single nation. It is like unto a human king who ordered his servants to prepare for him a large repast. On the last day he said to his friend: 'Arrange for me a small meal in order that I may have pleasure through you.' Said R. Joḥanan: Woe unto the heathens who destroyed without knowing what they destroyed. As long as the Temple was in existence, the altar atoned for them, but now what atones for them?"[213] For the masters of Judaism, the Temple was indeed a house of prayer for all nations.

The union of the religious life of the Jewish people with Palestine had its bearings upon political conditions. To prevent trafficking with gentiles, during Maccabean times, Jose b. Joezer of Zereda and Jose b. Joḥanan of Jerusalem declared all countries other than Palestine *unclean*.[214] Demetrius I in his bid for Jonathan's friendship, declares: "let Jerusalem be holy and free, together with the outlying districts, (regarding) the tenths and the tolls,"[215] i.e. free from the tax on the Temple revenues that were exacted by the Syrian rulers. This was in part a confirmation of an older grant of Antiochus the Great that "It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the

[210] Life of Moses I, XXVII; Younge, vol. II. 35. Jonathan's embassy to the Spartans assures them that they are remembered in the sacrifices of the Temple I. Macc. XII: 11.

[211] Ed. Friedman 202b: כל ימי החג הייתם עסוקים בקרבנות של אומות העולם

[212] Referring to Num. XXIX: 13-36.

[213] Sukka 55b. v. Tosephta Ma'aser Sheni V: 27.

[214] Sab. 14b. Herford sees in this measure opposition to the Zadokites who had withdrawn to Damascus. (The Pharisees p. 26) This ingenious suggestion rests on the theory that the Zadokite Fragment is pre-Maccabean, a theory open to serious doubt. See A. Büchler, in the J. Q. R. (n. s.) vol. III, p. 429-485.

[215] I Macc. X: 31.

limits of the Temple round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have purified themselves." A penalty of three thousand drachmae of silver was imposed for the violation of this law.[216]

The sanctity of the Temple was universally accepted and respected. Jewish tradition delighted in relating the horrible punishments that befell the impius strangers who entered its Holy of Holies.[217] In the Herodian Temple, between the outer and the inner courts, an inscription in Greek and in Latin, announced that foreigners were forbidden to enter the inner circuit under the penalty of death.[218] Philo pays glowing tribute to "the zeal of the Jewish people for their holy temple.', He speaks of it as "the most predominant and vehement and universal feeling throughout the whole nation; and the greatest proof of this is that death is inexorably pronounced against all those who enter into the inner circuit of the sacred precincts (for they admit all men from every country into the exterior circuit) unless he be one of their own nation by blood."[219]

In his treaty with the Romans, John Hyrcanus stipulated that Roman troops shall not pass through Jewish territory.[220] The Roman standards with their eagles were considered idolatrous. Accordingly the appearance of Pilate's cohorts in Jerusalem, with their standards bearing the effigies of the emperor threatened to rouse a public insurrection.[221] For this reason the Roman procurators took up their quarters in the half-heathen Caesaria rather than in the city of Jerusalem. The hope was strong in Jewish hearts that in the Messianic times all heathens will be removed from Palestine, that all the

[216] Ant. XII, 3, 4.

[217] Ant. XV, 11, 5. Bousset, Religion d. Judentums, p. 193.

[218] Ptolemy Philopater, III Macc. I-II; Heliodorus, II Macc. III Apollonius IV. Macc. IV: 1-14; Antiochus Epiphanes II Macc. IX cf. XIII: 33; Nicanor II Macc. XV; Pompey Ps. Sol. II. Alcimus, for pulling down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary—and ther by obliterating the difference between Israelites and gentiles—was stricken with palsy. I Macc. IX: 54-55.

[219] On the Virtues and Office of Ambassadors XXXI; Younge IV, 147.

[220] Ant. XIII, 9, 2.

[221] Ant. XVIII, 3, 1.

exiled Jews will be returned to it, and that Jerusalem will become the center of the world.[222]

The place that Palestine held in the religious life of the Jews is strikingly illustrated in the following regulations concerning prayer: "Those who stand up to pray in countries outside of the Land of Israel, direct their hearts toward the Land of Israel and pray,[223] for it is said: 'they shall pray unto the Lord toward the land which..... Thou hast chosen':[224] Those who rise to pray within the Land of Israel direct their hearts towards Jerusalem and pray, for it is said: 'they shall pray . . . . towards this city.'[225] Those rising for prayer in Jerusaem direct their hearts toward the Temple and pray, for it is said 'and they shall pray toward this place.'[224] Hence those standing north of Palestine face the South, south face the North, east face the West, and standing west face the East. Thus all Israel pray toward one place."[226]

The Mishna distinguished between ten ascending grades of holiness within Palestine itself. (1) "The Land of Israel is holier than all lands. Wherein does its holiness consist? In that from it alone, and from no other land, are brought the Omer, Bikkurim and the two loaves.[227] (2) The cities surrounded by a wall are of greater holiness inasmuch as lepers are sent out of them[228]; and dead bodies, though they may be carried from one place within these cities to another, may not be returned to the cities, once they were carried outside. (3) Of a higher degree of holiness is the city of Jerusalem, within the outer wall, where the lower grade sacrifices and the second tithes may be eaten.[229] (4) The Temple Mount is still holier, for men and women with issues, menstruating women and women soon

[222] Ps. of Solomon XVII: 28-36. The place of Palestine in the Messianic hope will be presented in the second part of this paper.

[223] Dan. VI: 11.

[224] I. K. VIII: 48.

[225] Ibid.

[226] Tosephta Berachot III: 15. Sifre, Dt. XXVIII.

[227] Lev. XXIII: 10, 17; Dt. XXVI: 2.

[228] Lev. XIII: 46.

[229] Dt. XII: 6, 11.

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after child-birth[230] may not enter into it. (5) The *Hel* is more sacred inasmuch as non-Jews and those defiled by contact with a dead body may not enter into it. (6) The Women's Hall is more sacred, for no unclean person may enter into it until he have had his bath of purification at sunset. However the infringement upon this rule does not incur a sin-offering. (7) The Israelites' Hall is holier, for no person may enter into it who had not made atonement, and if he did enter he must bring a sin-offering. (8) The Priests' Hall is holier, in that lay Israelites may enter into it only for the purpose of laying their hands upon the sacrificial animals, to slaughter them and to wave them before the altar. (9) The area from the Ulam (vestibule) to the altar is more sacred, inasmuch as priests with bodily defects or with uncovered heads may not enter into it. (10) The Hekal (Nave of the Temple) is more sacred, for no priest may enter into it before washing his hands and feet. The Holy of Holies is more sacred than all the rest, for only the high priest may enter into it and only on the Day of Atonement."[231]

To these words, we would add the comment of the Sifre. On the basis of Numbers V: 2, it remarks that there are three camps within Jerusalem: "From the entrance of the city to the Temple Mount is the camp of Israel; from the entrance of the Temple Mount to the Temple Court is the Levitical camp; the area within the Temple Court is the camp of the Shekhina."[232]

The history of the Jewish people from the period of the Conquest to that of the fall of the State and the Temple, presents a steady tightening of the bonds of union between Palestine and Judaism. Simultaneously with its passing from Canaanite to Israelite control, Palestine—the land of the Baalim—became "the possession of Jahweh." The whole country and particularly, after the erection of the Temple, Mount Zion became sacred to Jahweh. Despite the fears of the Rechabites, the agricultural

[230] Num. V: 2.
[231] Kelim I: 6-9.
[232] Sifre, Num. I. ed. Friedman, 1b.

economy of Palestine came to form the basis of the worship of Jahweh, as expressed in its sacrificial cult and in its festivals. Prophetic idealism, while aiming to lift Jahweh above any particular soil, yet linked His name with the home of His people, thereby seeking to transform Palestine into the center of the religious life of a regenerated humanity. The prophets of the Exile taught the people to find God also beyond the confines of their native land. Through them, the religious ideals of Judaism had progressed so far as to be able to maintain themselves beyond Palestine and its Temple. Yet they as well as the humbler exiles cherished Zion above their chiefest joy. Engraven upon their hearts, she was the object of their hopes and dreams. Ardently they prayed for her restoration to God's grace; and seized the first opportunity to reestablish her religious life by rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem. Indeed large bodies of Jews remained outside of Palestine all through the Second Temple. However they too did not forget their ancient home and sanctuary. For the Jews of the ever widening Diaspra, Palestine became the symbol of spiritual unity. Though devoted in all things to the lands in which they lived, they turned in their prayers towards Jerusalem. Thither they directed their hearts in their daily worship and during the festivals. Thither too they sent their gifts and offerings. Wholeheartedly they prayed for the peace of Jerusalem,[233] and prospered spiritually in the love of her. For them Jerusalem ceased to be an earthly city and became the heavenly city of God. The Jews of the whole world profoundly shared the belief that Palestine was the Holy Land and Jerusalem the Holy City. The words of the Psalmist found universal response in the hearts of the faithful:

"The Lord bless thee out of Zion;

And mayest thou see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life."[234]

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[233] Ps. CXXII: 6.

[234] Ps. CXXVIII: 5.

THE NAME OF THE RABBINICAL SCHOOLS AND ASSEMBLIES IN BABYLON

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THE NAME כלה *Kallah* used to designate the talmudic schools in Babylon, as well as the regular half yearly assemblies of the Babylonian Jewish teachers, has been the subject of considerable discussion among Jewish scholars. Various theories about the origin amd meaning of this name have been advanced, but, to my mind, none of them offers a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the name and why it was chosen as a designation for these schools and assemblies. There are especially two important facts which must be taken into consideration when seeking to determine the meaning of this peculiar name. Any theory about the meaning of this name which does not take into account these two facts must be rejected as unsatisfactory. The one of these two facts is that the name is used to designate not only the assemblies and schools, as a whole, but also, as in the name כלה ריש a smaller group within the school or a part of the assembly. This fact certainly refutes the theories which consider the name *Kallah* as derived from an Arabic word, meaning university or assembly.[1] For the name designating the university as a whole could not, unless accompanied by some qualifying or restrictive term, be used as a designation for a part of the university. This fact also speaks against the theory which would explain the meaning of the name Kallah as indicating the manner in which the members of the larger assembly were seated.[2]

[1] Kohut, Aruk completum s. v. and Halper in Jewish Quarterly Review n. s. IV p. 546. Kohut also suggests a Persian word meaning "crown" or "wreath". But as S. Krauss (השלח XLIII, i (Jerusalem 1924) p. 369ff. rightly remarks, why should they have chosen a word from a foreign language instead of from the Hebrew or the Aramaic used by them.

[2] J. N. Epstein in J. Q. R. n. s. XII p. 369ff. and also Kohut l. c. Ac-

The other fact to be considered is that the name was used only in Babylon and applied to Babylonian schools or assemblies exclusively.[3] This disproves the theory that the name Kallah, meaning bride, was given to the assembly of the teachers of the Torah, because the Torah itself is figuratively called Israel's bride. The idea that the Torah is like a bride to Israel was

cording to this theory it remains unexplained why the name was כלא and not כלילא. The same may be said against the theory of Krauss (l. c.), according to which the name should have been כללא or כלל but not כלה.

[3] The theory suggested by Rappoport (Kobak's Jeshurun VII p. 64) and accepted by Harkavy (Studien u. Mittheilungen IV, Berlin 1887, p. 377) that רישי כלי in the prayer יקום פורקן designates Palestinian teachers is not correct. It derives its main and sole support from the fact that in that prayer, as it is found in the printed editions the רישי כלי are mentioned before the רישי גלותא and רישי מתיבתא. Hence it is argued, these רישי כלי must have been Palestinian teachers who would be given precedence to Babylonian authorities. But aside from the fact pointed out by Kobak (l. c. compare Baer, Abodat Israel (Rödelheim 1901) p. 229) that in some manuscripts the order of this prayer is somewhat different and the רישי כלי are not mentioned at all, it would be strange indeed to postulate on the ground of this one very doubtful allusion that the Palestinian teachers were called רישי כלי considering that no other reference to Palestinian Reshe Kallah can be found (comp. S. Poznanski, Studien zur Gaonäischen Epoche I (Warsaw 1909) p. 48, note 6). It would seem more likely to assume that the origin of this prayer dates from the time when the Babylonian schools were called only by the name כלה. The prayer then contained only לרישי כלי ולרישי גלותא referring to the heads of the schools and the exilarchs. Later on after the schools had been converted into Yeshibot and the heads of the schools were called רישי מתיבתא the phrase in the prayer was also changed and it read לרישי מתיבתא ולרישי גלי, as indeed found in the manuscripts referred to by Baer (l. c. the form ולרישי גלי is corrupt from ולרישי גלותא see Kobak l. c.). Some copyists by mistake put in both forms לרישי כלי ולרישי גלותא לרישי מתיבתא ולרישי גלותא. Then finding that the words ולרישי גלותא occurred twice they struck them out from the place where they occurred for the second time, i. e., after לרישי מתיבתא and thus there was left the form of the prayer as found in the printed editions.

expressed in Palestine[4] before any of the Babylonian institutions designated by the name Kallah were established. Now, if this figurative designation of the Torah could have caused rabbinical schools or assemblies to be called by the name *Kallah* the Palestinian schools would likewise have been so designated and Palestinian sources would not have persistently avoided using this name for a rabbinical assembly.

The fact that the name כלה is applied exclusively to Babylonian schools or assemblies certainly justifies the assumption that the Babylonian schools or assemblies, so designated, were, in their beginnings at least, somewhat different in character from the Palestinian schools or assemblies. There must have been some peculiar feature in the organization or constitution of the Babylonian schools and assemblies which made it impossible for their founders or organizers to call them right from the beginning by the name ישיבה which at that time was used in Palestine to designate rabbinical schools and assemblies. This distinctive feature which marked the difference between the Palestinian *Yeshibot* and the Babylonian schools or assemblies is most likely indicated in the peculiar name כלה which was the original name of the Babylonian schools and which to a certain extent was retained by them even after they were put on a par with the Palestinian schools and also designated by the name ישיבה or מתיבתא. It seems to me, therefore, that it is altogether wrong, when seeking to ascertain the significance of the name כלה to begin with a consideration of the etymological meaning of the word in Hebrew or in any cognate language. The proper method would be to start from the other end, that is, to begin with an inquiry into the origin of the institutions, so named, and of the circumstances accompanying their organization to find out whether and how any distinctive feature in their constitution or any peculiar circumstance accompanying their organization is indicated in this special name given to them.[5]

[4] See Sifre Deut. 345 and b. Pesaḥim 49b where it is found in a Baraita recited by R. Ḥiyya.

[5] Krauss (l. c.) is the only one who follows this method, but his theory is too far fetched. Besides, as already pointed out (above note 2) he fails to

It is generally conceded that the beginning of these Babylonian schools and assemblies dates from the time of Rab and Samuel in the first half of the third century c. e. Without considering here the question to what extent the study of the Torah had been cultivated in Babylon prior to the time of Rab and Samuel, it may be safely stated that these two scholars were the founders of schools for the study of the Torah and the organizers of the assemblies which were called by the name כלה. Sherira Gaon in his letter (Neubauer M. J. Chr. I, p. 27) plainly tells us that while they studied the Torah in Babylon they did not have up to the time of Rab and Samuel academies such as existed in Palestine,[6] because it was thought that such academies

explain why the name given to these schools was כלה and not כללא if the name was to indicate the method of study according to כללים, introduced by Rab. Furthermore, this method of study which Rab is alleged to have learned from Ḥiyya could not have been the distinctive feature of the Babylonian schools. It must have been pursued also by the sons of Ḥiyya who lived and worked in Palestine. Why then was no Palestinian school ever called by the name כלה supposed to indicate the method of study according to כללים.

6 ואף על פי כן היו מרביצין תורה הכא והוו להו ראשי גליות מבית דוד אבל ראשי מתיבתא וסנהדרין לא הוות בהון דהדא כילתא קא אמרין דלא הוו אלא מן המקום אשר יבחר יי ועד דאפטר רבי בריש גלותא הוו נהינין בבבל ולא בראשי מתיבתא ונשיאים דאינון ראשי סנהדרין בארץ ישראל.

The same is also stated by R. Nathan in his report (Neubauer M. J. chr. II p. 77) where he says בתחלה ביטי רב שהיה סוף תנאים ותחלת אמוראים לא היתה עדיין ישיבה בבבל וכו'. Halevi, Dorot Harishonim IIa (Frankfurt a. M. 1901) p. 404ff. is absolutely unjustified in considering the report of R. Nathan as based merely upon a misunderstanding of Sherira's words. There is no actual disagreement between Sherira and R. Nathan as to the time when the Yeshibot in Babylon were organized. Only R. Nathan is more explicit in stating that during the life time of Rab there was not yet in Babylon any ישיבה of the kind of the Palestinian academies. But this is exactly what, according to Halevi himself (ibidem p. 165ff) Sherira also tells us. Especially if we assume with Halevi (p. 406-7) that with the statement ועד דאיפטר רבי Sherira refers to the grandson of Judah Ha-Nasi, the Patriarch Judah II, who was also called Rabbi. For while we have no definite report as to the date of the latter's death, he must have died a few years after Rab, though

which were considered as authoritative as the Sanhedrin or as taking the place of the Sanhedrin could be organized only in Palestine.[7] The members of such an academy or ישיבה were ordained teachers or זקנים and at its head there was always an

we cannot go as far as Graetz (Geschichte IV, 4th edition, p. 448) putting the death of Judah II as late as 270 c. e. Of course, one cannot accept Halevi's theory that Rab went to Babylon in the days of Judah II (comp. Hoffman in Zeitschrift fur Hebräische Bibliographie V, 1901 p. 105). Rab went to Babylon in the days of Judah ha-Nasi who, according to Hoffman (ibidem p. 101) died about 217 c. e. And if we give to his son Gamaliel IV about 15 or 16 years in the office of the presidency and to Judah II about 20 or 21 years then the latter died about 254, about seven years after the death of Rab. Accordingly both Nathan and Sherira tell us that during the life of Rab (and according to Sherira about seven years later till the death of Judah II, comp. Sherira's statement, p. 29–30, that R. Huna became Rosh Yeshibah only after the death of Samuel, that is, seven years after Rab's death), there was no authoritative academy in Babylon, though there were schools for the study of the Torah. And when Sherira (ibidem p. 29) in speaking of the schools of Rab and Samuel uses the expression והויין להו לרב ושמואל תרתין מתיבתא he does not contradict himself, and we need not with Rappoport accuse him of consciously aiming at antedating the origin of the Babylonian academies (comp. Halevi ibidem p. 165). Being used to call the schools by the name מתיבתא, he unconsciously applies a later terminology to earlier conditions. The same is to be said about the passages in the Talmud. (b. Gittin 6a and Kiddushin 65b. see below note 17).

[7] Sherira alludes to Mishnah Sanhedrin XI, 2. The Sanhedrin had its seat in the Temple and it was believed that all authoritative teachings must come from the place where the Divine presence was manifested כל דרישה שאתה דורש לא יהיו אלא בשכנו של מקום (b. Sanhedrin 11b and 87a). In the course of time with the wanderings of the Sanhedrin, the whole of Jerusalem, instead of the Hall in the Temple was declared to be the fit place for the authoritative Sanhedrin, then, the entire country of Palestine was declared the proper place for the Sanhedrin and the authoritative ישיבות which took the place of the Sanhedrin. But the countries outside of Palestine where the Divine presence did not manifest itself שאין השכינה נגלית בחוצה לארץ (Mekilta Pisḥa I, Friedmann Ib) were not considered as בשכנו של מקום, hence not qualified for the seat of the authoritative Sanhedrin.

ordained teacher, a זקן יושב בישיבה an elder who presided over the academy. Babylon, however, was lacking in such ordained teachers, since ordination or סמיכה could be obtained only in Palestine.[8] Under these circumstances, then, when Rab and Samuel were about to establish their schools they could not think of organizing an authoritative assembly or an academy of the kind of the Palestinian academies or assemblies, since there were no ordained teachers in Babylon who could form such a ישיבה. And Rab and Samuel themselves were not fully ordained teachers. For even Rab[9] had not received the full ordination such as would give him the right to be a זקן יושב בישיבה, presiding over an authoritative academy. Accordingly, even Rab organized his school or assembly not as an authoritative Sanhedrin or a pretentious ישיבה but merely as an association of students or a study group. These gatherings of students or study groups could not well be called by the name ישיבה or מתיבתא since they were not of the same authoritative character as the Palestinian ישיבות. They had to be designated by a name suitable for such study groups and indicating that they were composed of unordained teachers and did not claim to be authoritative assemblies. Now we find that even in Palestine those students who were not yet ordained formed such study groups or student associations. They were called by a special name to distinguish them from the regular members of the academy who were already ordained teachers and were called זקנים. The name for these student groups of unordained teachers was כנסת, in the plural כנסיות, and the members of such a group were called בני כנסת. Thus we find in M. Bekorot V, 5 students of such a class are designated as בני כנסת in contradistinction to a fully ordained teacher who is called מומחה.[10] Likewise in

[8] אין סמיכה בחוצה לארץ b. Sanhedrin 14a.

[9] Comp. b. Sanhedrin 5ab and p. Ḥagigah I, 8 (76c) and Nedarim X, 10 (42b). As to Samuel, see b.B.M. 85b-86a, comp. however, Z. Frankel מבוא הירושלמ p. 124b.

[10] The Mishnah reads as follows:

בכור שנסמת עינו שנקטעה ידו שנשברה רגלו הרי זה ישחט על פי שלשה בני כנסת ר' יוסי אומר אפילו יש שם עשרים ושלשה לא ישחט אלא על פי מומחה.

Ḥullin 51a we are told of a certain Palestinian teacher by the name of עוירא who claimed to have been in charge of such student groups in Palestine under the supervision of Rabbi,[11] מפטיר כנסיות לעילא מרבי רבה (comp. the commentaries of R. Gershom and Rashi ad. loc). This also shows that even in Palestine students who were not yet ordained, and therefore could not be members of the academy, were organized into special groups called כנסיות. These groups, no doubt, were of different grades or classes, one more advanced than the other. This seems to be evident from the Mishnah Sanhedrin IV, 4 where three such groups of students,[12] one more advanced than the other, are mentioned as sitting with the Sanhedrin, and in case of need, one of the first and most advanced group was selected for ordination to be made a full member of the ישיבה or Sanhedrin.

It was this form of organization that Rab brought from Palestine and introduced in Babylon. He gathered around himself students and organized them into special groups called כנסיות. And even the most advanced among them or the teachers whom he may have found in Babylon and who associated with him in the task of studying and teaching the Torah, organized themselves into such a group only and were called by the name כנסת, since they were not ordained and

It is evident that בני כנסת (this is the correct reading, comp. R. Gershom's commentary to Bekorot 36b. Mishnah edition Naples 1492 and Lowe, The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rest, Cambridge 1883. Our editions have הכנסת) does not mean ignorant members of the synagogue, but students who know the law but have not received the full ordination and are not yet called חכמים (see Rashi ad loc). They may decide this question, since for such a case it is not required to have the full authority, as R. Gershom ad loc. explains it דלא בעינן מומחין גמורין. And the מומחה with whom they are contrasted is one who has received the full ordination, comp. Maimonides, Yad Bekorot III, i מומחה שנתן לו הנשיא בארץ ישראל רשות. Rab who, as we have seen, did not have such an ordination would therefore have been regarded merely as one of the בני כנסת.

[11] This Rabbi could not have been Judah ha-Nasi I, it must refer to Judah II. It may also be that רבי רבה here means simply "my great teacher" and Avira merely refers to his teacher R. Ami.

[12] In the Mishnah they are called שורות, for each group occupied a special row of seats.

therefore assumed the name by which a group of unordained students in Palestine was designated. But since the mere term כנסת "organization" or "assembly" did not in itself indicate the purpose of the organization, it was deemed necessary to add a phrase descriptive of the character and purpose of the organization. This additional phrase was לומדי התורה or in Aramaic, לומדי אורייתא "students of the Torah". The full name of these study groups or student organizations was therefore כ׳נסת ל׳ומדי ה׳תורה which in abbreviated form, using only the initial letters was כלה or in the Aramaic form כ׳נסת ל׳ומדי א׳ורייתא abbreviated כלא.[13] The smallest of these groups consisted of ten members, probably because these study groups would also hold their religious service in the very place where they assembled for study.[14] Hence it became the rule not to start such a study circle or not to hold a meeting of such a group with less than ten members.[15] Each group had its leader who was called ריש כלה "the head of the group", or ראש לבני כלה (b. Berakot 57a)[16] And the head of all the groups and classes that constituted a school or were in one locality was also called ריש כלה, since he was the head of the various groups of students of the Torah in that place ריש כנסיות לומדי התורה. Likewise during the months of assembly, Adar and Elul, when all the teachers and students assembled together, the teacher who presided over the assembly was originally also called not by the title ראש ישיבה but by the name ריש כלה, since he was then presiding over, or the head of all the groups of students ריש כנסיות לומדי התורה. And these two months which were the time for a general assembly for all the students זמן כ׳נסיה ל׳כל

[13] In this form it is found in the Responsa of the Geonim. ed. Harkavy p. 76 and 146 and Ginzberg Geonica II p. 283.

[14] Comp. b. Berakot 8a and 30b.

[15] שאין פותחין בכלה פחות מעשרה b. B.B. 12a.

[16] The members of such a group were called בני כלה (b. B.K. 113a) which corresponds to the בני כנסת of the Mishnah. Of course, some of these groups were more advanced and others less advanced. The latter were called כלי זוטרי "Junior Groups". Sheeltot to ברכה No. 165, (Wilna 1867) p. 80a. In the Talmud we have no express mention of כלי זוטרי. But b. Sukkah 26a כדטעים בר בי רב ועייל לכלה probably refers to such a junior group attended by a young student.

ה'לומדים were also called the days of the Kallah יומי כלה (b. M.K. 16a).

Thus originated the name כלה an abbreviation of כ'נסת ל'ומדי ה'תורה by which the Babylonian schools and assemblies at the time of their establishment or reorganization in the days of Rab and Samuel were designated. This designation was chosen by the Babylonian teachers themselves who at that time felt that they could not call their schools or assemblies by the name ישיבה, since the teachers of these schools and the members of these assemblies were not fully ordained teachers.

In the course of time, however, the Babylonians became more ambitious for their schools. They appreciated the high standard of learning that prevailed in their schools and respected the great authority of their teachers even though the latter lacked the formal recognition of authority by the act of ordination. They claimed for their schools equal standing with those of Palestine. They began to call their schools ישיבות, the name by which the Palestinian academies were called, and even considered them, like the latter, a sort of Sanhedrin.

We have no express statement in the Talmud as to the time when this change in the attitude of the Babylonians with respect to their schools took place. Certain indications, however, would lead us to assume that it took place soon after the death of Rab. In the first place, we find that the school at Sura founded by Rab was during his lifetime called merely "the school of Rab" בי רב, and, to my knowledge, is nowhere in the Talmud designated as ישיבה or מתיבתא.[17] The same school, however, under R. Huna, Rab's successor, is already designated as ישיבה or in Aramaic מתיבתא (b. Ketubot 106a).[18] And even the Palestinians are said to have so designated it.

[17] When in discussing the reason for a difference of opinion between Rab and Samuel later Talmudic teachers refer to the existence of schools in the time of Rab and Samuel and mention them as מתיבתא (b. Gittin 6a) they merely use a later nomenclature for earlier times. The same is also the case when Rab and his school is said by some later teachers to have been called בי דינא רבה which is the Aramaic for בית דין הגדול (b. Kiddushin 65b).

[18] כי הוו קיימי רבנן ממתיבתא דרב הונא ונפצי גלימייהו הוה סליק אבקא וכסי ליה ליומא ואמרי במערבא קמו ליה ממתיבתא דרב הונא בבלאה.

The abuse to which the ordination in Palestine has been subjected under the patriarch Judah II, a younger contemporary of Rab, which went so far as to enable unworthy candidates to obtain the ordination for money (p. Bikkurim III, 3 (65d) and b. Sanhedrin 7b),[19] may have indirectly helped to bring about the change in the attitude of the Babylonians with respect to their schools.

The Babylonians must have lost a great deal of their former respect for the ordination after the latter became purchaseable. They must have felt that the lack of such an ordination on the part of their own teachers did not detract from their real authority. And we can well believe that even some Palestinian teachers, well aware of the fact that not all of those who have received ordination have also acquired the necessary knowledge and real authority, would not hesitate to designate the school of R. Huna as מתיבתא even though it was composed of unordained teachers. Furthermore, the saying in p. Nedarim VII, 13 (40a) to the effect that a small group of students in Palestine is dearer to God than a great Sanhedrin outside of Palestine,[20] although apparently disapproving of the pretentious claim of the Babylonians that their schools were, like the Palestinian Yeshibot, of the character of a Sanhedrin, clearly points to the fact that already in the third century such claims had been made on behalf of the Babylonian schools.

While all these indications might in themselves not be sufficient to prove convincingly that after the death of Rab, when the school at Sura came under the leadership of R. Huna, it was organized and designated as a Yeshibah, they certainly lend strong support to R. Nathan's report to this effect. And R. Nathan in his report (Neubauer M. J. Chr. II p. 77) expressly

[19] See Graetz, Geschichte IV, 4th Edition, p. 227 and 452; Weiss, Dor. III p. 60 and comp. my article on Ordination, in Jewish Encyclopedia IX, p. 429 ff.

[20] חביבה עלי כת קטנה שבארץ ישראל יותר מסנהדרין גדולה שבחוצה לארץ.
We have no other proof that already in Amoraic times the Babylonian academies claimed the character of a Sanhedrin. Considering, however, that in Geonic times the Academies were considered like a Sanhedrin, we are justified in assuming that this was not an altogether new claim originating in Geonic times.

tells us that after Rab had died they organized the school of Sura as a Yeshibah of the kind of the Palestinian Yeshibot, and its head R. Huna, assumed the title of ראש ישיבה.[21] At any rate, we have no reason to doubt this explicit report of R. Nathan.

But even after they reorganized their schools along the lines of the Palestinian academies and designated them as Yeshibot, the Babylonians did not entirely abandon the older practice of having various student groups, each one called כנסת לומדי התורה or abbreviated כלה. On the contrary, in their schools they retained these student groups, since in so doing their schools became the exact counterpart of the Palestinian academies in which, as we have seen, there were besides the regular members of the academy groups of students called כנסיות.

We therefore find that even after the time of R. Huna there were in the Babylonian schools, various groups of students, each one presided over by a teacher called ריש כלה who was a regular member of the academy, occupying a distinguished position of some high rank but subordinate to the head of the academy or the ראש ישיבה.[22]

[21] ולאחר שנפטר רב עשו ישיבה בבבל על דרך ארץ ישראל והיא ישיבת סורא ומלך בה רב הונא מ' שנה והוא היה הראשון לכל מי שהיה ראש ישיבה בבבל.

[22] Thus we find that R. Naḥman b. Isaac occupied the position of ריש כלה in Pumbedita (b. B.B. 22a). This, no doubt was during the time when Raba was head of the school of Pumbedita. For after the death of Raba when R. Naḥman succeeded him as the head of the school he was probably called ריש מתיבתא. Even if we assume with Ginzberg (Geonica I. p. 46ff) that in Geonic times the head of the Pumbedita academy was called merely ריש כלה and not by the title Gaon, we have no proof that in Amoraic times also the head of the Pumbedita academy had merely the title ריש כלה and not ריש מתיבתא. Likewise, R. Samuel the son of R. Abahu tells us that his father R. Abahu occupied the position of ריש כלה in Pumbedita under Rafram (Ḥullin 49a). But nowhere do we find that the ריש כלה was superior to the ריש מתיבתא. Halper (l. c. p. 545) is not correct in assuming that the saying in b. Berakot 57a tends to prove that in Amoraic times the ריש כלה was higher in rank than the ריש מתיבתא. Rashi's interpretation of the saying is quite correct. Especially if we assume that already in later Amoraic times the head of a group of ten regular members of the Academy was called ריש כלה then a forest of big trees could well have been taken symbolically to indicate a group of prominent scholars. Halper's other suggestion, however, that outside of

Thus it developed that the name כלה came to be used as a designation for the general assemblies in the months of Adar and Elul when the members of the academy met together with all the groups of students connected with them or under their supervision, since these assemblies were really a כ'ניסה ל'כל ה'לימדים. It was also applied as a designation for parts of the school or for certain groups belonging to the academy.[23] But very rarely was the name used as a designation for the academy proper or for the school as a whole.[24] After the latter had been organized like the Palestinian academies, the name given to them was the same by which the Palestinian academies were called, that is, ישיבה or מתיבתא.

the Geonic academies there may have been heads of independent schools called Reshe Kallah, merits consideration.

[23] In the course of time, however, a change seems to have taken place in the use of the title ריש כלה. In Amoraic times, at least in the earlier Amoraic times (see preceding note) the כלה consisted of a group of students who were not yet regular members of the academy and only the head of the group the ריש כלה was a member of the academy. But in Geonic times, and possibly already in the later Amoraic period, the כלה was composed of a group of ten regular members of the academy who together with their head, the ריש כלה, formed part of the Sanhedrin. See Nathan's report (op. cit. p. 87).

[24] Thus in Menahot 82b in the saying בתרביצא אמרי וכי דבר הלמד בהיקש חזר ומלמד בהיקש בכלה לא איתמר according to the reading of the Aruk (see Aruk completum s. v. תרבץ our editions have בכללא איתמר which no doubt was by mistake contracted from בכל' לא איתמר) the term כלה seems to designate the academy proper (comp. Kohut l. c. and Epstein l. c. p. 270). Likewise, if Ginsberg's theory is correct that the head of the Pumbedita academy had merely the title ריש כלה, then כלה designated the entire academy. Comp. also Epstein l. c. p. 371 note 72.

GAONIC STUDIES

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I

The Last Period of the Sura Gaonate

THE ANCIENT ACADEMY of Sura, which formerly held a predominant position, was in a bad plight toward the end of the 9th century. After having had as presidents in succession such renowned scholars as Sar Shalom, Naṭronai, 'Amram, Naḥshon and also Ṣemaḥ b. Ḥayyim,[1] the fortunes of the school started on the decline by reason of a pestilence (as evidently was the case though not stated so in the source) which carried off within three months most of its veteran members together with the newly elected Gaon, R. Malka.[2] Yet the school continued its existence for another quarter of a century, during which time three Geonim were in charge of its affairs, and then we learn from the brief remark of Sherira that "the situation in Sura became very precarious and that no scholars remained therein." However the academy struggled on for another 13 years under the

[1] It would be out of place to enter here into a discussion of the chronological details concerning the respective time of activity of these five Geonim. It should only be remarked that in the Synchronistic List of the Geonim of Sura and Pumbedita (*J. E.* V, 571) the period of the last of them, Ṣemaḥ b. Ḥayyim, is given as 882–87. However Sherira states that he acted as Gaon for seven years, hence 880–87 would be more exact. (See also next note.)

[2] We follow here Sherira's account (*Letter*, ed. Lewin, 116–17); cp. note 5. There is no ground for deducing from this account that after Malka, who was in office for one month only, there was any prolonged interregnum. Yet in the above-mentioned List such a one lasting for 2 years is assumed because Malka's date is given as 887 whereas that of his successor as 889. The latter date is evidently either a mistake or a misprint. The date 887 for Malka's successor is also necessary in order to fit in the respective periods of office of the five Geonim of Sura between Malka and Sa'adya (928).

presidency of Jacob b. Naṭronai and when after his demise it came to the election of a new Gaon, there was no suitable person available so that the Exilarch, David b. Zakkai, could foist upon the school his nominee, a person of small scholastic standing, who remained in office for 4 years.[3] Thereupon when the vacancy in the Gaonate of Sura was again to be filled, the suggestion was seriously discussed to close Sura altogether and to draft its remaining scholarly members, who must have been few in number, into the flourishing academy of Pumbedita, then established in the capital city, Bagdad. Yet out of sentimental considerations for the time-honored seat of learning at Sura it was finally decided to continue its existence under the leadership of Natan Alluf, the son of the late Gaon of Pumbedita, R. Judah.[4] But

[3] Yom-Ṭob, the nominee of the Exilarch, was a weaver by profession, which occupation was to his disadvantage since it necessarily prevented him from excelling in scholarship such as previous members of the academy, who made תורתם מלאכתם, used to do. The reading 4 years for his time of office is to be preferred to the *variae lectiones* which give 7 or 10.

[4] Naturally had Natan lived, he would have presided over the school *at Sura* as is the plain meaning of Sherira's statement. However Graetz (V[4], 291) and Halevy (דוה"ר, III, 247) give a forced interpretation that instead of abolishing Sura altogether, as at first intended, it was decided to retain its name by having in *Pumbedita* a dignitary going by the title of Gaon of Sura. When, however, the nominee for this title, Natan, died unexpectedly, it was regarded as a Divine sign not to remove the school from Sura. (This interpretation is also taken over by Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, 106). But when Sherira states: ולבסוף אסכימו למסמך לכר רב נתן אלוף... בשם גאונות מחסיא כי היכי דלא ליבטיל שמה he plainly means that it was decided to appoint a member of the Pumbedita school as new Gaon of Sura, who would have naturally carried on his activities at Sura. (Because of the reason דלא ליבטיל שמה, Sherira uses the phrase למסמך בשם גאונות, which should not be taken to mean a titular dignity merely.)

The whole suggestion of closing Sura was discussed by the scholars only (ביני רבנן) evidently referring to those of Pumbedita headed by Kohen Ṣedeḳ. By appointing a member of Pumbedita, according to the new plan, care would have been taken to safeguard the rights of Pumbedita, recently obtained through the exertions of Kohen Ṣedeḳ, with regard to the equal distribution of the donations and other matters (as narrated by Natan the Babylonian). What the real intentions of the Exilarch were in the whole matter is unknown. But he showed his hand after Natan Alluf's death by carrying through the appointment of Sa'adya, though the latter did not belong by training and family ties to the coterie of "the scholars of the academies" (as Sherira allows

as Providence willed it, Natan died before his nomination could take effect.[5]

Meanwhile a new star of first magnitude appeared on the horizon of the Babylonian Jewry. An outsider, a native of Egypt, who had left his home about 915 at the age of 33 and after wanderings in Palestine for about 6 years finally betook himself to Bagdad, proved to be a man of great ability and energy. It was Sa'adya al-Fayyūmi who had exerted himself in the calendar dispute between the Babylonian authorities and the Palestinian Gaon, Ben-Meir, and who also won his literary spurs in championing Rabbinism against Ḳaraism. He received the title Alluf and seems to have been attached to one of the schools, either of Pumbedita, then situated at Bagdad, or of Sura.[6] It was in the capital that in 928 the choice fell on him to take over the Gaonate of Sura and endeavor to restore its shattered fortunes. It seems that he resided in Bagdad even some time after his appointment till he managed to re-organise the school and draft into it a number of scholars and disciples some of whom were now members of the Pumbedita school.[7] Had he been allowed to carry on his

his grudge against the Exilarch to reveal itself in his *Letter*: ואתייה דוד נשיאה לסר רב סעדיה ולא מן בני רבנן דמחיבתה הוה.)

[5] Sherira's account, which we have followed here, is contradicted in some details by Natan the Babyloniam, as is well-known. The last to discuss these differences is Dr. Ginzberg (*Geonica*, I, 55–69). But his ingenious attempt at reconciliation must remain highly problematic and, in the absence of new evidence from the Genizah, it is advisable to follow Sherira's data at least with regard to the occupants of the Sura Gaonate previous to Saa'dya.

[6] At the end of a letter, dated Tammuz (1)233 Sel. = 922 C.E., Sa'adya signs with the title Alluf after his father's name (סעדיה בן יוסף אלוף, *Saadyana* 15). The title evidently refers to himself and not to his father. It was probably given to him after his arrival at Bagdad and as a reward for his services in connection with the calendar dispute. Yet he may have received this distinction still earlier since he corresponded with the Gaon of Pumbedita, R. Judah, still while in Palestine (as will be shown further on, p. 241). Malter (*l. c.*, 64-5, 90) thinks that Sa'adya became one of the Allufim of the Sura school. While this is possible, we find him however in 928 residing in Bagdad (see next note). About the supposed title אלוף ישועה, see my remarks in *R. E. J.* LXXIII, 107–8.

[7] See now the letter, written by Sa'adya from Bagdad while already Gaon of Sura, published by Lewin (גנזי קדם, II, 34–5) and cp. especially Epstein (דביר, II, 325–6). Sa'adya sends greetings from the members of the school

new enterprise unhindered, there is little doubt that Sura would have regained much of its pristine glory. But there came the unfortunate conflict with David b. Zakkai and destroyed whatever prospect there was of repairing the breaches of the old academy. Though the two opponents became reconciled in 937, the conflict left an ineradicable impression upon them. It seems to have undermined the vigor of both of them, David b. Zakkai being gathered to his fathers in 940 and two years later Sa'adya following him (942). The fate of Sura was then sealed. Joseph ibn Saṭya, the rival nominee of the Exilarch as Gaon of Sura during the unfortunate conflict, indeed made a final attempt to maintain himself at the head of the school but by reason of his inferior standing, as compared to the greatness of his late rival Sa'adya, he failed. The school was disbanded and Joseph withdrew to Baṣrah where he passed the end of his life.[8]

as well as from prominent lay leaders of Bagdad. In the supplementary fragment (*Geonica*, II, 87–8; דביר, II, 326), Sa'adya writes כי אז נצוה את בעלי בתים חשובים אשר בבגדד אשר אנחנו יושבים ביניהם. (While Epstein is right that the two fragments belong together, there is evidently a gap between them since the second leaf begins abruptly with וכן כל חפץ ושאלה וכו'). Also the interesting fragment (published by Mann, *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, IX, 148–50; cp. also ibid., XI, 437) is probably by Sa'adya and may belong to this time immediately after his appointment to the Sura Gaonate. Herein we read (ibid. 150, top: הלא ידעת אם לא שמעת כי אנחנו יושבים בבגדאד מלמדים את העם וכו'. Its whole tenor of defending Rabbinism against Ḳaraism is in accordance with Sa'adya's attitude.

Ultimately, after having organized the school, Sa'adya must have transferred it to Sura, unless we should assume that, following the precedent of the academy of Pumbedita, which had transferred its activities to Bagdad though retaining its time-honored name (see Mann, *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, XI, 434–38), Sa'adya really officiated as Gaon of Sura in the capital of Babylon. But against this assumption militates the wording of the above letter (דביר, II, 325): ראש ישיבה של עיר מחסיה and the account of Sherira (*Letter*, ed. Lewin, 118) where several times we read of the Gaonate or academy *at* Sura (במחא, במחסיא).

How the school was re-organized by Sa'adya we learn from Sherira's statement that "he assembled the descendants of the former members of the Sura school and also younger disciples, who studied under Pumbedita scholars," and thus established the school of מחא מחסיא (*Letter*, p. 117).

[8] About the supposed activities of the Sura school at Baṣrah, see Mann, *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, VII, 470–71. The statement of Ibn Dannan (in Edelmann, חמדה גנוזה, 28) is hopelessly corrupt at its end: ואחרי פטירתו (של רס"ג) היתה

The statement of Sherira is explicit that after Joseph there was no academy in Sura (*Letter*, ed. Lewin, 118: ובתר הכי לא הות ועד השתא ליכא במחסיה מתיבתא; another reading is: מתיבתא במתא מחסיא). There would be no reason to doubt this statement nor to try to interpret it otherwise than in its plain meaning were it not for the fact that the family of Ebyatar Hakkohen, Gaon of Palestine, traced its descent from a number of Geonim, who went by name of ראש ישיבה של גולה and who cannot be accounted for anywhere else than in Sura during the period of the supposed interregnum between Joseph and Ṣemaḥ, the first president of the re-opened school after 987 (of whom we treat anon). The three memorial lists discussed by me (in *Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, II, 62–6) mention an Elijah Hakkohen ראש ישיבה של גולה, a Mordekai Hakkohen (called variously כהנא רבה, Gaon and ראש ישיבה של גולה), a Menaḥem (כהנא רבה, var. ראש ישיבה של גולה) and a Solomon (only in one text: ראש ישיבה של גולה). They are all to be placed in the 10th century and my suggestion was (ibid. p. 66) that they resided in Sura. How this is to be reconciled with the statement of Sherira is difficult to say. Should we assume that, whereas officially the school ceased to function, there were still some scholars in Sura who kept up some sort of organization presided over by priestly Geonim whose titles and offices were altogether of an ephemeral character? Of course if there were reasons for assuming the existence of an academy going by the name of ישיבה של גולה outside Babylon in the *10th century* our difficulty would be solved. But so far there are none. The Gaonate of Egypt only began with the Nasi David b. Daniel toward the end of the 11th century (see ibid. p. 64). To deny altogether the statements of these memorial lists is again risky. More light can only be thrown on the subject by further Genizah finds.

Forty-five years had passed since the demise of Sa'adya and Sura was still without any academy. In 987, when Sherira wrote his

ישיבת סוריא הולכת ודלה עד שברח רב יוסף למדינת אלבצרה ומת שם. והיתה הישיבה דלה עד ימי רבינו האי שישבה על ספך ישיבתו ימים.

See the attempted explanations by Lewin (רב שרירא גאון, 7, note 2) and Marx (*Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, I, 399–400) none of which are satisfactory.

"Letter," Pumbedita-Bagdad was still the only seat of organized learning in Babylon. But some time afterwards the Sura Gaonate received a new lease of life. Here we come to the problem of the last period of this Gaonate to which the above remarks were by way of introduction. Till quite recently Samuel b. Ḥofni was regarded as the only president of the reopened school of Sura and with his demise in 1034, as hitherto maintained, the new lease of life of this academy also terminated forever. In a paper on "the last Geonim of Sura," published in 1921 (*J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, XI, 409–22), I was able to show with the help of new Genizah material that in reality the school had been in its last period in charge of four Geonim in succession after Samuel, whose death actually had occurred in 1013, and that it survived even the school of Pumbedita-Bagdad after the demise of Hai in 1038, since Isaac, the last Gaon of Sura, departed this life after Hai. But the causes that made for the re-opening of Sura were still obscure and Samuel b. Ḥofni was still regarded as the first president under whom this re-opening had taken place.

There is now reason to maintain that Samuel was preceded in the Gaonate of Sura by another scholar, Ṣemaḥ b. Isaac, who had prior claims for guiding the destinies of the school at its re-opening. By nature of this obscure period of Jewish history our data have to be pieced together from scattered Genizah fragments and our reconstruction can only proceed by means of conjectures made, however, very probably with the help of these data. As a starting point we have the fragment (in *J. Q. R.*, *l. c.*, 419), which gives a chronological list of the dates of demise of the last Geonim and other worthies of both Sura and Pumbedita. Unfortunately this list is torn across its whole length and yet several important details could be deduced from it. Now the item on l. 5 records the death of a Ṣemaḥ b. Is(aac), who is placed between Ḥofni Ab, the father of Samuel, and Sherira Gaon (ונחת נפשיה דמ' צמח בן מר יצ[חק]). At the time of publication of this list (*l. c.*, 420) I could only remark that Ṣemaḥ was "unknown to me." But now I have found in the Cairo Genizah Collection a letter from צמח צדק ראש מתיב[תא] דסור[א] to Elḥanan b. Shemarya, which is appended at the end of this paper and which furnishes a valuable clue. In

this epistle the Gaon expresses his keen disappointment that Elḥanan, who had come to Bagdad, had not also visited him at Sura as he had hoped and greatly desired. It is known that Elḥanan studied in Bagdad at the Pumbedita school under Sherira. A letter of Adar 1021 speaks rather disparagingly of his conduct there as a student,[9] though Sherira himself prasies him greatly referring to the learned questions which he had received from Elḥanan since his return to Fusṭāṭ as evidence of his increasing scholarship.[10] We may assume that Elḥanan visited Bagdad for purposes of study during the last decade of the 10th century.[11] At that time there was in Sura a Gaon by the name of Ṣemaḥ (צמח צדק is an illusion to Jer. 33[15] צמח צדקה and Jer. 23[5] צמח צדיק) who should be identified with צמח בן יצחק in the above list. He was evidently the first Gaon of Sura after its re-consolidation some time after 987 when Sherira wrote his "Letter." From the list we learn that he died before Sherira whereupon Samuel b. Ḥofni succeeded him in the Gaonate.

We may proceed further and identify our Ṣemaḥ with the writer of the important letter of 953 C. E. (published by Cowley, *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 401–403).[12] He refers therein to his family

[9] See *R.E.J.* LV., 49–51 and cp. especially Mann, *Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, I, 39–40 (see also *J. Q. R., N. S.*, XI, 435–6).

[10] See the important letter of Sherira and Hai in *J. Q. R.*, VI, 222–3 and *J. Q. R., N. S.*, VIII, 360–2 (cp. especially p. 349ff). Therein Elḥanan is referred to (*J. Q. R.*, VI, 223): גם הבן היחיד אצילנו החשוב עלינו עד מאד מר רב אלחנן חברנו נט' רח' אשר סמכנוהו בישיבה וכמה שיושבים תחת המקום הקבוע לו. ואמנם כי הוא מוסיף מעת על עת. וכל אנרת אשר חבוא מאתו לפנינו טובה מאשר לפניה וכל שאלות שניות טובות מן הראשונות. כל זאת עם בחוריו (i. e. at the time of his youth) ובטוחים אנו כי עד יזקין לנבורות (ולנבורות r.) יגיע יוסף ויעדיף על רבים ועצומים. ואהבתנו להם (i. e. to him and his father Shemarya) אמצת מאד. ומ'ר' אלחנן נט' רח' הוא גידולינו וריבוינו.

This letter was written when Hai was still Ab (see *J. Q. R., N. S.*, VIII, 351). Hai also refers elsewhere to a question Elḥanan sent to his father Sherira (ibid. 355).

[11] Elḥanan after his return to Egypt made again trips to Palestine and Syria. We find him in Damascus toward the end of 1011 when his father Shemarya departed this life (see Mann, *Jews in Egypt* etc., I, 34; II, 39).

[12] On this letter see Marx, ibid., 768ff., and Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, 7, note 1. Whereas the former thinks that the writer of the letter must have been

ties as the great-grandson of Ṣemaḥ Gaon b. Palṭoi Gaon, both of Pumbedita. Now as our Ṣemaḥ speaks of his son Palṭoi Ab (*infra*, p. 10, l. 15) we have thus the same illustrious names recur in the family. From the maternal side the writer of this letter was a grandson of the Sura Gaon Moses and thus connected with two other presidents of this school, Naḥshon and his father Ṣadoḳ. In 953 affairs at the Pumbedita school were chaotic owing to internal dispute between the Gaon in office, Aaron b. Sarjado, and his rival Nehemiah b. Kohen Ṣedeḳ.[13] The donations were scarce in coming and even those that arrived were distributed in such a way as to cause discontent among the members of the school.[14] Under such circumstances it is no wonder that the practice of appeals for support being sent out only by the Gaon in office was disregarded. Thus the writer of the letter in 953, who is to be identified with our Ṣemaḥ b. Isaac, appealed to Spain, evidently to Ḥisdai ibn Shaprūt,[15] for donations to be sent together with the customary questions (שאלות). He probably did this at the instigation of a group of the dissenting members of the school and received this commission by reason of the fact that he could allude to his illustrious descent from Geonim of both Pumbedita and of Sura (then defunct). In his epistle he refers only to those members of the family who actually held office in the schools, viz. up to his grandfather Ṭob Ab, the same person who is mentioned first in the above chronological list (l. 2). He does not allude to his father, Isaac, in our opinion, because he evidently held no official position in the academy.

either a Gaon or at least an Ab-Bet-Din and hence is unable to ascertain his name, the latter identifies him without any doubt with a certain Hezekiah b. Samuel ראש סדר, a grandson of Palṭoi Gaon.

[13] Aaron b. Sarjado died in 960 but some time before Nehemiah started his opposition against him (see Sherira's *Letter*, ed. Lewin, 121). We may take it for granted that in 953 the conflict was well on the way, if matters had not yet actually come to an issue.

[14] By the person who deprived the members of the school of the donations after retaining the greater portion to himself (*J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 402), evidently the Gaon Aaron b. Sarjado is meant. It seems that the writer belonged to the group in the school opposing Aaron, though it is obscure how far he joined hands with Nehemiah.

[15] As rightly suggested by Dr. Marx (*l. c.*, 768).

Since this letter was written about 35 years had passed and our Ṣemaḥ is not heard of in the data so far at our disposal. What his status in the Pumbedita school was is unknown. He must have already been a veteran scholar when some time after 987 (the date of Sherira's Letter) the leaders of the Babylonian Jewry took steps to reopen Sura. We are still in the dark as to the persons who exerted themselves in this praiseworthy effort. We hear of a prominent personality, Abraham, who bestirred himself "to provide Sura, the broken open, with a fence, to make her authoritative and revered as before . . . , to establish the academy of the Law and to firmly found it."[16] This Abraham was, as it seems, one of the "sons of Aaron" (בני אהרן), the influential grandees of Bagdad Jewry. In the letter of 953 their father Aaron and his brother Moses are eulogistically referred to as having the full confidence of the writer and the group of scholars he represented. Aaron was to be the treasurer of all the donations arriving for the school. Aaron's sons evidently continued to be friendly toward our Ṣemaḥ. When the steps taken to reopen Sura materialised and a Gaon had to be chosen from among the members of Pumbedita, the only school then in existence in Babylon, our Ṣemaḥ could come forward successfully as a candidate by reason of his descent from previous Sura Geonim, besides his scholarly qualifications and his family connections with previous Pumbedita Geonim. Aided by the influential Abraham, he assumed the Gaonate of Sura. It is unknown how long he was in office. But his period of activity as Gaon is limited on the one end by the fact that in 987 Sura was still closed and on the other end by the fact that he died a few years before Sherira. We have no definite record of his literary productions. The question only

[16] See the remarkable poems in honor of this Abraham, published by Schechter, *Saadyana*, 66–73, and supplemented by Mann, *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, IX, 157–60. For the identification of the hero of these poems with one of "the sons of Aaron" see ibid., 154–7 and cp. *l. c.*, VIII, 341–2, concerning the importance of Aaron in Bagdad Jewry. The lines dealing with Abraham's achievements on behalf of Sura read (in *Saadyana*, 66, ll. 8–9): לתח גדר למחסיה הפרוצה, לשומה כקדם נוראה וערוצה,... להכין ישיבת הדת וליסדה.

Cf. further the lines (in *J. Q. R.*, N. S., IX, 158, ll. 27–30): שמך שר נחלתו וסגלת בחיריה, גודר פרצותיה, יועץ מריבותיה, דורש שלומותיה ודורש טובותיה, יופי מושבותיה והוד ישיבותיה, אב לסלריה וגם רב לסנהדריה.

arises whether some responsa attributed to Ṣemaḥ Gaon should not be assigned to Ṣemaḥ b. Isaac instead of his namesakes Ṣemaḥ b. Palṭoi or Ṣemaḥ b. Ḥayyim.[17]

We should bear in mind that the beginnings of the school in its new career must have been on a small scale. It took time till the outside communities heard of the innovation and began to have confidence in the new Gaon so as to send questions and donatios that were indispensable for the maintenance of the academy, especially since in Pumbedita there officiated a man of the calibre of Sherira. It is also doubtful whether any prominent scholars of Pumbedita immediately joined the new school in order to increase its prestige. We only hear that Ṣemaḥ had his son Palṭoi function as Ab next to him. In this he followed the precedent of Pumbedita where Sherira had his son Hai appointed in 985 (2 years before compiling his "Letter") as Ab of the school. But this Palṭoi did not succeed his father as Gaon but Samuel b. Ḥofni. The last person, Ḥofni, was Ab of Pumbedita and brother of Nehemiah Gaon b. Kohen Ṣedeḳ Gaon. Nehemiah refers in his letter of Kislev 962 to the death of his brother the (Ab) Bet Din in the spring of the previous Seleucid year (962).[18]

If we may supply the lacuna there by the name of Ḥofni, we have the date of his demise. In the list, frequently cited, he is placed between Hai b. David and our Ṣemaḥ b. Isaac. If this be the case, his son Samuel must have then been still a comparatively young man seeing that he departed this life in 1013 over 50 years afterward. He no doubt continued his studies at Pumbedita and showed his abilities. Though older than Hai he was passed over in 985 when the office of Ab became vacant. It is only natural that he must have felt hurt. Whether he immediately joined Sura at its reopening some time after 987 is altogether obscure. Nor do we know the reasons that brought about his elevation to the Sura Gaonate as successor to Ṣemaḥ

[17] See Müller, *Mafteaḥ*, 140ff. In *J. Q. R.*, IV, 91, where Ṣemaḥ Gaon is mentioned after Aaron and Hilai, our Sura Gaon may be meant.

[18] *J. Q. R.*, XIX, 105, ll. 4–5: [חפני אב] ביח דין אחינו רוח יי׳ תניחנו בשנה ... שעברה בחדש ניסן כי היה הוד הישיבות ונשחוטם עולם עלינו ואחריו שבנו [ליוצ]רנו וצידקנו משפטיו והודינו לפניו על כל מדותיו. A few lines of Samuel's elegy on the death of his father are cited by Harkavy, זכרון הגאון רב שמואל בן חפני וספריו, pp. 7-8.

though the latter's son, Palṭoi, was Ab. Perhaps Palṭoi died still in his father's lifetime and Samuel succeeded him as Ab.[19] Should we also conjecture that the "sons of Aaron" used their influence on behalf of Samuel seeing that they were the supporters of his uncle Nehemiah Gaon (as evident from the letter of 962)?[20] These points still remain to be cleared up by new Genizah finds.

Be this as it may, Samuel was installed as Gaon of Sura after Ṣemaḥ's demise a few years before Sherira's death. There was friction between the two schools with regard to the distribution of the donations. But two years before Sherira's death (טרם אסיפתו ב' שנים)[21] an agreement was brought about. As a token of amity Hai married a daughter of Samuel (evidently as a second wife since Hai was then already in his middle age). The position of Samuel was still subject to opposition within the Sura school itself and he had to lay stress on his learning and literary achievements.[22] But with time Samuel's leadership must have become recognized. As Ab of the school probably Dosa, the second son of Sa'adya, was next in rank to Samuel while the latter's son, Israel, functioned as "secretary of the academy" (סופר הישיבה).[23] When Samuel died in 1013 Dosa,

[19] This may be borne out by a fragment which refers to Samuel as דיאן אלבאב = Ab-Bet-Din (*J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, XI, 414, note 12). My argument there that Samuel was Ab of Pumbedita before Hai should be modified altogether in the light of the above remarks.

[20] See *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, VIII, 341–2.

[21] See the letter of Samuel b. Ḥofni in *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 308–9, supplemented now by a leaf in Ms. Adler (*M. G. W. J.*, LXVII, 260–1 and Lewin, גנזי קדם, II, 20). The reading ב' שנים instead of בשנים is rightly suggested by Dr. Marx, *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, I, 400. Sherira's death seems to have taken place in Tishri 1317 Sel. = 1006 C.E. (See the extract in Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chronicles*, I, 189, bottom). Hence this agreement occurred in 1004.

[22] See *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, XI, 413, note 10, and VIII, 365:
ואכן ידעתם כוחינו בתורת אל ואילותינו בחכמת המקרא והמשנה והתלמוד וכי פתרנו כמה ספרים מן המקרא ופירשנו מסכתות מן המשנה והתלמוד.

[23] See the letter of Samuel to the community of Fez. (*J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 403–4, and cp. especially Mann, *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, VIII, 364). Incidentally the fact that the same Ms. contains first the letter of 953 followed immediately by this epistle of Samuel to Fez bears out to some extent our contention that the former emanated from Ṣemaḥ, who later on became Gaon of Sura. Thereupon follows another letter by his successor to the Gaonate, viz. Samuel. The

already at an advanced age, became Gaon and after him (in 1017) Israel, Samuel's son, who was in office for 17 years till 1034. On his demise Sura was presided over by 'Azarya Hakkohen, who perhaps was Israel's son, and finally we hear of another Gaon of Sura, Isaac.[24]

Now from the fact that Ṣemaḥ, the first president of the re-opened school, was b. Isaac we may perhaps deduce that the last Gaon of Sura, Isaac, was Ṣemaḥ's son. The elder son, Palṭoi Ab, did not succeed to the office just as Sa'adya's elder son, Sheerit Alluf, never held a higher rank in the school. The chances of Gaonate fell thus in both cases to the lot of the younger sons, to Dosa b. Sa'adya and to Isaac b. Ṣemaḥ. Isaac died after Hai (1038) and with him Sura was disbanded, as it seems, finally and forever though with regard to Pumbedita-Bagdad there is now reason to assume that it continued in some way or another for a considerable time even after 1038 and that by the middle of the 12th century it entered upon a new and flourishing period of activity that continued for another hundred and fifty years till about the end of the 13th century.[25]

We may thus draw up the following list of Geonim of Sura during its last period:

1 Ṣemaḥ b. Isaac (died before 1004 C.E.).
2 Samuel b. Ḥofni (died 1013 C.E.),
3 Dosa b. Sa'adya (died 1017 C.E.).
4 Israel b. Samuel (died 1034 C.E.).
5 'Azarya (b. Israel? died before 1038 C.E.).
6 Isaac (b. Ṣemaḥ? died after 1038 C.E.).

We notice how in the question of filling the vacancy of

Ms. must have been copied from a pamphlet of writings by the Sura Geonim since its reopening. With regard to the epistle to Fez, my view (*J., Q. R. N. S.*, XI, 438–9) that it was written before 987 or thereabouts becomes untenable since in 987 Sura was not reopened yet and moreover since Samuel was preceded by Ṣemaḥ. The letter therefore must refer to the calamities that befell Fez Jewry several years after they had suffered exile to Ashir wherefrom they evidently returned subsequently only to taste again the cup of persecution.

[24] As shown in *J. Q. R., N. S.*, XI, 409–22.

[25] See Mann, הצופה לחכמת ישראל, VI, 104–06.

Gaon there came in, besides the personal qualifications of the candidates, claims of יחוס and בן ממלא מקום אביו. This we detect in the cases of Ṣemaḥ, of Dosa, of Israel and evidently also of 'Azarya and of Isaac. Who knows whether Samuel b. Ḥofni was not also connected through his maternal family ties with former Geonim of Sura? The same "family claims" cropped up also frequently in Pumbedita and, as a matter of fact, were dominant factors during the last three centuries of the Gaonic period (see Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, 9–13).

In conclusion we append here the letter from Ṣemaḥ Gaon to Elḥanan b. Shemarya, which was the primary cause of our renewed discussion of the last period of the Sura Gaonate. The fragment (in the Cairo Genizah Collection, L 279, paper, torn, verso containing a Talmudic passage) is very faded and difficult to decipher. It was copied by me during my stay in Cairo in May, 1924. I have now endeavored to obtain a photograph of the fragment for a renewed examination, but alas without avail. The version given here should therefore be regarded as subject to improved readings whenever carefully examined anew. However the essential data bearing on our discussion above are evident from the text in its present form.

(Recto)

ב[רכת] השם תרב צמח צדק ראש מתיב[ת]א דסו[רא]

לזקן תורה מהיר במצות צור אדיר. . . . . ..
מזהיר. וכזוהר הרקיע להזהיר. בתורתו הקנויה ושכל. . . . .
אלחנן שר קהלה פני אביו מאיר. ירצך צורך ויצרך וינ. . . .
בן הזקן המופלא המעולה מרב שמריה ישמרהו יה. . . . . .
5 . . . . . הנאמן לפנינו ויקר בעינינו וחשו[ב]. . . . . .
ונחלי חכמות חוחלי זימון[26] ו. . . זכיות יהלכו לזקן. . . . . .
ולכל החכמים התלמידים השוקדים בתי מדרשיכם[27] שאו [שלום ממני]
ומן הישיבות הנושבות החשובות שומרי תורותיים[28]. . . [נפש]
משיבות. . . . . בחסדי זכור. . . . . לבית ישראל

[26] A Paiṭanic form of מזמה, זמה, discretion, thought.

[27] Here we have another reference to the center of learning established at Fusṭāt by the prominent scholar Shemarya.

[28] Dual, referring to both the written and the oral laws.

ובחקיו ומשפטיו ועדותיו משתעשעים ומודים ל[ו כי ראו כל אפסי]
ארץ ישועת אלהינו זכר חסדו ואמונתו לבית ישראל[29]. . . . . .
ברוך יי לעולם אמן ואמן. ודע חמודנו כי למאד ששנו [על]. . . .
כתב ופרש תלמידנו מר סהל אלוף בן אלוף פקידנו במוצל. . . . .
למוצל ובשרנו כי אתה בא אל בירת בגדר גם בהגיע תלמיד[ך ר' שלמה]
משרתך ותחי נפשנו כאילו עמד בחורנו פלטוי אב. . . . . .
כותחי רוח יעקב אביהם בבשר ביוסף שהוא חי ואף על פי [שלא האמין להם]
באותה שעה שרתה עליו רוח הקדש ככ' ושרת [רוח קודשא][30]. . . .
כי יחידנו היה ובשמענו חכמתך ובינתך ויראת. . . . . .
וצוינו את רב שלמה משרתך אוהבך למהר. . . . . .
כי הוא ירא מהמס המלכות ונשבענו לו שאם תבואה בעזרת. . . . .
לא תירא תחלה כי כת' בישרי לב הנה אנכי עמך וג' וכת' [הנה]
[מלאך יי סביב] ליראיו וג' וכת' כי מלאכיו יצוה לך וג'[31]. . . . .
לימין שלאוהבי יי' ככ' יפל מצדך אלף וג'[32] ואילו האמנת נכנס. . .
מעונך ולא היית ירא מכל פחד בחמלת אלוה מעזנו. . . . . .
הלא [ושמעת] מעשה שלאותו סוחר מישראל שהיה בא. . . . לרום[י]
פוחד רועד ירא על נפשו וממונו מה אמר לו אדומי. . . . . .
ממי תירא וכל המע'[33] עוד אמ' אני ירא ממך ככ' ורא' כל עמ' [וא' וג']
אורי וישעי וג'[34] אליעזר עבד אברהם. . . . . .
. . . . . עמו כל הפחות בחסדי אלהים. . . . . .
. . . . ואני אנידה לו אם ירצה ישמע ויבוא אחר כן כא'. . . . .
ונחד בחכמתך ונתעצבה ונדאגה ונפחדה וירע ויצר לנו. . . . . .
סיע[35] המקום [לראות] קלסטירך לשוש ולשמח במתק שפתי[ך]
כי אין. . . . . .
המה אין אמת ואין חסד ואין דעת אלהים במו ועוד אמר[36] כי
הוצאת דרכיו ואפס כסף שהיה עמו ואמרנו. . . . . ..
לנו קדם שיעלה אל ארץ ישראל שאנחנו. . . . . .
. . . . . ואנו. . . . . .
שאצלנו. . . . . .
כסף ועד אלף לאשר יקרת בעינינו ונכבדת לגדלך בתורו [תיים]

[29] Ps. 98[3].

[30] Targum Onkelos to Gen. 45[27]. See also *Pirḳe de R. Eli'ezer*, c. 38, and Rashi a. l.

[31] Gen. 28[15], Ps. 34[8], 91[11].

[32] Ps. 91[7].

[33] = המעשה. The source of this story is unknown to me.

[34] Deut. 28[1], Ps. 27[1].

[35] = סִיּוּעַ, help, assistance.

[36] viz. Elḥanan's attendant, Solomon.

ולצדקת אביך זקן הדור בחכמה ואהבת יי' למה עשית. . . .
ולא הודעת קדם עלותך ולאחר כן חוו[37] אנשינו כי נכנסת. . . . .
ונסתרת. . . . . את ר' שלמה. . . . . .
וחזרת ונתחרטת ונך[38] כף על כף ועד אן נחנו עציבים. . . . . .
לא הספיק אלוה לנו לשורה[39] תמונתך ולא הופק לעמוד על... . .
. . . . . כאשר עמדנו משנים. . . . . .
. . . . . לשאל. . . . . .
. . . . . ונצו לרמזה לך רמז ביחוד. . . . . .
הוא ורחוק. . . . . ועמוק ונראה כעין חלב ועין חשוף

(No more preserved)

II

A Responsum by Sherira Gaon and his son Hai on the Calendar

Among the Genizah leaves, deposited in several libraries, there are still to be found important documents that shed new light on many obscure problems pertaining to the history and the literature of the Jewish people. Search among these tattered and torn leaves is occasionally rewarded by the finding of an important and interesting fragment as a recompense for the labor of several days that appears to have been wasted. The yield of such an experience in August, 1924, at the University Library in Strassbourg is a long responsum by Sherira and his son Hai on the calculation of the calendar which is reproduced here.[40] The end of the responsum is missing. It is to be hoped that it will yet turn up one day among the widely scattered fragments that are still unedited.

A part of this responsum is already quoted by Abraham b. Ḥiyya in his *Sepher Ha'ibbur* (ed. Filipowski, London 1851, pp. 97–8) who ascribed it to Hai Gaon. It would appear therefrom

[37] People said, narrated.

[38] = ונכה, 'and we smote.'

[39] Paitanic form instead of לשור, to behold.

[40] Bibliothèque Universitaire et Regionale, Strassbourg, cp. the catalogue of Mss. by E. Wickersheimer, Paris, 1923, No. 4038. The fragment consists of 6 paper leaves, square writing. Some of the leaves are damaged.

that the whole responsum is cited.[41] But a comparison with the text as now available will give the reader an adequate idea of the method of abbreviation and omission applied by writers of those times to the statements of earlier authorities.

Yet it may be argued that the version in *Sepher Ha'ibbur* is that of a responsum on the same subject that had formerly been addressed to Egypt, because in our text (fol. 2, recto) the Gaon remarks on the question presented to him that a similar one had already been asked from the country of the Nile and that he had replied to it. This suggestion may be borne out by the fact that in *Sepher Ha'ibbur* the year cited as an example for the calculation of the calendar is ש"ג (viz. 1303 Sel. = 991/2 C.E.) whereas in our fragment (fol. 3, recto) it is ש"ו (viz. 1306 Sel. = 994/5 C.E.). Probably the Gaon cited in each case the actual year then current and therefore it may be concluded that there is a difference of three years between these two responsa. Hence it is possible that the first one, addressed to Egypt in 991/2 C.E., is given entirely in the version of *Sepher Ha'ibbur* whereas the second one of 994/5 C.E., which apparently was destined for some community in the West, either in North-Africa (Ḳairowān etc.) or in Spain, contained this whole version, naturally with some variants, together with a long and interesting addition as found in our text.

A comparison of the beginning of our responsum (fol. 2, recto) with that given in *Sepher Ha'ibbur* shows that the original text there (p. 97, l.15ff) is:

הוי יודע כי החשבון הזה אשר בידינו לא מן אדם הראשון ירשנו אותו ואין אנו יודעין בימי אדם הראשון איך נעשה, ולפיכך אין אנו למדין סדר עולם מן החשבון הזה, כי כל אחר מן החושבים עשה מעמד לספור ממנו וכו'.

The whole passage from וכך אני אומר (l.16) till לכך הוא מגיע (l.29) does not emanate from the Gaon but is an insertion by Abraham b. Ḥiyya, who adds to the Gaon's opinion that the

[41] Abraham b. Ḥiyya introduces the responsum as follows (p. 97): אלא שמצאנו תשובה לאדונינו ורבינו רב האיי ז'ל שהענין הזה מפורש ומבואר בו עד אחריתו שהשיב אותה בלשון אשורית ומפני זה לא היינו צריכים להוסיף על דבריו, וזה לך נוסח השאלה מתחלתה ועד סופה.... (p. 98) זהו אחרית דבריו ז'ל. Cp. also the extract cited by 'Azarya de Rossi, מצרף לכסף, ed. Filipowski, p. 68.

calendar is not a tradition from Adam,[42] his own view (וכך אני אומר) that "Moses taught Israel this secret (of calculation")[43]. The style of this whole passage is different from the rest of the responsum, especially since the Gaon uses throughout the plural and therefore the inserted passage begins with the singular (וכך אני אומר) to indicate that it is an addition.[44]

This being the case, we obtain the important result that the well-known historical report of the fixing of the calendar by the Patriarch Hillel II in 670 Sel. (=359 C.E.), mentioned in this very passage, is *not* a tradition recorded by Hai Gaon, and hence prevalent in the scholarly circles of the Babylonian academies, but is stated for the first time by Abraham b. Ḥiyya! As is well-known, this important problem of the fixing of the calendar by the Patriarch Hillel II is the subject of much difference of opinion and several scholars doubted this fact that the calculation of the calendar, as we now have it, had already been fixed in 359 C.E. Graetz concludes his arguments in support of this report (*Geschichte*, IV, 456) by declaring that "the tradition of the trustworthy Gaon Hai suffices to verify the fact of the introduction of the fixed calendar by Hillel II." But now it is evident that the whole tradition does not emanate from Hai but from Abraham b. Ḥiyya himself and likewise it can be stated that all the other authorities, who repeated this tradition, had borrowed it from *Sepher Ha'ibbur*.[45] The new Genizah finds have clearly proven that the complete fixing of the calendar, as now at our disposal, is the result of a long development that entailed various changes

[42] The Gaon opposes here the Aggadah in *Pirḳe de R. Eli'ezer*, c. 8; שתקופות ומחזורות ועבורים היו לפני הקב"ה והיה מעבר את השנים ואח"כ מסרם לאדם הראשון בגן עדן.
Since then the method of fixing the calendar was handed down from generation to generation till the times of the Sanhedrin. The same Aggadah is repeated by Ebyatar, Gaon of Palestine, in his well-known *Megillah* (see also Bornstein in Sokolow's *Sepher Hayyobel*, p. 29, note 1).

[43] Yet this view is based on Hai's statement in a responsum (ed. Lyck, No. 1, 4a): והחשבון הזה שבידינו, שהוא סוד העבור, היה בידיהם של ישראל מימות משה רבינו. Cp. also ibid. 5a.

[44] Such insertions in early writings are frequent. Cp., e. g., Mann. *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, XII, 260, Note 108.

[45] E. g., Zeraḥya Hallevi, Naḥmanides and Isaac Israeli (cp. Senior Sachs, *Hayyonah*, p. 3, and Bornstein, *Hatteḳufah*, XIV/XV, pp. 363–4).

and differences of opinion. A comprehensive survey of the history of the calculation and the fixing of the Jewish calendar is now found in the authoritative studies of the veteran scholar Bornstein which can only be alluded to here in this connection.[46]

Who was the author of our responsum? The Gaon refers explicitly (fol. 6, verso) to "our lord Mar Rab Yehudah Gaon, our grandfather," hence he is identical with Sherira (b. Ḥananya b. Yehuda)[47]. The evident date of responsum, 1306 Sel. (994/5 C.E.) further corresponds with the time of Sherira, who was then Gaon of the Pumbedita school situated at Bagdad. Likewise the previous responsum, addressed to Egypt in 1303 Sel. (=991/2 C.E.), emanates from him. But why does Abraham b. Ḥiyya attribute it to Hai? This can be easily explained by reason of the well-known fact that Hai functioned as Ab-Bet-Din of the academy since 985 C.E. whereupon the custom developed to mention in the headings of the responsa dispatched from the Pumbedita school the names of the Gaon Sherira together with his son Hai, the Ab.[48] In course of time the copyists of the responsa usually shortened or altogether omitted the questions and also the introductions of the responsa containing the honorary titles of the addressees and the expressions of greetings and benedictions bestowed upon them, details which are valuable to us now for historical reasons, but which appeared to the copyists as superfluous. Their aim was only to copy the contents of the responsa, especially of those that pertained to the practical Din.[49] They found it sufficient merely to put the name of the corresponding Gaon on the heading. In our case since Hai became later on famous as Gaon even more than his father, it sometimes occurred that a responsum emanating from Sherira while his son Hai was Ab had been ascribed to the latter

[46] See Sokolow's *Sepher Hayyobel*, p. 19ff, and especially *Hattekufah*, vols. 8, 9, 11, 14/15 and 20.

[47] Sherira's *Letter* (ed. Lewin, 119): בתריה מלך מרב יהודה נאון זקנינו שהוא אבי אבינו. Sherira frequently mentions him in his responsa.

[48] Cp. e. g., the headings of the responsa of 987, C.E., in Ms. Parma, edited by Lewin (*Jahrbuch d. Jüd.—liter. Gesellschaft*, VII, 254) and see Mann, *J.Q.R., N.S.*, XI, 438–9. Cp. further the letter published by Lewin in his edition of Sherira's *Letter*, p. 135.

[49] See my remarks on this point in *J. Q. R., N. S.*, VII, 459–61.

alone because the copyist in his haste had found his name also placed at the heading of the responsum.

The subject-matter of our responsum is elucidated wherever necessary in the notes that accompany the text, as far as I have been able to explain the obscure details. Two of them are to be pointed out here in particular. We learn for the first time that Ben-Meir's real name was Aaron. This has already been inferred by Bornstein from a corrupt passage in one of the letters of Sa'adya bearing on the famous calendar dispute. But other Genizah fragments led me to the conclusion that his name was Yehudah.[50] Now Bornstein's surmise is verified without any further doubt. Interesting is also the detail that Sa'adya, while still in Palestine before his departure for Babylon, corresponded about the calendar with the Gaon Yehudah of Pumbedita (the grandfather of Sherira). Yehudah died in Adar (1) 228 Sel. (=917 C.E.) as Sherira reports in his well-known *Letter*. This is added evidence for the correctness of reconstruction of Sa'adya's biography with the respect to the years that have passed between his departure from his native land, Egypt, and his arrival in Babylon.[51] About 915 C.E. he left Egypt for the Holy Land where he tarried for about 6 years. Apparently he had hoped to find an outlet for his abilities there but he was disappointed, especially after he had a conflict with the Palestinian Gaon, Aaron b. Meir, about the fixing of the calendar of 921/2. Therefore he departed for Babylon where his great personality developed as president of Sura (since 928) and as one of the most eminent Geonim of Babylon.

(Fol. 1, recto)

וששאלת התחלת חשבון מול]ד השנה] שהוא
מלבהרד במסורת דבידן[52] מאי טעמא הוייא

[50] Cp. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, II, 49–56, Bornstein in *Sepher Hayyobel*, 72, note 2, *Hatteḳufah*, XVI, 237, note 1.

[51] On Sa'adya's travels see Bornstein, *Sepher Hayyobel*, 85–6, and Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, 59–62. Cp. also my remarks in *R. E. J.*, LXXIII, 106–7.

[52] See *Sepher Ha'ibbur* (p. 46) where this tradition is explained as being "from our fathers that the sun and the moon were created at the beginning of Tuesday night (ליל רביעי) at the end of Adar. The moon did not join the

התחלה מזה זמן ולא הוייא מתחלת לילי[53] יום אחד
ומר רב סעדיה גאון ז'ק'ל[54] דשבוק הא מסורת
וסמך על יו[55] ההיא שתא ביתרונה מלבהרד
עד יוג דהוא ד'ח'ת'ע'ו'[56] משליכה משני העולם
או אין משליכה ואם משליכה מה עילת[57] קביעתה
ביסוד החשבון והשלכתה לאחר מכן ואם אינו
משליכה והיא קבועה בשני העולם לא יתקיים
החש[ב]זון מיוג ואם אינה קבועה כל עיקר

sun till 9 hours and 642 parts had passed of that evening. Hence the figure of this conjunction is ד'ט תרמ'ב. Since we begin the New Year from Tishri we are compelled to calculate the imaginary Molad of Tishri that preceded the creation of the world (in Nisan) at what hour and in what day it might have occurred. Therefore we deduct from the Molad of Nisan (of creation) viz. ד'ט תרמ'ב, the difference of six months which is indicated by the figure ב'ד תל'ח and there remains the figure בהר'ד. Hence the Molad of Tishri of the year of Creation (תשרי של תהו) took place on Sunday evening (ליל שני), 5 hours and 204 parts. Such is the tradition we possess."

This calculation of בהר'ד was prevalent in Palestine but in Babylon the calculation began from Tishri that followed the creation and their figure for this Molad was וי'ד. See the full explanation in *Sepher Ha'ibbur*, p. 96. This difference of one year accounts for the different figures by which the leap-years in the 19–year cycle are indicated. The Palestinians, who followed the בהר'ד calculation, had the mnemonics for the leap-years גו'ח אדו'ט (i. e., 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19), whereas the Babylonians, who started their calculations a year later (וי'ד), had the mnemonics בהזי'ו נו'ח (i. e., 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18).

[53] Read ליל.

[54] זכר קדוש לברכה.

[55] This figure is mentioned here for the first time. Very likely read וי"ג. As Bornstein (*Hattekufah*, XIV/XV, 353) has shown, the first Molad of Tishri according to the Babylonian Jews, which is known as וי'ד, is taken from Ptolemy's Almagest. Ptolemy's Molad for this first Tishri would be in *Alexandria* on Friday, 13 hours and 230 parts, and in Babylon, which according to Ptolemy's calculation is about 1 1/5 hour east of Alexandria, the Molad would be on Friday, 14 hours and 446 parts. The difference between this figure and the adopted וי'ד is less than half an hour. Thus far Bornstein. Now just as in Babylon the round figure וי'ד was adopted while leaving out the parts, so Sa'adya, *as an Egyptian*, adopted the figure וי'ג, without the parts, as it corresponds to Ptolemy's Molad calculated for Alexandria.

[56] Between the Tishri preceding Creation (בהר'ד) and the Tishri following Creation (וי'ד, and וי'ג according to Saadya) there is a difference of 4 days, 8 hours and 876 parts after deducing the round units of 7 days for the weeks. See *Sepher Ha'ibbur*, p. 46.

[57] Cause (= סבת).

טעות היא בידינו שאנו מחשבין מלבהרד
והיאך יתקיים החשבון ונעמד על אמתת
המולד עד שתהא שנה זו בכלל השנים וכן מ'ז'
שעות שקדם חשבון חמה לחשבון לבנה[58] מאי עלתו
אם כשאמר[59] מר רב סעדיה ז'ל' כדי שיהוא

(Fol. 1, recto)

חמה ולבנה כאחד במזל מאזנים ביוג.
ופרש כי חמה נתלת בסוף אר'[60] כדי שתהלך
בסוף ארי כדי שתהלך סוף אר'[61] ובתולה
בשאר יום רביעי ויום חמישי וליל ששי ותגיע
לתחלת מאזנים ביוג. ואיתי ראיה ואמ'[62]
כשאתה מגיע את החשבון למפרע מעכשו
עד אותו הזמן אתה מוצא אותו כך ולא
ידענא הא מילתא אם מדברי רבותינו היא
או מדברי אומות. וגם[63] מדברי חכמי אומות
הוא הרבה מתחלפין ביסודותיהן ועיקריהן
ומנא לן דעל מנהון סמאכא דילן וכן ז'ט'
ת'ר'מ'ב'[64] שאנו משליכין מכלל הימים שלא
מלאו חדש לידע בכמה בחדש התקופה
נופלת אף על פי שמ'מ'ז'[65] שעות ומה[66]

(Fol. 2, recto)

שראוי ליתן לחצי השנה מחשרי ועד ניסן חולתם
נכללו צריך אני לידע טעם כל אחד ואחד
ועלתו מדוקדק יפה כחכמת אדנינו.

[58] See infra fol. 5, verso.

[59] = כאשר אמר.

[60] In the so-called Baraita of Samuel we read: חכמי מצרים אומרים תחלת בריאת המאורות, חמה נבראה באריה בט'ו חלקים.... והכלדיים, והם הבבליים, אומרים חמה נבראה בטלה... והחכמים הסכימו כדברי הכלדיים.
(Cp. on this passage Bornstein, *Hattekufah*, XIV/XV, 331–2). Here, too, Sa'adya follows the opinion of the Egyptian astronomers.

[61] Repeated in Ms.

[62] = ואמר.

[63] Add here אם.

[64] The equinox (תקופה) of Nisan of Creation has been calculated to have had preceded the Molad of this very Nisan 7 days, 9 hours and 642 parts (see *Sepher Ha'ibbur*, p. 82). Hence the figure here ז'ט' ת'ר'מ'ב.

[65] Evidently read שבמ'ז'.

[66] Evidently read ובמה.

דברים הללו כבר שאלום מלפנינו מארץ מצרים
וצוינו וכתבו אליהם כללי יסודודיהם[67] וסודותיהם
לענין לב'ה'ר'ד' אשר שאלת שאתם ע[ו]שין
לפיו אין לו עיקר בסדר עולם[68] אלא דבר
שעשאוהו החשבנים כל אחד לפי מה
שנמצא קרוב בדעתו. וכל החשבונות
הללו אין ללמוד מהן סדר עולם כי כל אחד
מן החשבנים עשה מעמד לספור ממנו
ושמו עיקר שראה כי הוא קרוב יותר
מזולתו. אילו אחזו את כתקנן ולא פחתו
ולא הותירו ונהגו לעבר לפי ב'ה'ז'י'ג'ו'ח'

(Fol. 2, verso)

ואילו אמרו כיון שבשביל עיבור שנה
מחזור זה נקרב את הדבר ונפיל מן העיקר
שתי שנים ונתחיל משנה כבושה ונהגו
א'ד'ו'ט'ב'ה'ז' ומהם אמרו כיון שאנו צריכין
להראות את הלְמַד איך אנו מקרבין את
שנת לבנה לשנת החמה בהאסף היתרונות
טוב לשום מעמד אחר שיבין את הדבר
ונהגו ג'ב'ט'ב'ג'[69] ואין בכל זאת ללמד זמן
ולא סדר עולם אף כן על הדרך הזאת. כיון
שחלוקין ר' אליעזר ור' יהושע[70] שר' אליעזר
אומ' בתשרי[71] העולם ור' יהושע אומ' בניסן
נברא העולם. ותנו רבנן חכמי ישראל מונין
למבול כר' אליעזר לתקופה כר' יהושע ופירוש
למבול האמור כאן לשנים שר' אליעזר

(Fol. 3, recto)

אומ' בחדש השני האמור במבול זה מרחשון
וכן מנהגו עד עכשיו לחשב תקופה מניסן
ומולד השנים מתשרי. ואותו ניסן שהוא
תחלת התקופות הוא שלפני תשרי כר'

[67] Read יסודותיהם.

[68] Viz. it is no tradition.

[69] This whole passage is well elucidated by Bornstein, *Hattekufah*, XIV/XV, 337–42.

[70] Cp. R. H. 10a–12a.

[71] Add here נברא.

יהושע וכן מעמדו ומשם בהוסיפך ב'ד'ח'ל'ח'[72]
שהוא מנת ששה חדשים מגיע לתחלת
שעה שלישית מיום ששי[73] והוא חידוש
תשרי שלשנה ראשונה והוא מעמד שלנו שאנו
חושבין ממנו עכשיו ולפי כך בזמן שאנו
מבקשין לידע מולד תשרי אנו אוחזין השנים
השלמות שחלפו כגון שבקשנו לידע מולד
שנת ש'ו' אוחזין אנו ג'ת'מ'ח'[74] אלף ש'ה' שנים
לראות יתרונם כמה הוא. וכשבאין אנו
לחשוב תקופת ניסן שלאותה שנה כיון

(Fol. 3, verso)

שמעמד... ניסן שלפני תשרי והוא לדברי
ר' יהושע ומבקשין אנו תקופת ניסן שלאחר
תשרי אנו רואין אותו כאילו הוא ניסן שנת
ז' וצריכין אנו לאחוז ש'ו' שנים עם ג'ת'מ'ח'
ולפי כך כיון שראו קצת החשבנים שחילוף
זה בא להטעות ולהשתבש בו הלומדין
ולהתחלף עליהם כי אינם רואים שיש בניסן
התחלה אלא רואין כי שנת ש'ו' מתשרי ועד
סוף אלול וכשמלמדין אותן סדרי מולד
אומרין להן למולד שנת ש'ו' אחוז[75] ש'ה' שנים
ולתקופת ניסן שנת ש'ו' אחזו ש'ו' שנים
ומתחלף עליהן שמו ללומדין מעמד קודם
לכן שיהא תשרי שלהן שמונין ממנו תשרי
שלפני ניסן זה וכן ימצא מולדו אילו[76] היה
לילי שני ה' שעות ר'ד' חלקים[77] ומשם בהוספת

(Fol. 4, recto)

ב'ד'ת'ל'ח' הרי מולד ניסן לילי ד' ט' שעות במדת

[72] See above, note 52.

[73] Viz. the 12 hours of Thursday night (ליל ששי) as well as the 2 hours of Friday morning have already passed, and that is identical with ויי"ד.

[74] As is well-known, the Seleucid Era began for the Babylonian Jews, who counted according to ויי"ד, in 3449 A. M. whereas for the Palestinian Jews, who counted according to בהר"ד, it began in 3450 A.M. (see *Sepher Ha'ibbur*, p. 99, and Bornstein, *l. c.*, 290ff).

[75] Read אחזו.

[76] Better would be כאלו.

[77] Viz. בהר"ד.

חלקים ומולד תשרי שלאחריו תחלת שעה
שלישית מיום ששי[78] כי באחזם תשרי שלפני ניסן
אם למולד תשרי דשנת ש'ו' מתכונין אוחזין אלף
ש'ו' עם ג'ת'מ'ח' וגם אם לתקופת ניסן דשנת
ש'ו' מתכונין אוחזין אלף וש'ו' עם ג'ת'מ'ח' ושמו
להן סימן עיבור ג'ו'ח' א'ד'ז'ט' ואין בא הדבר
להתחלף ואין טועין ואין משתבשין ודבר זה
מעמד לתלמידים נעשה אבל סדר עולם אין
למידין ממנו והחכמים יודעים עיקרי הדברים
וכל מה ששמעת חילוף דבר זה בין מחמת שנת
המבול ובין דברים אחרים אל תסמך עליו כי דברים
רקים הן ואין בדבר זה אלא מה שציוינו ופרשו
לך ועוד שמראין למתלמד שהעיבור הראשון

(Fol. 4, verso, is blank; fol. 5, recto)

הראשון[79] שבכל מחזור אחר שתי שנים ומחצה
שנותר לחמה כדי זה ללמד אותו ולקרב עליו כי
אין הכל יודעין למה נחשבה שנה שניה
שליצירת העולם כבושה[80] לפי חשבונו של ב'ה'ז'י'ג'ו'ח'
וכי הוא למען שיתרון שנת הלבנה שכבר
עמד עד עכשו כנגד שעה ות'פ'ה' שנותר
לחמה מכל מחזור מאותה שעה שהיא
תחלת בריה ועד אן שהרי אנו קרובים במולד
מן התקופה וביותר בשנה שניה מן המחזור
כמה שהיה בראשונה וכנגדה שנת י'ח' שגם
היא שנייה למפרע וסמוכים אנו כי גאלת
ישראל קרובה יבוא מורה צדק בחיינו
ובחיך[81] ואשר כתב מר רב סעדיה גאון
נוחו עדן בפתרון בראשית למתלמדים

(Fol. 5, verso)

חיברו ולא לחכמים וראיה שכתב כי בהחזירך
את החשבון ל[מ]פרע כן תמצאהו כמו דחיה
בקנה הוא ומ'[ז'] שעות אשר הזכרת ואשר
כתב אין נמצאות אלא אליבא דר' אליעזר

[78] Viz. ו'ד'.
[79] Repeated in Ms.
[80] Read מעוברת.
[81] Up to here extends the version in *Sepher Ha 'ibbur*, p. 98.

כי בתקופת תשרי הן ואם כדבריו הוא
אין לא ראיה כי מ'ו'[82] שעות קדמה תקופה
למולד אלא מן ה[הלכ]ה והשמועה בלבד
אלא שמביא. . . . . לדבר כי התקופה[83]
בתחלת שעה רביעית מיום רביעי ו[אומ'][84]
[כי] באות [ה ש]עה נפלו מאורות ואחר מ'ז'
[שעות מ]שעת בריאת אדם היה מולד
וש. . . . . הוא ראש [ת]שרי אבל לדברי ר'
יהושע שמ[ו]נה מניסן נתלין במאורות
שנתלו בת[חלת] לילי רביעי ואומרין שהוא

(Fol. 6, recto)

תקופת ניסן ומהלן אוחזין אלדא ב'ל'ה'ז'ג'י'ו'א'
ד'י'ז'ו'[85] עד תם מחזור כ'ח'. . . . הידוע
אבל לענין מולד אין להם דבר זה ראיה
כי הוא אחרי ז'ט' במדת[86] אלא מן ההלכה
המצויה בידינו לחשבון שכשהוסיף ב'ד'ת'ל'ח'
מגיע לה'ד'י'[87] ונמצא לדברי הכל ולעולם
צורך המולד בתשרי הוא ולא בניסן ולפי
כך סמכו הכל לחשוב [והמול]דות מתשרי
ובו אנו צריכין לידע נולד קודם חצות
או אחרי חצות[87a] והמחשבים מניסן גם הם
עשו מולדות בו וקביעת חדשים בארבעה
שערים שעשו לן ויכולים לעשות כן וחששו
לחצות שלתשרי ושמו המצר עד שעה
א' וא'מ'ר'ת' מן היום במולד ניסן כי

[82] Read מ'ז'.

[83] Add here היתה.

[84] = ואומר.

[85] For אלדא read אלא. The next figures should be בב' ה' ז' י' ג' ו' ח' א' ד' ו' (viz. 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 16, 21, 24 and 26) in a cycle of 28 years, a third of the early cycle of 84 years (see Bornstein, *Hattekufah* XX, p. 325).

[86] Add חלקים. Also for ז'ט' read perhaps ד'ט', viz. that the Molad of Nisan of Creation took place on Tuesday evening, 9 hours and parts, has no basis except on the Halakha (tradition) that we have for the calculation, etc.

[87] This figure is obscure to me.

[87a] See R. H. 20b א'ל אבא אבוה דרבי שמלאי לשמואל ידע מר האי מלתא דתניא כסוד העבור נולד קודם חצות או אחר חצות.

Rashi explains סוד העבור as a Baraita that is couched in cryptic language (בריתא השנוה ברמזים).

(Fol. 6, verso)

אינו מגיע לחצות במולד תשרי[88] אבל אם
הגיע שעה ובמדת[89] שהוא מגיע לחצות
היום במולד תשרי אבל אם הגיע שעה[90] דוחין
אותו מיומו ובדב(ר ה)זה טעה אהרן בן מאיר
בשנת ר'ל'א'[91]. . . . . תשרי לאמרת במדת
. . . . . ולא ידע[92] הדבר. ולענין
ז'ט' ב'מ'ר'ת' שאנו משליכין שבקשת לידע
טעם הדבר ודקדוקו אף דבר זה שאלונו
עליו וכה. . . . אחת השאלות אשר
שאל מר רב סעדיה גאון עודנו בארץ ישראל
טרם (בא) בבל (ה) את אדונינו מר רב יהודה
(ג)און זקינינו זכרם שניהם לברכה ותשובתה
ברורה היא והיא אשר הקדמנוה למעלה
כי אילו היו מונין ללבנה משנת בריאתה.

Here the Ms. breaks off.

III

New Documents of the Babylonian Geonim

The documents and private letters of the Babylonian Geonim, that came to light since the discovery of the great Fusṭāṭ Genizah, furnish us with important and interesting material with regard to the inner life of the academies, their material and spiritual condition and their relations with the various countries of the Diaspora. Likewise these letters supply many biographical details concerning the lives of the Geonim and other communal leaders which enable us to comprehend the person-

[88] Since the difference between the Molad of Nisan and that of the following Tishri is 2 days, 4 hours and 438 parts (ב'ד' ת'ל'ח'), therefore if the Molad of Nisan happens to occur in the morning up to 7 o'clock and 641 parts (א'מ'ר'ת'), the Molad of the following Tishri will yet occur one part before midday.

[89] Add חלקים, viz., if the Molad of Nisan takes place after 7 o'clock and 641 parts in the morning, then it is deferred from this day.

[90] Delete אבל אם הגיע שעה.

[91] In Ms. it reads like ר'ל'ח but no doubt the ח, which is faded, stands for א. In (1) 231 Sel. (= 1020/21 C.E.) there began the well-known dispute between Sa'adya and Ben-Meir.

[92] The ע can still be faintly read though it looks like י.

alities of the spiritual guides of that period. Of course very valuable in these respects are the responsa as they emanated from the Geonim, without the omissions and curtailments to which they had been subjected at the hands of the latter copyists. But the internal life is clearly revealed especially from the Gaonic epistles.

Fragments of these letters appear from time to time as they are discovered by various searchers amidst the tattered Genizah leaves. They are thus scattered in various works and periodicals and the time has almost arrived to collect them and publish them anew in a scientific manner, with accompanying notes as to their subject-matter and importance, in order that they serve as a sort of historical text-source for the Gaonic period. Much material is also found therein from the viewpoint of the development of the Hebrew language as a literary instrument. But the subject cannot be pursued here any further. Herewith a few new such fragments are edited from the Cairo Genizah Collection. Thanks are due to Mr. Jack Mosseri of Cairo for facilities granted in examining the collection. Fragment No. 1, I have acquired in Cairo in May, 1924, and it is now deposited in the Library of the Hebrew Union College (No. 2).[93]

(Recto)

ולא פירשנו לכם צער ודוחק שישיבו [ת]. . . . . .
ובעניות שמצוייה בהן וקונין ומקנין מתו [ך]. . . . . .
שמכל מדינות שבעולם אין מקום ששרוי בד [וחק]. . . . . .
כמות בבל שכך אמרו חכמים[94] עשרה קבין עניות י [רדו לעולם]
תשעה נטלה בבל ואחד לכל העולם כולו וישיבות. . . . . .
הרבה ואין מיתחליק להן כדי פרנסתן ויש עלי [הן חובות]. . .
בהלואות וצוינו וחקקו לכם אגרת זו שא[95] תתנ [הגו עמנו]
לפי טיבת עין ורחבות לב שנתן לכם הקדש ב' [הוא כמו]
שהכרזנו עליכם בישיבה והודענום בשבחכם. . . . . .
ובמידות טובות שיש בכם לכל בני הישיבה ולכל [בני]

[93] The fragment is of vellum. Verso contains a portion of the scroll of Esther. Apparently the scribe, who used our letter for this purpose, trimmed the parchment along its whole length to make it straight and therefore the lines on recto are damaged. The beginning of the letter is missing.

[94] Kidd. 49b.

[95] Read שמא.

ישראל הנקבצים לפנינו בכל כלא וכלא[96] עכשו ת. . . . .
בתלמידי חכמים שכיון שאתם תלמידי חכמים. . . . . .
עליכם להבין בעושק ודוחק תלמידי חכמים כ. . . . . .
. . . . ם תלמידי חכמים צריך שיחלו עצמן[97] על חב. . . . .
. . . . . כם בעין יפה. . . . . .
. . . . . גאון ואלמנות של. . . . . .
יושבות בבתי חשך ואינן יכולות לצאת ולבוא [להגיד]. . . . .
לכם גודל. . . . דברינו או[98] אתם צריכין שאת[ם ברחמי]
שמים תלמידי חכמים אתם ויודעים מה שפי[רשו רבנן]
בהשותפין ובהמביא גט הגדול[99] ומה שירצ[ה לפניכם]
ויתנו[100] בדעתכם ותקבצו ותשגרו לפניכם שגרום [על ידי]
רבנא שאול ברוך לשמים בן רבנא יוסף מן מד[ינת]
קירואן שהוא בעל תורה וחכמה וירא שמ[ים ויש]
בו ענוה ונאמן הוא בכל מעשיו ואפטורפים של [יתומים]
הוא שישגריהו לבגדד על יד רבנא מרואן ברוך [לשמים]
בן רבנא אברהם המערבי שהוא גבר נאמן [שלפסיקא][101]
אשר קבועה לישיבות במדינות בגדד ומיתחזק [הוא]
בכל כחו עם תלמידי חכמים ומה שמגיע לידו מ[עמכם]
טורח באמונה ובצדק ושש ושמח הוא בהנא[ת תלמידי]
חכמים מהנאת עצמו והרבה קורת רוח שלנו. . . . . .
תמיד אנו מבקשים רחמים עליכם ועליו שצד[קה]
גדולה עשה ה'ק'ב'ה' עם הישיבות בביאת רבנא מ[רואן]
זה שמרו יוצרו למדינת בגדד שהק' [ב'ה']
ברחמיו יחוס וירחם ויחמול עליכם וישים את[כם לשם]
[ל]ששון לתהלה ולתפארת בקרב כל הארץ וית[ן אתכם]
לחן לחסד ולרחמים לפניו ובעיני כל רואיכם ו[יקוים]

[96] כלה וכלה = כלא וכלא, the well-known meetings of the schools during Adar and Elul.

[97] This word can also be read שיזולו.

[98] אין = אי.

[99] Apparently reference is made here to the statement of Amemar in B. B. 12a that "a scholar is superior to a prophet" (חכם עדיף מנביא). By המביא גט הגדול no doubt ch. 1 of Giṭṭin is meant which is bigger in bulk than the second chapter which also begins with המביא גט. Perhaps the statements about charity in Giṭṭin (7a below) are alluded to here.

[100] Better ותתנו.

[101] The fixed donations for the schools (פסיקות וחומשים) are also referred to in the other epistles (see Poznanski's remark *J. Q. R.*, XIX, 401, and cp. Mann, ibid., *N. S.*, VIII, 346–7).

בכן ויחן יי׳י אתם וירחמם ויפן אליהם[102] ויהיה [עמכם]
וישמורכם וינצרכם משמרת שלום תמיד [ובכל יום]
ויום ויזכה אתכם לראות בקיבוץ גליות ובשמחת [ירושלם]
עיר הקדש בבנינה וביסדה ותשמחו ותעלזו בה
[בחייכם ו]בימיכם פ׳ר׳ח׳ ת׳פ׳ר׳ח׳ ו׳ת׳נ׳ל א׳ף נ׳י׳לת ו׳ר׳נ׳ן׳
[כ׳בוד׳ הל׳בנון׳ נתן׳ לה ה׳דר] הכר׳מל ו׳השׁ׳רון ה׳מה׳ יר׳אׂ׳ו כ׳ב׳וד׳
[יי׳י] א׳ל׳ה׳י׳נ׳ו׳[103] וכתבנו בשני נסחין מפני שלום הדר [ך].

This letter is one of those typical for the end of the Gaonic period, when the sources of income for the maintenance of the schools diminished in Babylon proper, and the Geonim as well as the other leaders were compelled frequently to appeal to the large communities in Egypt, North Africa and Spain to come to their rescue and prevent the threatening danger of having to close these ancient seats of learning. Such epistles are now available from the year 953 C.E. (probably by Ṣemaḥ b. Isaac, above p. 229), from Nehemiah Hakkohen of Pumbedita (962), from Sherira and his son Hai and also from Samuel b. Ḥofni (see *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 401–3, XIX, 105–6, XIV, 488–91, 492–4; *N. S.*, VIII, 346–7, 365, IX, 146–7). In all of them there is repeated the complaint about the inadequate support from the outside communities disregarding the straitened circumstances and the poverty in which the scholars and their disciples find themselves.

It is impossible at present to ascertain the name of the author of our epistle which was evidently sent to Spain,[104] with the request that the sums collected for the schools should be sent to the treasurer, Saul b. Joseph in Ḳairowan, mentioned here for the first time. One of the correspondents of Naṭronai, Gaon of Sura, was Yehudah b. Saul in Ḳairowan (see Poznanski אנשי קירואן, No. 23) and it would have been possible to identify our Saul with the father of Yehudah, were it not for the fact that our letter very likely belongs to a time after Naṭronai. In the second half of the 9th century the material condition of the

[102] 2 K. 13[23].

[103] Is. 35[2].

[104] On account of the dangers of the road this epistle was sent twice ("in two versions, copies," l.43).

schools was still favorable. Only since the middle of the 10th century do such pitiful appeals for help and support make their appearance. Merwān b. Abraham of Maghreb, who recently settled in Bagdad and to whom Saul b. Joseph of Ḳairowan was to forward the donations, is also unknown hitherto. Interesting is the explicit reference to "the schools of Bagdad" (l.27). As shown elsewhere,[105] the academy of Pumbedita had been transferred to Bagdad since the times of Hai b. David (890) though retaining its time-honored name. Also the Sura school seems for a time to have been situated at the capital (see above, note 7).

2.

(Mss. Cairo, No. L 88, paper, top torn; the script is occasionally faded.)

(Recto)

. . . . . תה. . . . . .
. . . . . שמו הגדול. . . . . .
. . . . . מו. . . . . .
. . . . . בשלומכם וש. . . . . ולבית ק. . . . . .
. . . . . בקול תפלתכם וסוכת. . . . . קורא היה עליכם בני ישראל
[נושע ביי׳י]
[תשועת] עולמים לא תבשו ולא תכלמו עד [עולמי עד][106]. . . ל. . . . הקדוש
ברוך הוא יתברך ויתעלה שמו
אחד ואין לו שני במלכותו כמו שכתוב הוא באחד ומי ישיבנו[107] וברא עולמו
בכח גבורתו ומנהג את עולמו
במדת רחמים ורחמיו מעולם קדומים המה כמו שכתוב זכור רחמיך יי׳ וחסדיך
כי מעולם המה:[108] ומן כל
אומות ולשונות ועמים רבים שלבראו[109] בעולמו לא בחר אלא בישראל עמו
וקראם נחלתו וסגולתו כמו שכת׳
כי יעקב בחר לו יה ישראל לסגולתו[110] והנחיל לישראל תורתו ודברי קדשו
דעת טוב ורע וכן הוא אומר

[105] Mann, *J. Q. R.*, *N. S.*, VII, 468–9, VIII, 348–9, and especially XI, 434–38.

[106] Is. 45[17].

[107] Job 23[13].

[108] Ps. 25[6].

[109] Read שברא.

[110] Ps. 135[4].

מגיד דבריו ליעקב חקיו ומשפטיו לישראל:[111] ונתן להם לישראל חלק טוב בחיי העולם הבא נעימות

נצח נצחים כמו שכתוב תודיעני אורח חיים שובע שמחות את פניך נעימות בימינך נצח[112] ולא הנחיל לכל

אומה ולשון כמו זה וכן הוא אומר לא עשה כן לכל גוי [ומ]שפטים בל ידעום ג'[113]. . ל. . . . ל. . . . לעושים

משפטיו ומקיימין דברי תורה ועושים צדקה הוא ברחמיו יחיש לישראל ישועה קרובה כמו שכתוב כה

אמר יי'י שמרו משפט ועשו צדקה כי קרובה ישועתי לבא וצדקתי להגלות[114] ודעו אח'[115] ישראל

כשהיה בית המקדש קים היו הנביאים בתוכה וכהנים גדולים מקריבי קרבנות ועולות וריח ניחוחים לכפר

על נפשותם שלישראל והק'ב'ה' היה מוחל להם ומכפר עליהם וסולח לעונם וכשגרם עון וגדלה חטאתינו

ועזבו ישראל דרכי תורה והלכו בשרירות לבם הרע וגדלה אשמתינו עד לשמים וחויבנו לצאת בגלות

ונפלנו ביד אויבינו וביד שוסינו בארץ נכריה בין אומות העולם התקינו הנביאים אשר היו בגלות יכוניה

מלך יהודה ועזרה הסופר ודניאל איש חמודות ושאר הנביאים אש'[116] מן ציוי אדן[117] השמים להיות צדקה

שיעשו ישראל ונדבה שיתנו לראשי גליות ורשות[118] הישיבות והתנאים מחזיקי בתורה וה[וגים בה] יומם

ולילה ות[חש]ב לישראל הנדבה והצדקה כקרבן עלה שנא' ויאמר לעם יושבי ירושלם לתת מנת לכ' ולל'[119] למען

[111] Ps. 147[19].
[112] Ps. 16[11].
[113] Ps. 147[20]. ג = גומר (like וגומר).
[114] Is. 56[1].
[115] Insert בני.
[117] = אשר.
[116] = אדון.
[118] Better וראשי. Apparently from the Aramaic רֵשְׁוָתָא (pl. of רשׁותא) a construct רֵשְׁוַת was formed, of course, incorrectly. Those scholars who taught the new students of the school the Mishnah and the Tosephta were styled "Tannaim" whereas other scholars, who expounded the Talmud to the more advanced disciples, were known as "Amoraim" (see Mann *J. Q. R., N. S.*, XI, 450).
[119] Read הכ' והל.

(Verso, the handwriting is more cursive than on recto)

[יחזקו בתורת יי'י][120]. . . . . .
. . . . ונת דליותיו. . . . . .
. . . . מעין המתגבר. . . . . .
. . . . משובב נתיבות. . . . . .
. . . . [ר]בנא יצחק זכרו לברכה. . . . . ע מש. . תיה קדמנא וגד. . . . .
. . . . . ותדירא הכין אמרינא דע. . . . . בבגדאד תלתה אדם ע. . . . . .
[ד]ומים זה לזה זהירנא ברחמי שמיא איחד ל. . . . . ה בתורה בשיבה בגדולה בטהר[ה]. . . . . .
ורובא דאינאשי איתנון בלב ולב ורואים ומעלימין עין אבל ראש כלא נטריה רחמנ' חכם וישיש ורית ומזהיר ו[תוכו]
כברו ומוכיח בלשונו והכל מסכימים[121] דבריו כי נפת תטפנה שפתיו וחוקר לבבות ידע דהדא מילתא הוה איתה
בדעתנא מן זמן מרובה והה קא מישיננא[122] לאח. . מן מילי דידע להין ראש כלא נט' רח'[123] וברוב תבונתו לא [נ]עלם
זאת ממנו מיהו כד איברי זו מן שמיא והגיע הזמן ושפר עדנא סייע רחמנ' מן שמיא למא שאלתינן וללתת[124] מאויינן באהבה
ושמחה כד ליכא עלנא לא פתחון פה ולא תרעומת ושפיר אמר קרא ה'מ'ת'נ'ש'א' ל'כ'ל' ל'ר'א'ש[125] שאמ' רב חנן בר ראבא אפילו
ראש גרגותא מן שמיא מוקמין[126] וכמא שפיר אידבר[127] בעתו ולמיחבע מן חכם למיחב ליה גדולה הראויה לו שהוא
אוכל אותה בשילה ולא פגה[128] וסייע רחמ' כפי תאותינו לאיתרמוי באושפיזיה חשובי המקום וידועי המדינה
וגדולי קהלות ומ. . ה למילתא כתיקנה בכבוד ושמחה וששון והכל מודים לד' רחמנ' ברחמיה לשויה להדא מעלה

[120] 2 Chron. 31[4].

[121] Listen, obey (cp. Dt. 27[6]).

[122] Better מישננא, viz. we repeatedly discussed this matter with well-known people.

[123] =נטריה רחמנא.

[124] Read ולתת.

[125] 1 Chron. 29[1].

[126] Ber. 58a, bottom.

[127] This word can also be read אידכר which also gives good sense, viz. that his name was favorably mentioned at the right time and the demand was opportune to bestow upon him the dignity he was worthy of (i. e. that of Resh Kallah).

[128] See Lev. R. c. 25, 5: דהוון בשילן ולא פגינן and cp. Sanh. 107b: אלא שאכלה פגה.

אות לטובה וסימן ברכה לזרוע[129] קדשו ולגאולת עמו ולימין צדקו ועלנא ועל
ראש כלה נט' רח' ועל רבנן וכל ישראל לחיים ארוכים
ולקרת רוח ולישוב הדעת ולהצלחת מעשים ולהכנעת אויבים ולהרמת קרן
וליתרון הכשר ותהיה גדולה הזאת כתר
שלא יפול והוד שלא יכבה וחוסן שלא ימוט וברית שלא תופר וממשלה שלא
תעבור וממלכה שלא תסור ושררות שלא
תפסוק ותנחיל זאת לזרעך ושלמך תראה בחייך וזרעך יירשו את משלך וישבו
לכסא לך ותתערב שמחתך
20 עם שמחת משיח אלהינו. ומתבעי ליה לראש כלא נט' רח' למהוה יידיה[130]
דפריסא על מתיבתא לעזר לנו בתקנות
טובות ולאשתאעויי עם מ'ר'[131] פרנון ובני אחיו אחיינון רחמ' וקרובים למסעד
יתנא בעיבידתא דרבנן כי כבד עול עלינו
ורבצנו תחת משאינו ולא אפשר לעלמי עינא בכי הני יומי ורחמ' ברחמיה יגלגל
על ידי ראש כלה כל מצות
חיים וישבינהו[132] בטח בשלום והשקט ויתענג על רוב שלום

This letter is of interest from several points. It had probably been addressed to *Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut*, the great Jewish statesman of Cordova. As is well-known Ḥisdai's father was named Isaac[133] and in the damaged line (verso, l.5) we read רבנא יצחק זכרו לברכה, evidently referring to the addressee's father. The previous lines contained eulogies in honor of the addressee, some of which are still preserved in the Ms. (משובב נתיבות, מעין המתגבר) and no doubt in line 5 [בן] or [בר] should be inserted before רבנא יצחק זכרו לברכה. Moreover Ḥisdai went by the honorary title Rosh Kallah. Thus Dunāsh b. Labrāṭ in the dedicatory poem preceding his refutations of Menaḥem b. Saruḳ styles him (ושים שיר לתהלה, להשר ראש כלה) and likewise Menaḥem's disciples when dedicating their defense of their master to Ḥisdai (לראש כלה, כי בא בשמחה ובשירים)[134]. The title

[129] Read לזרע.

[130] Read ידיה.

[131] = מר רב or מרנא.

[132] Read וישיבנהו.

[133] Thus his famous letter to the king of the Khazars begins, "From me Ḥisdai b. Isaac b. Ezra." Cp. also the acrostic of the Paiṭanic introduction of this epistle the author of which was Menaḥem b. Sarūḳ (אני חסדאי בר יצחק בר עזרא בר שפרוט).

[134] See Filipowski, תשובות דונש בן לברט ס', p. 1, and Stern, *Liber Responsionum*, p. 3.

was bestowed upon him for his donations for the upkeep of the schools, as was the custom then.[135] Indeed Dunāsh praises his patron on this account (לבני התורה ישועה ואורה, והונו אל סורא ישלח בספרים). In our letter the Gaon of one of the academies, or one of its important members, reports how the bestowal of this dignity occurred. Already before had the writer recommended him for this honor by reason of his merits, but somehow or other the matter did not come about till the present. When the opportunity arrived and the Babylonian leaders met at the residence of a certain person (verso, ll.14–15), who was perhaps the Exilarch, the granting of the honor was then decided upon. If our suggestion be right that the meeting took place in the house of the Exilarch, we should be able to infer that the approval of the Exilarch was required for the honoring of an influential Jew abroad with this title of Rosh Kallah. But it may be that in our case the title was granted in behalf of both academies,[136] for no doubt both of them benefited by Ḥisdai's gifts, and therefore it was bestowed upon him at an assembly of the leaders of the schools and the communities. The wish expressed in verso, l.19 (וזרעך יירשו את משלך וישבו לכסא לך) further shows that the recipient of the letter was a high dignitary, thus corresponding to the high office held by Ḥisdai in Cordova. The writer in conclusion urges upon him to continue his interest in the school which he represented and to influence other persons of means, Farajun and his relatives, to emulate his example.

Recto contains a sort of an introduction to prove the duty incumbent upon Israel to support the academies. The study of the Torah is a substitute for the sacrifices offered up in the Temple. The prophets at the time of the Babylonian Exile ordained that the donations for the Exilarchs and the academies should replace the sacrifices. As is well-known, the Exilarchs

[135] The title Alluf (= Resh Kallah) was bestowed by the Babylonian schools only whereas in Palestine the graduates of the academy received the title Ḥaber and for benefactors there were several honorific designations as "beloved of the school, choice of the school," etc. (see Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, I, 278-9 and cp. *R.E.J.* LXXIII, 108).

[136] On the title "Alluf of both academies" (אלוף שתי ישיבות) see Mann, ibid, I, 278.

endeavored to antedate their office to the time of the Judean king Yekanya, whom Nebukadneṣṣar had taken into captivity. Likewise the Geonim would emphasize that Babylon had been a center of learning and study since the Exile. Thus Ṣemaḥ Gaon in his famous responsum to Ḳairowan concerning Eldad Haddani writes, "With regard to Eldad's report that they (the four tribes whose tale he told) pray first for the scholars of Babylon and then for the Diaspora, their action is right because the bulk of the scholars and the prophets were exiled to Babylon; they established the Torah and founded a school by the river Euphrates since the days of Yehoyakin, king of Judea, until this day, and they formed the chain of scholarship and prophecy." Also Sherira in his *Letter* (ed. Lewin, 72–3) mentions the arrival of Yekanya "and several prophets" at Nehardea where they built the famous synagogue of Shaf-Yetib (שף יתיב; cp. further his letter in *Saadyana*, 123). The later Geonim would insist on this great antiquity of their schools in order the more to arouse the charitable spirit among the communities of the Diaspora, and also on account of the competition for donations on the part of the Palestinian Geonim, who would claim that only from Zion had the Torah gone forth.

3.

(Ms. Cairo, No. L 10, vellium, torn above and below the righthand side, yet apparently all the lines of the fragment, though damaged, have been preserved.)

(Recto)

. . . . . כתוב ומפרש לעי[לא]
. . . . . [אלח]נן בר ר' בשר ל. . . .
. . . . . ה ובין לכל ולית למילף מ. . . .ן
. . . . . [מבר]ך בן עמראן עיאש בר משה
5 . . . . . דנן קדמ[נא] בבאבא דמתיבתא
. . . . . האיי ראש מתיבתא בריה דמרנא
. . . . . [שרירא] ראש מתיבתא דנוסחיה ושהדיה כתיבין
. . . . . וקיומיה מיניה וביה לתחתא בכתב ידי שהדי אילין
. . . . . [חת]ימין עלוהי מר רב ישעיה בריה דראש כלה ור' מברך
10 [בר] ר' עמירה ומ' עיאש בר ר' משה דחתמין בחתמות

ו)דיהון ישעיה בר יהודה מברך בר עמראן עיאש בר משה
בסימניהון ומדאתחזק קדמנא חתמות ידיה דבן אלוף
דנן ודא היא בסימניה ואחוי מר עיאש דנן קדמנא חתמות
ידיה קדמנא ואמר דא היא בסימניה אשרנוהי וקיימנוהי
. . . . . נחמיה בר שלום שמואל הכהן בן אהרן
וה)אי בר שרירא צדק לנו יורה אריה

This fragment is a testatum of a document that was issued by Hai's Bet-Din. One of the litigants was evidently Elḥanan b. Bishr (l.2) whereas the witnesses that signed the document were Yesha'ya b. Yehuda Alluf (=Resh Kallah) of the school, Meborak b. 'Imrān (in l.10 called 'Amirah) and 'Iyāsh b. Moses. The same names are mentioned in a damaged fragment which Dr. Ginzberg cites in *Geonica*, II, 43. Yehudah Alluf is perhaps identical with the writer of the letter of 1021 concerning the doings of Elḥanan b. Shemarya (*REJ* LV, 49–51, cp. my *Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, I, 39–40). Nehemiah b. Shallum and Samuel Hakkohen b. Aaron were evidently the members of the court of Hai whose signature comes last. The Gaon's seal had in it the figure of a lion. Hence the copyist indicates this fact by the word אריה. Ibn Daud mentions that he has noticed this in the Gaon's seal found on documents corresponding to the figure of the lion on the standards of the tribe of Judah and of the Judean kings (in Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chronicles*, I, 66–7, cp. also Sa'adya ibn Dannan in חמדה נחה, ed. Edelmann, 27). This seal was to indicate Hai's descent from the royal house of David.

After this document there follows in the Ms. the heading: נסכה כתאב סידנא האי ג'ע' לר' אלחנן ג'ע'. This Arabic letter from Hai to Elḥanan b. Shemarya covers the end of recto and the rest of verso. Owing to shortness of time I have not copied this epistle.

Ms. Cairo (No. L. 225, paper, top missing; verso contains lines in Arabic script) has the end of a letter from Hai, in Arabic and Hebrew, dated Nisan (1) 348 Sel. (1037 C.E.). It is addressed to a person styled "Rosh Pereḳ," who made a certain vow which the Gaon annulled.

(l. 4) ואלאן מותר לך יאדירנו (=יא אדירנו) ראש הפרק לשחוט ולהתפלל כמנהגך... (l. 5) האלהים יחנך וישרי וישבוק לחובך ויתדיר שלומך וירבה טובך.

The epistle ends:

(l. 8) . . . . . כך ההלכה כך הורינו מן השמים וי'י ישלם שכר העושים [137] (9) בפירושי התורה ומקיימי מצוותיה ככת' הנה שכרו אתו ופעולתו לפניו וקיבלנו המשלחת ובירכנו אותך ואת שני המודיך (10) יאשיה ואברהם יפרו וירבו ויהיו לשם ולתהלה וי'י ישימם ברכה בקרב הארץ ורצוננו שכל חפץ ושאלה (11) וצרך שיש לך תכתוב כי זה משוש דרכינו ובזאת נוסיפה לך ברכות ושלומך ושלום שני חמודיך ירבו לעד ישע רב

ניסן שנת ש'מ'ח'

Though not mentioned expressly, because of the missing beginning, there is no doubt that this letter emanates from Hai because it was his custom to conclude his correspondence with the expression of the wish that the Redemption arrive (ישע רב).[139] Also the other Geonim would urge upon their correspondents to consult them about their "desires and requests."[140] The "Rosh Pereḳ" is certainly identical with Nehemiah b. Abraham (b. Sahlān) of Fusṭāṭ. Abraham, as now established,[141] was the Rabbi of the Babylonian community in Fusṭāṭ whose synagogue went by the name of the Pumbedita academy over which Hai presided. The Gaon also corresponded with this Abraham who held several titles such as Alluf, Ḥaber, Rosh Hasseder and Beḥir Hayeshibah. Abraham was succeeded by his son Sahlān whereas his second son, Nehemiah, was a Reader and hence was styled Rosh Happereḳ. Nehemiah, and also his son Yoshiah (referred to in the above letter), were authors of Piyyuṭim. Nehemiah's second son, Abraham, is already styled after his grandfather Abraham b. Sahlān who died before 1032. Hai acknowledges the receipt of the "sending" (viz. of the donation) for which he greets and commends Nehemiah and his two sons.

[137] Read העוסקים.

[138] Is. 40[10].

[139] See Mann, *R. E.J.*, LXXIII, 108.

[140] So Nehemiah Gaon (*J. Q. R., N. S.*, VIII, 357) and Sa'adya (see דביר, II, 326).

[141] See on these scholars Mann, *J. Q. R., N. S.*, VII, 478, note 22, XI, 451–2, and especially *Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, I, 97; II, 100–04.

IV

In *J. Q. R.*, N. S., IX, 148–50, I have published an interesting letter from a Gaon, who evidently resided in Bagdad, wherein he defended the Rabbinic tradition against Ḳaraism by emphasizing the fact that several Halakhas, not found in the Pentateuch, were referred to in the other books of the Bible and hence must have been known before the times of the Rabbis. There is no need to mention again here these laws, alluded to in the Prophets and Hagiographa, as they have been discussed in detail, ibid. 140–46. It should only be added that Ms. Cairo (No. C. 60) contains another fragment of this epistle which adds three new instances. The published fragment, the beginning of which is missing, enumerated at first the Halakhas to be inferred from a verse in Samuel, then in Kings, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, the Twelve, Ruth, Psalms, Job and finally Ezra. In the new leaf there are added three Halakhas from Chronicles, Proverbs and Daniel. The order (as far as preserved, for the beginning is still missing) is the following: Is., Ezek., Minor Prophets, Ruth, Chron., Ps., Job, Prov., Dan., and Ezra. The new instances are as follows:

ובספר דב[רי] הימים פירש כי נצטוו הכהנים להיות כ'ד' משמרות ככ' לדליהו כ'נ' למעזיהו כ'ד' אלה פקדתם לבא לבית י"י כמשפטם ביד אהרן אביהם כאשר צוה י"י אלהי ישראל:[142]

ובספר משלי פירש כי הערב מותר לחבל בגדו שלא כלוה ככ' קח בגדו כי ערב זר ובעד נכריה חבלהו:[143] ובספר דניאל פירש כי שלש תפלות חייבין ישראל להתפלל בכל יום ככ' חמנין תלתא ביומא הוא ברך על ברכוהי מצלא ומודא קדם אלהה:[144]

About the 24 divisions of the priesthood see Ta'an. 27a. The Halakha that the creditor may enter the house of the guarantor to exact the pledge but is forbidden to do so with regard to the debtor himself is found in the Baraita (B. M. 115a).[145]

[142] I Chron. 24^{18-19}.

[143] Prov. 20^{17}, 27^{13}.

[144] Dan. 6^{11}.

[145] לא תבא אל ביתו לעבוט עבוטו, לביתו אי אתה נכנס אבל אתה נכנס לביתו של ערב, וכן הוא אומר לקח בגדו כי ערב זר ונו'.

Here the law is not stated clearly. The duty of three daily services is inferred from this verse in Daniel in Tos. Ber. 3[6] (cp. Babli 31a).

V

Finally we give here a damaged fragment from the Cairo Collection (No. L 278, a small vellum leaf torn on top).

(Recto)

. . . . שם שלום גדול
ממני ומן התלמידים אשר
לפני כי ברחמי קדו[ש]נו
אנכי חונה לשלום והלל
והודוו[146] לשמו על מפלאותיו
וחסדו אף על פי
שבעת הזאת נקבצו עלינו
פריצי עם ואויליהם וכל קל
ונבזה שבהם וביקשו
את נפשינו לקחתה ועמדנו
על דתינו כדי שלא יהיה
ל. . . . .מה ראש להוכיח
וצור מעו[נו] . . . . . .
רגלינו ותחס עינו עלינו
משחתנו . . . . . .
עלינו להחיות [נפשינ]ו

(Verso)

וישימנו לש[ארית] [ל]פני [ו]
ויקם לנו דברו אשר
דבר [על ידי נביאו וגם]
ב[ימים ההמה נאם י'י]
לא אעשה אתכם כלה[147]
וזה הוא שגרם איחור
מכתבי תנחומינו עד
עתה על השמועה הקשה
המכאב[148] את הלבבו[ת]

[146] Read והודות.
[147] Jer. 5[18].
[148] Read המכאבת.

10 ו. . . . . .
ההוגדה לפנינו באסיפת
בנך הגדול ועל. . . . . .

It is doubtful whether the writer was a Gaon though he presided over a school of disciples. Troubles and persecutions passed over them and their lives were in danger, but fortunately they were ultimately saved. I am unable at present to ascertain the historical events to which reference is made here. The Ms. is evidently from the Gaonic period. Also the Babylonian vocalization given on the top of some words is evidence for the antiquity of the fragment. The writer apologises for his delay in condoling his correspondent on the occasion of the death of his elder son by reason of the troublesome times he had passed through.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF SCIENCES IN MEDIAEVAL JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

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BETWEEN THE TWO TYPES of classification of sciences traditionally attributed to Plato and Aristotle the basic differences are to be found in the general scheme of the classification as well as in the inclusion and omission of certain sciences. In the so-called Aristotelian classification all the sciences are divided into three main classes, theoretical, θεωρητική, practical, πρακτική, and productive, ποιητική[1], or—as the last is better known by its mediaeval designation—*ars mechanica*. The theoretical is subdivided into physics, mathematics and metaphysics;[2] the practical into politics, economics and ethics.[3] The mathematics of Aristotle's classification was again subdivided by Ammonius Hermiae into arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music[4]—a fourfold classification which was generally adopted and was known among the Schoolmen as the *quadrivium*. Logic is excluded from this scheme of classification, being considered only as an instrument and as auxiliary to all the other sciences. The classification which is identified with the name of Plato differs from this classification in the following respects. It does not mention the distinction between the theoretical and practical science; it does not number mathematics among the sciences; it includes logic as a co-ordinate science, which, however, it uses in the more general sense of dialectics and as synonymous with metaphysics. The Platonic classification thus falls into three parts: logic, physics and ethics.[5]

[1] *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1025b, 25.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 1026a, 19.
[3] *Ethics* VI, 9, 1142a, 9–10. See Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 186.
[4] See Zeller: *Op. cit.*, p. 181, n. 1.
[5] See Zeller: *Plato*, p. 164.

When we attempt, however, to determine whether any given mediaeval classification of sciences is Aristotelian or Platonic, the task is not so easy. Very often, because of the omission of the general terms distinguishing between the auxiliary, theoretical, and practical sciences, the classification appears as a co-ordinate arrangement of the specific sciences. In a classification which is truly Aristotelian we may, therefore, get a list of sciences among which logic will appear to be included. Again, some lists are only partial and incomplete, thus lacking the characteristic features by which the basis of the classiffication may be determined. Furthermore the original Aristotelian classiffication is sometimes amplified by the additional subdivision of certain sciences into their specific branches, or by the introduction of new religious and practical sciences not found in the original scheme, so that the character of the nuclear classification is lost among the excrescences. Finally, the confusion is sometimes increased by the rearrangement of the parts of the classification, or by the substitution of some specific branches for the general science to which they belong, as, for instance, astronomy for mathematics. Thus in any attempt at determining the basis of a classification all these factors must be taken into consideration. On the whole, the use of logic as a co-ordinate science or the omission of the distinction between theoretical and practical is by itself no proof of a Platonic influence; but, on the other hand, the inclusion of mathematics and the restrictive use of the term logic, or the enumeration of both logic and metaphysics, will be an infallible proof for an Aristotelian origin of any given classification.

Through the translation of Johannes Philoponus' commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* the Aristotelian classification was introduced into Arabic philosophy where it became the basis of all the classifications of science.[6] It is the underlying scheme of Alfarabi's classification,[7] though the distinction between

[6] See Grabmann: *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode* II, p. 30.

[7] See Steinschneider: *Die Hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, p. 44, n. 7b; Clemens Baeumker: *Alfarabi, Ueber den Ursprung der Wissenschaften (De Ortu Sciantiarum)*; Carra de Vaux: *Farabi* in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, pp. 557–8; T. J. De Boer: *Philosophy (Muslim)*, *Ibid.* IX, p. 880.

theoretical, practical and auxiliary is omitted and new religious and linguistic sciences are added. It is literally taken over by Avicenna,[8] Algazali[9] and Averroes.[10]

Slightly modified, but still Aristotelian in principle, is the classification given in the Encyclopedia of the Ihwan al-Safa. This classification is of signal importance for our purpose, as it contains most of the characteristic features which we shall notice in the classifications of Jewish philosophers. Laying out the plan of their encyclopedia after the manner of the French Encyclopedists, the Ihwan al-Safa divide the knowledge of their time into two classes, practical arts (الصنائع العمليّة) and theoretical art (الصنائع العلميّة).[11] Under theoretical the authors include three main divisions:[12] (1) Propaedeutic (الرياضيّة) or literary (الاداب) sciences, such as reading, and writing, etc. (2) Sciences of religious law (النواميس), and (3) purely philosophical sciences (الفلسفيّة الحقيقيّة). Omitting the first two as irrelevant for our purpose, we find under purely philosophical sciences four subdivisions: (1) Mathematics, designated by the same name of propaedeutic (الرياضيّات),

[8] See the following quotation from the Hebrew translation of his *Al-Shafa* published in *Ozar Nehmad* II, pp. 114–115:

חלקי החכמות שלשה. חכמה העליונה, והיא חכמת ענינים אין דבקות להם בחומר, והיא החכמה האלהית. והחכמה התחתונה, והיא חכמת ענינים הם בחומר, והם עם זה בחומר נראים, והיא חכמה הטבעית. ואת החכמה תחייב העיון בכל הדברים אשר להם חמרים נראים ובכל המקרים אשר להם. ובכאן חכמה אמצעית, יש לה חלקים שבעה, וקצתם חזק היחס לחכמה האלהית, וקצתם חזק היחס לחכמה הטבעית, ואת היא החכמה הלמודית. וחלקיה: המספר, והתשבורת, והמוסיקא, והמשקלות, והמדות, והמבטים, והתכונה. והנה חכמת המספר (ושאר) חכמת דברים אין המציאות לה שתהיה בחומר, אבל הנה יקרה לה וישיגה שתמצא בחומר במוחלט ולא נראית, והשכל ישולל אותה מן החומר שלילה אמתית, ולכן יש לה יחס לחכמה האלהית מאד. וחכמת התשבורת חכמת דברים אפשר שידומו זולת החומר כמו שחשב, אם כי במציאות דקות השכל ישיג השגה אמתית שהיא לא תהיה כי אם בחומר, אבל היא לא חומר נראה. וחכמת המוסיקא והמשקולת והמדות והמבטים כלם חכמת דברים הם בחומר, ויהיה לאחת על אחת יחרון בקרוב אל החכמה הטבעית והרוחק ממנה, והמזג ביניהם הרבה או מעט. והנה חכמת התכונה מוגה מטבעית ולמודית, ונושאה הגדול שבכל חלקי החכמה הטבעית ונשואה למודיה.

[9] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, pp. 76–79.

[10] At the beginning of his *Epitome of the Metaphysics*. See Horten: *Die Metaphysik des Averroes*, pp. 1–9.

[11] Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber*, p. 1; Arabic text, *Idem*: *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 239.

[12] *Ibid.* p. 10ff. Arabic text, *op. cit.*, p. 246ff.

(2) logic, (3) physics, and (3) theology, each of these being again subdivided into special branches. Theology has five such branches, the fourth of which is described as the science of government (السياسة) and is again subdivided into five parts of which the last three correspond to Aristotle's politics, economics and ethics.

This classification has been characterized as un-Aristotelian,[13] but a closer observation of the plan will reveal that what we have here is really the Aristotelian scheme with certain common modifications the like of which we also find among Aristotle's commentators and the Schoolmen. The distinction between practical and theoretical is easily recognized as Aristotelian. But the Ihwan al Safa use here practical, عمليّة not in the sense of πρακτική but rather in the sense of productive, ποιητική. Such a merging of the terms "practical" and "productive" is also found among the commentators and the Schoolmen.[14] Having thus used up "practical" for the "productive", they place Aristotle's "practical", i. e., politics, economics, and ethics, under theology. This, too. was a common practice among the Schoolmen.[15] By omitting the general terms distinguishing between the theoretical, practical and auxiliary, logic is thus made a co-ordinate branch of the philosophical sciences. There is no need of assuming a Platonic influence, for logic is used here in a strictly Aristotelian sense and the topics enumerated under it are all taken from Aristotle's writings.

The classifications in Jewish philosophical literature follow on the whole the Arabic models and are consequently Aristotelian in principle. Such classifications occur with great frqeuency in Jewish literature.[16] Some of them are formal statements,

[13] See Carra de Vaux: *Philosophy* (*Muslim*) in Hastings' *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.*, IX, p. 880.

[14] See Grabmann: *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode* II, p. 30; Robert Flint: *Philosophy as Scientia Scientarum*, p. 90.

[15] See Flint: *Ibid.*

[16] For "classification of sciences" we have in Hebrew the following expressions: (1) מספר החכמות (Falaquera in *Reshit Hokmah* and Moses da Rieti. See below n. 73) from Alfarabi's احصا العلوم.

others are casual remarks, still others are only indirect implications. The observations which follow are based on a varied collection of sources which, while not complete, is large and representative enough to serve as a basis for a study of the classification of the sciences in Jewish philosophical literature.

One of the earliest classifications is found in Isaac Israeli's introduction to his commentary on the *Sefer Yezirah*.[17] The practical sciences are entirely omitted nor is the distinction between theoretical and practical mentioned, but, dealing only with the theoretical, which is called the "science of philosophy" (חכמת פילוסופיא), he divides it into the three conventional parts of the Aristotelian tradition. Here, again, the general terms mathematics, physics, and theology are omitted, but each is represented by some of the specific sciences which usually go under the main division. Thus for mathematics the quadrivium is given, for physics, medicine is specified, and for theology in general, the science of the unity of God and of the spiritual beings is particularly mentioned.

The term used here for "medicine" will prove of some interest. The passage reads חכמת הטבעים, כלומר חכמת הרפואות. Graetz, who ascribes this commentary to Dunash ibn Tamim, takes the term טבעים in its ordinary sense of "physics", and understands the passage to enumerate "physics" and "medicine" as two

(2) סוגי החכמות (Abraham Shalom, See n. 63). Similarly Ihwan al-Safa: اجناس العلوم (*Op cit.*, p. 246).

(3) מיני החכמות (Abba Mari and Zerahiah Hen. See n. 61 and 72). Similarly Ihwan al-Safa: وانواع تلك الاجناس (*Ibid.*).

(4) חלקי החכמות (Israeli, Avicenna and Bahya: اقسام. See n. 17, 8 and 29).

(5) חלוק החכמות تقسيم العلوم (Algazali: *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 75).

(6) מעלות החכמה (Judah ben Barzilai. See n. 30).

[17] See quotation in *Orient, Litteraturblatt.* 1845, p. 562:
אלא למי שהוא בקי בחכמת פילוסופיא ואפני חלקיה השלשה, אשר תחלתם חכמת החשבון, חכמת ההנדסה, וחכמת הגלגל, וחכמת החבור, כלומר המוצקי. ואחריו החכמה השנית, והיא חכמת הטבעים, כלומר הרפואות. ואחר כך ידע את החכמה השלישית, והיא חכמת היחוד להקב"ה והעניינים הרוחניים.

separate sciences.[18] The word כלומר, however, makes it clear that חכמת הרפואות is an explanation of חכמת הטבעים. While it is not impossible that in Hebrew, as in other languages, the term "physics" has been used here in the sense of "medicine",[18a] still another explanation of this passage may be suggested. It would seem that the term טבע is not to be taken here as the equivalent of the Arabic طبع but rather of طب, and one is tempted to change the reading טבעים to טיבים. In the Arabic classifications, علم الطب stands for "medicine" and is translated into Hebrew by חכמת הרפואה.[19]

While in this passage Israeli does not give the general term for "mathematics", the deficiency is supplied by him in another passage, where he says of music that "it is the best and last of the four branches of the sciences of טורח": והוא המעולה שבארבעה חכמת הטורח[20]. The meaning of the term טורח has escaped the knowledge of Rappoport and Dukes who rendered it by "Turkey". But Michael Jehiel Sachs has pointed out the incorrectness of the translation, and Senior Sachs has inferred its real meaning from the context, without, however, attempting to explain its etymology.[21] The word טורח would seem to be like הרגל, שמוש and מוסר, which we shall meet in the sequel, a Hebrew translation of the Arabic رياضي, "propaedeutic", which, as we have already seen, is used for mathematics. The Arabic root means "to exercise"; the Hebrew root טרח similarly means "to exert oneself". All these terms are translations of the Greek προπαιδεία, *preparatory training* (or rather of παιδεία, without the proposition), which Plato applies to mathematics.[22] It is the interpolation

[18] See *Geschichte der Juden*, 4th ed., vol. V, p. 330.

[18a] Thus Maimonides describes medicine as being based on טבע הסציאות (See *Pirush ha-Mishnah*: *Pesahim*, ch. 4).

[19] See *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 78. See below n. 137.

[20] See *Kerem Hemed* VIII, p. 64.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Republic* VII, 536D. The Hebrew הלמודים for mathematics has a different etymology. It is a literal translation of تعليم-*μάθημα*. Cf. Steinschneider: *Al-Farabi*, p. 32, n. 32. Reifmann's conjecture that למודי is a later substitution by Samuel ibn Tibbon for שנושי הרגלי and מוסרי is wrong (See *Ozar ha-Sifrut* II, p. 48). Samuel ibn Tibbon himself only says that

of a Platonic term in classifications which are basically Aristotelian.

Another classification belonging to the same period is that of David Al-Mukammas, quoted by Judah ben Barzilai (Al-Barceloni) in his commentary on *Sefer Yezirah*.[23] It starts out with what would at first sight seem to be the conventional Aristotelian distinction between theoretical (חכמה ומדע) and practical (אומנות או מעשה). Upon a closer observation, however, it becomes apparent that like the Ihwan al-Safa he substitutes Aristotle's productive, or what may be called applied, science, for practical. He thus says that every science, say geometry, may be either a science (מדע) or an art (אומנות). For this illustration, too, there is a parallel in the Encyclopedia of the Ihwan al-Safa where mathematics is said to be divided into sensible (حسّيّة) and rational (عقليّة), the former leading to the practical arts and the latter to the theoretical.[24]

Taking up the theoretical, Al-Mukammas divides it into three parts. The first and the last correspond to Aristotle's theology and physics respectively. The second, which we would expect to be mathematics, is described in the following terms: והמעלה האמצעית חכמת המוסר והשכל המאמצת דעות בני אדם והמנהגת להם דרך הבינה. As the term מוסר generally means "ethics", the statement in translation would read as follows: "And the middle grade is the science of ethics and of the mind which streng-

למודים is synonymous with שמושים and הרגלים (See *Pirush meha-Millot Zorot*, under למודים.

[23] *Pirush Sefer Yezirah le-Rabbi Judah b. Barzilai*, Berlin 1885, p. 65: וכתב דוד הבבלי כך: הוי יודע כי נדר החכמה הוא מדע יושר הנמצאות, לעמוד על סוף מחקרם, והיא נחלקת לשני חלקים. יש ממנה מה שסוף מחקרו הוא המדע, ועל דעת תוכן הנמצא ויושר תבניתו יעמוד המחקר ודיו; זהו הנקרא חכמה ומדע. ויש ממנה שסוף בקשתם ואחרית מחקרם הוא מעשה ומלאכה ומציאת דבר לעין, וזה נקרא אומנות או מעשה. ותראה מזה משל בחכמת המדה והמשקל הנקרא בלשון ערבי הנדסה ובלשן יוני גומטריה.... והמצא חכמה זו בענין הזה עת מתפרדת למדע ואומנות. וכן כל שאר והחכמות. ומשם אמר כי החכמה נפרדת למדע ולמעשה. והמדע נחלקת לשלש מעלות: המעלה הראשונה מדע העליון, הנקרא מדע האלהי, והיא החכמה המשובחת להבין יחודו של הב"ה, וחכמת תורתו ומצותיו, והוא הגבוה והמעולה מכל החכמות. והמעלה האמצעית חכמת דמוסר והשכל המאמצת דעות בני אדם והמנהגת להם דרך הבינה. והמעלה השלישית המדע השפל והתחתון, והוא מדע דרך היצורים ותוכן הנבראים.

[24] Dieterici: *Die Propaedeutik der Araber*, p. 24. Arabic text, *Idem*: *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 293.

thens the opinions of men and guides them in the path of understanding". Both the use of the term מוסר and the description by which it is followed would seem to point to ethics as the middle science, and this is the general understanding of the passage.[25] But taken in this sense, the classification would be thrown out of the framework of both the Platonic and the Aristotelian schemes, which would seem rather strange. An attempt must therefore be made to cast it in one of the traditional forms of classification, and to this end two alternative solutions may be proposed:

First, leaving the term מוסר in the sense of "ethics", we may take the term שכל in the sense of "logic".[26] That שכל could be a Hebrew rendering of the Arabic المنطق ,λογική, like מבטא, דבור, and הגיון, is quite clear, for all these terms mean "reason" as well as "speech". In fact, according to Samuel ibn Tibbon the proper designation for logic should have been מלאכת השכל.[26a] The "middle" science would thus be the "science of ethics and of logic". The description which follows may equally apply to both these sciences. The threefold classification would thus in reality be a fourfold classification, containing theology, ethics, logic, and physics. Such a fourfold classification was not unknown among the Aristotelians and is based upon the classification of Aristotle's writings.[27]

Second, the term מוסר, despite its ordinary meaning of ethics, may be another Hebrew translation of the Arabic رياضّى, "propaedeutic", i. e., mathematics.[27a] In the *Cuzari* the term

[25] Cf. Kaufmann: *Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda* in *Gesammelte Schriften* II, p. 21–22, note; Bernfeld: *Da'at Elohim*, p. 136.

[26] This is how Husik takes it. See *A History of Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy*, p. 18.

[26a] See *Pirush meha -Millot Zorot* under הגיון: ולפי דעתי היה ראוי לקראה מלאכת השכל.

[27] See Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 181, n. 1.

[27a] Reifmann takes the passage to refer to mathematics, but, puzzled by the use of the term מוסר, he changes the reading of חכמת המוסר והשכל to חכמה המישרת להשכל. See *Ozar ha-Sifrut* II, p. 50. It is interesting to note that the Hebrew מוסר usually translates the Arabic ادب (See Steinschneider: *Uebersetzungen*, p. 350) and that the Ihwan al-Safa couple الاداب with الرياضيّة

الرياضيّة is translated by both המוסריות and ההרגליות.[28] The expression חכמת המוסר והשכל may be taken as a hendiadys, as if it were written חכמת המוסר השכלי, to be translated "the science of rational mathemathics", that is to say, the "rational mathematics" of the Ihwan al-Safa as contrasted with the "sensible"—a reference to Al-Mukammas' own distinction between the "science" and the "art" of geometry. Now, in the Encyclopedia of the Ihwan al-Safa the difference between "rational" and "sensible" mathematics is described as follows: "The study of sensible mathematics is an aid to the thorough understanding of the practical arts; the study of rational mathematics is a guide to the thorough understanding of the speculative arts, for this science is one of the gates which leads to the knowledge of the substance of the soul. This knowledge is the beginning of the sciences, the constituent element of wisdom, and the root of the practical and theoretical arts".[29] Al-Mukammas' brief description of "the science of rational mathematics," quoted above, claims for it the same excellencies.

The second explanation would seem to be more plausible, for in another passage quoted again by Judah ben Barzilai, Al-Mukammas definiteiy enumerates mathematics, physics and theology as the three sciences, though he names them in a different order. He says: "Philosophy is the knowledge of all things according to the measure of their form, the secret of their nature, and the veracity of their impartation. We have felt it necessary to use three properties in the definition of philosophy, in order to be able to bring under this definition the three grades of philosophy. Thus the expression 'according to the measures of the form of things' makes this definition include the science which investigates the external form of things and the boundaries of their bodies, as arithmetic and the like. The expression 'the secret of their nature' makes it include the science which investigates the bodies of things and

as a description of their "propaedeutic" sciences exclusive of mathematics (See above p. 265).

[28] *Cuzari* III, 39; V. 12; V. 14. Here too, Reifmann changes מוסריות to מוסדיות (*loc. cit.*). See below n. 32.

[29] Dieterici: *Die Propaedeutik der Araber*, p. 36.

the secrets of their nature, as all the sciences which deal with the structure of heaven and earth and all created beings. The expression 'the veracity of their impartation' makes it include the science which is superior to all other sciences, namely, the science of the Torah by which those who fear God are favored". He then concludes: "In this fashion the grades of philosophy are three and the definition of philosophy as we have given it includes them all, and all these sciences are called the theoretical sciences or the sciences of the mind".[30]

The formal classification of philosophy (חכמה, علم) given by Bahya ibn Pakuda in the Introduction of the *Hobot ha-Lebabot* deals again only with the theoretical part of philosophy and follows Aristotle's threefold division, mentioning under mathematics the quadrivium.[31] There is only one point which must detain us here. In the Hebrew translation the Arabic الرياضى, "propaedeutic", is rendered by השמוש and is followed by the

[30] *Pirush Sefer Yezirah le-Rabbi Judah b. Barzilai*, p. 66:
ואנו פותחים ראשונה ואומרים כי מלת חכמה נאמרת בלשון הקודש על שני ענינים, על החכמה שהיא חכמה טמש. אשר עליה אמר הכתוב, והחכמה מאין תמצא, והחכמה מאין תבא. והיא מדע כל הנמצאות על אומד חבניתם, ותוכן יצירתם, ואומן נתינתם. והוצרכנו לשום בגדר החכמה שלש חוצצים, כדי להכניס בגדר הזה שלש מעלות החכמה. ויהיה אומד תבנית הנמצאות מכניס בגדר הזה החכמה המעיינת בצורות הנמצאות החצונות, ותכלית נופן, כחכמת המנין והדומה לה. ותוכן יצירתם מכניס בו החכמה המעיינת בנופי הנמצאות, וסודי יצירתן. כלל החכמות המדברות על בנין שמים וארץ ושאר היצורים. ואומן נתינתם מכניס בו החכמה המעולה על כל החכמות, והיא חכמת התורה הנחנה ליראי השם... על הדרך הזה היא מעלות החכמה שלש מעלות, והגדר אשר שכנו לחכמה כולל אותם. והחכמות האלה נקראין חכמה שכלנית וחכמת השכל.

I have emended אומר to read אומד in אומד חבניתם.

The term חוצצים is the Arabic خاصّة, ἴδιον, *property*, one of the five predicables usually translated into Hebrew by סגולה or, as in *Cuzari* V, 12, מדה מיוחדה (See below n. 162). Kaufmann seems to have confounded it with فصل, διαφορά, *difference*, which is usually translated by הבדל, פרק or, as in *Cuzari* V, 12, חלק. (See below n. 162). Cf. Kaufmann's notes on *Pirush Sefer Yezirah le-Rabbi Judah b. Barzilai*, p. 336.

[31] והחכמה מחלקת לשלשה חלקים. החלק הראשון, חכמת היצירות, שקורין לה בלשון ערב אלע'לם אלט'בעי, והיא חכמת טבעי הנופות ומקריהן. והחלק השני היא חכמת השמוש, שקורין לה בלשון ערבי אלע'לם רי'צי, ויש מי שקראה חכמת המוסר, והיא חכמת המנין והשעורים וחכמת הכוכבים וחכמת הגנון, הנקראת מוזיקא. והחלק השלישי קורין לה בלשון ערבי אלע'לם אל'די, והיא חכמת האלהות, והוא דעת האל יתברך ודעת תורתו, ושאר המושכלות, כנפש וכשכל וכאישים הרוחניים,

statement ויש מי שקראה חכמת המוסר, which has caused some difficulty to students.[32] It can be shown, however, that the statement is an interpolated gloss. There is nothing in the original Arabic text to correspond to it. In the *editio princeps* of the Hebrew translation, Naples 1489, and in the Venice edition of 1548 it does not occur.[33] It makes its first appearance in the Constantinople edition of 1550.[33a] That מוסר has been used as a Hebrew equivalent of رياضة has already been pointed out, and the ויש מי שקראה probably refers to the Hebrew translation of the *Cuzari*, if not also to Al-Mukammas.

The classification given by the Karaite Nissi ben Noah in his commentary on the Decalogue[33b] is of interest not only for some of the peculiar terms it contains but also for its textual difficulties. The text as it stands would seem to divide philosophy into metaphysics, mathematics and ethics, and this is how Steinschneider seems to understand it.[33c] This would make it a rather unusual arrangement of topics, though made up of parts taken from Aristotle's classification. The passage, however, bears internal evidence of being corrupt, as has already been suspected by Reifmann.[33d] In the first place, it begins with a statement that philosophy is divided into two parts, but mentions only one of these parts. In the second place, it says that the first part of philosophy is to be subdivided into two other parts, but, instead of giving these two parts, it enumerates the three sciences, metaphysics, mathematics and ethics. Evidently there is something missing in the text.

The passage, however, can be completed by filling out the gaps with phrases taken from the passages preceding and

[32] See commentary *Pat Lehem, ad loc.*; Fürstenthal's Hebrew notes *ad loc.*; Reifmann in *Ozar ha-Sifrut* II, pp. 49–50, who changes מוסר to מוסד. See above n. 28. Schmiedl in *Monatsschrift* 1861, p. 186; Kaufmann: *Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda* in *Gesammelte Schriften* II, p. 21, note; Senior Sachs; *Kerem Hemed* VIII, p. 64.

[33] Nor does this addition occur in the quotation of this passage in Shabbethai Bass' (Meshorer's) *Sifte Yeshenim*, Zolkiew, 1806, f. 7b.

[33a] The gloss occurs in MS Adler 900 in the Jewish Theological Seminary.

[33b] *Pirush Aseret ha-Debarim* in Pinsker's *Likkute Kadmoniyyot* II, p. 9.

[33c] *Uebersetzungen*, p. 209, n. 734b.

[33d] Cf. *Ozar ha-Sifrut* II, p. 50.

following it. This reconstructed passage would yield us, in the first place, a general division of philosophy into scientific knowledge (דעת) and revealed knowledge (יראת אל שדי),[33e] and then, in the second place, under scientific knowledge, a complete Aristotelian classification with its general distinction of theoretical and practical knowledge and the subdivision of the former into metaphysics, mathematics and physics, and the subdivision of the latter into ethics, economics and politics.[33f]

No formal classification of the sciences is given by Judah ha-Levi. But here and there in his *Cuzari* he gives us snatches of classifications which seem to be torn out of an Aristotelian context, such, for instance, as his casual references to physics,

[33e] The distinction between these two kinds of knowledge is explained by the author in the preceding paragraph as follows:
שהחכמה נודעת משני פנים: הא' חכמה ותושיה נודעת מן הבריאה והיצירה, שהיא עולה במחשבה בהתקששם החכמים בשכלם, כמו ידיעת היוצר מן היצירה, שהתורה והנבואה עדים עליה ומאמינים בה. והשני חכמה ובינה, שהיא התורה והחזות, שניהם בנבואה, שהתורה והחכמה מצדיקים אותה ומאמינים בה,

[33f] The emended passage will read as follows:
והחכמה הזאת מתחלקת, כמו שאבאר למטה: הא' הדעת, והיא מתחלקת על שני חלקים. [הא' הדעת השכלית, והיא על ג' חלקים]: א' מהם דעת העליונה בשכל, כמו שיראה בדעת אל עליון ומלאכים ונפשות ורוחות. והשני, דעת המוסר, והוא נחלק על ארבעה חלקים: הא' דעת הטפחות והטדה. והב' דעת המספר והטנין. והג' דעת החבור והמזלות. והד' דעת הענבים והקולות. והשלישי מהם השכל התחתון, כדעת ארבע כטבעות. [והב' הדעת המעשית], והוא על ג' חלקים: הא' נהילת העדה, כנהילת המלך למדינות ולארצות. והב' נהילת בני הבית, כנהילה הכלך בני ביתו וקרוביו. והג' נהילת האיש לנפשו ביוהר, כנהילת האיש לנפשו ונופו. [והב' יראת אל שדין]. לפיכך שידענו שיראת אל שדי [ית'] שמו היא ראשית החכמה, וכו'.

In the description of astronomy in this passage, דעת החבור והמזלות, if the term החבור is not a corruption of העבור, *inetrcalation*, then it must be taken in the astronomical sense of *conjunction*, i. e., the conjunction of the moon with the sun, as the equivalent of the more usual term קבון. See *Mishneh Torah*: *Kiddush ha-Hodesh* VI, 1:
בזמן שעושין על הראייה היו כחשבין ויודעין שעה שיתקבץ בו הירח עם החמה... ויודעין שעת קבוצן...

The term חבור in the classification of sciences ordinarily means music. See above n. 17.

The expression ארבע טבעות refers to the four natural elements, היסודות הטבעיים, which is usually mentioned as one of the topics of physics. Steinschneider takes it in the sense of the four qualities of human nature and as referring to ethics (*Uebersetzungen*, p. 209, n. 734b). But see Reifmann in *Ozar ha-Sifrut* II, p. 51.

astronomy and music,[34] to astronomy and physics,[35] and to various topics of physics and to theology.[36] In one place he speaks of the reliability of the philosophers in matters mathematical and logical as contrasted with their unreliability in matters physical and metaphysical,[37] and in another place he enumerates physics, theology, mathematics and astronomy as some of the sciences embodied in the Mishnah and Talmud.[38] A complete classification of the three theoretical sciences and logic with an enumeration of their branches may be derived from his discussion of psychology in his attempt to explain how the hylic intellect comes into possession of rational ideas through application and study.[39]

In one of those mystifying passages in which the works of Abraham ibn Ezra abound some Jewish scholars think to have found a classification of sciences. In his commentary on Ecclesiastes III, 21, Ibn Ezra says as follows: "And the knowledge of the soul is shrouded in mystery, requiring subtle speculations, and nobody can grasp even a small part of its nature except those thinkers whose thought has become clarified in the balance of wisdom and its elements four, of which three are ספר ספר וספור and, [the fourth], that which is composed of the two".[40] Friedlaender translates the three Hebrew words by

[34] *Cuzari* II, 64: עלם אלאפלאך–חכמת הגלגלים; אלטביעיה–הטבעיות עלם אלמוסיקא–חכמת המוסיקא.

[35] *Ibid.* IV, 29: עלם אלפלך–חכמות הכוכבים והגלגלים; עלם אלהיה–חכמת התכונה אלעלם אלטביעי–החכמה הטבעית.

[36] *Ibid.* V, 2:
הטבעיים, והאצטגנינים, ובעלי הטלסמאות, והמכשפים, ואנשי הקדמות, והפילוסופים... ההיולי והצורה... היסודות הנקראים בערבי אסטקסאת... הטבע... הנפש... השכל... החכמה האלהית.–אלטביעיין, ואלמנמין ואלמטלסמין ואלסחרא ואלדהריין ואלמסתלספין... ללהיולי אלמשתרכה... אלאסטקסאת... אלטביעה... אלנפוס... אלעקל... אלעלם אלאלאהי.

[37] *Ibid.* V, 14:
למה שנחברר מהם המופת בחכמות ההרגליות (אלריאציה) וההגיון (ואלמנטק) בטחו הנפשות על כל מה שאמרוהו בטבע (פי אלטביעה) ובמה שאחר הטבע (ופי מא בעד אלטביעה).

[38] *Ibid.* III, 39:
ומי שהוא רוצה להאמין בו יראה חכמת המשנה והתלמוד והם מעט מהרבה מחכמות הטבעיות (אלעלום אלטביעיה) והאלהיות (ואלאלאהיה) והמוסריות (ואלריאציה) והגלגליות (ואלפלכיה).

[39] *Ibid.* V, 12.

[40] ודעת הרוח עמוקה וצריכה לראיות, ולא יוכלו להבין אפילו קצתם, כי אם המשכילים, שהתבררה מחשבתם במאזני החכמה ובארבעה יסודותיה, שהשלשה מהם ספר וספר וספור, ומורכב מן השנים,

"reading, writing and arithmetic".[41] There is, however, no basis for this translation except that the three Hebrew words with their alliteration lend themselves to a rendering into the proverbial three R's. Rosin identifies all the four elements with mathematics, grammar, logic and physics.[42] The difficulty with this rendering is that that it does not correspond to either the Platonic or the Aristotelian classiffication. Furthermore, the expression מורכב מן השנים for Physics is rather far-fetched. Rosin's reference to the Ihwan al-Safa in support of his classification seems to be irrelevant. Besides, we have already seen that their classification of the purely philosophic sciences is strictly Aristotelian. Krochmal conjectures that the four elements refer to the four types of immediate knowledge, namely, sense perceptions, intellectual notions, traditions and general opinions.[43] But he makes no attempt to show how the text can be made to assume this interpretation.

It seems to me that this passage has no reference to the classification of sciences nor to the types of immediate knowledge Its meaning is to be sought elsewhere. The puzzling words ספר וספור ספר in Ibn Ezra are a well known quotation from *Sefer Yezirah* I: וברא את עולמו בשלשה ספרים, בספר וספר וספור Now this in itself would not help much, for the passage in the original source is in itself a conundrum and his been variously interpreted by ancient and modern commentators. But Saadia's interpretation of this passage willl throw light upon the difficulty. Says Saadia:[44] "The expression 'He hath created the world in three books' means to say that all things may be registered in three ways." He then raises the question why only three ways are mentioned, seeing "that the philosophers have enumerated four ways, for they have said that things may exist under four aspects, in their substance, as when we see a man; in spoken words, as when we

[41] M. Friedländer: *Essays in Ibn Ezra*, p. 26, n. 3.

[42] *Monatsschrift* XLII, p. 448.

[43] Extracts from Ibn Ezra's commentary on Ecclesiastes in *Moreh Nebuke ha-Zeman.*

[44] M. Lambert: *Commentaire sur le Séfer Yesira ou Livre de la Creation par le Gaon Saadia de Fayyoum*, pp. 42–43; Arabic text, pp. 22–23.

say, 'man'; in writing, as when we write the latters *m a n*; in thought, as when we form an idea of a man". Explaining why substance is omitted, Saadia concludes: "The author finds that there are three ways in which a thing can be expressed, namely, writing, number, and the spoken word, which, added to substance, make in all four". Saadia further explains that "number" stands here for "thought", for it is a species of thought, and he gives ספר מחשבה וספור as the equivalent of ספר וספור. In the light of this explanation it is clear that Ibn Ezra's mention of the four elements of knowledge refers to the four modes of knowing things enumerated by Saadia, of which he quotes from *Sefer Yezirah*, again following Saadia, the three, namely, סֵפֶר "the written word", סְפָר "the number", i. e., the idea, and סִפּוּר "the spoken word", and adds Saadia's fourth mode, "that which is composed of the two", i. e., substance. Substance, says Aristotle, applies to matter, form, and to the concrete thing which is composed of the two.[45] Ibn Ezra similarly says: "All created beings are composed of two, namely, matter and form."[46] That Abraham ibn Ezra refers here to four modes of knowledge rather than to classes of sciences may be inferred from his use of the expression מאזני השכל. The word מאזני reflects the Arabic ميزان, which, while literally meaning "balance", is also used in the sense of "judgement,"[47] "rule" and "method", and hence the expression מאזני השכל undoubtedly means 'the laws of thought" or "the modes of knowledge."

There is, however, another passage in which Ibn Ezra refers to a classification of sciences. In his commentary on Proverbs 9, 1, he attempts to give a different rendering of the verse which is usually translated: "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars". "It may be explained", he says, "that the plural חכמות is used here in order to show that the meaning of the verse is that out of the seven wisdoms she (= wisdom) hath builded her house. This is what is meant by

[45] See *Metaphysics* VII, 10, 1035a, 1.

[46] See D. Rosin: *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Ezra*, p. 42, n. 13: והנבראים שנים, שהם עצם וצורה

[47] See Munk: *Guide des Égarés*, I, 62, p. 279, n. 1.

'she hath hewn out her seven pillars', 'her pillars' here referring to the pillars of the house, and thus the second strophe is an explanation of 'out of wisdoms she hath builded her house'. Accordingly, the word בית is used here in the feminine gender. Or, 'her pillars' may refer to the pillars of wisdom, and these pillars are the seven branches of wisdom upon which the house of wisdom is erected. Some, however, interpret the number seven here to refer to something else, but *suum cuique* and truth will show the way."[48]

There are several possible lists to which these "seven sciences" may refer, and we shall mention them in the sequel. But here one is inclined to take the number seven to refer to the three branches of the Aristotelian theoretical philosophy, including the mathematical quadrivium, and to logic, thus making in all seven, for under these heads one may arrange all the specific sciences, outside the purely linguistic sciences, which Ibn Ezra enumerates in the first chapter of *Yesod Mora* as prerequisites to the proper understanding of the Bible and the Talmud. They are in the order in which they are first mentioned as follows: Astronomy (חכמת המזלות), geometry (חכמת המדות), psychology (חכמת הנפש), physics (חכמת התולדות, חכמת תולדות השמים והארץ), astrology (משפטי המזלות), logic (חכמת המבטא, חכמת ההגיון), arithmetic (חכמת החשבון), proportion (חכמת הערכים), theology (סוד המרכבה ושעור קומה סוד הנפש ומלאכי עליון והעולם הבא). Elsewhere he also mentions music (חכמת הנגינות).[49] All these may be tabulated according to the Aristotelian classification, making a list of seven sciences, as follows:[50]

1. A. Logic
   B. Theoretical sciences
2. I. Theology (including psychology)[51]

[48] ויתכן לפרש שאמר חכמות להודיע שהחכמה בנתה ביתה בחכמות שבע, וזה טעם חצבה עמודיה שבעה, והם עמודי הבית, והוא הביאור למאמר חכמות בנתה ביתה, ובית לשון נקבה, או עמודיה שבעה, עמודי החכמה, והעמודים הם שבע החכמות שבית החכמה נכון עליהם. ויש מפרשים אלה השבעה על העניינים אחרים, וכל אחד בוחר לעצמו, והאמת יורה דרכו.

[49] M. Friedländer; Essays on Ibn Ezra, Hebrew Text, p. 43.

[50] Contrast with this the classification made by Rosin in *Monatsschrift* XLIII, p. 232.

[51] For the inclusion of psychology within theology see below p. 294.

II. Mathematics
3. a. Arithmetic (including Proportion)
4. b. Geometry
5. c. Astronomy
6. d. Music
7. III. Physics (including Astrology)[52]

Like Judah ha-Levi, Abraham ibn Daud does not give a formal classification of sciences but refers to it incidentally in his description of the gradual stages in which the soul acquires knowledge. He mentions there mathematics (הלמודיות), physics (הטבעיות) and theology (האלהיות).[53] In addition to the specific enumeration of these three sciences, which he does not describe by the general term theoretical, he also speaks of a practical class of philosophy (פילוסופיא מעשית).[54] In another long passage Abraham ibn Daud gives not exactly a classification of sciences but something that may be described as an evaluation of the sciences, especially medicine, philology, mathematics and law.[55] The passage will be reproduced at the end of this paper.

A rather novel classification is given by Joseph ben Isaac Kimhi in the Introduction to his *Sefer ha-Galui*. While on the whole the topics are drawn from the Aristotelian classification, they are grouped differently. All the sciences, according to this author, are divided into three parts. First, those which are useful only for the world to come. Second, those which are useful both for this world and for the world to come. Third, those which are only useful for this world. Under the first he includes theology in all its branches. Under the second he mentions at random astronomy, geometry and medicine, by which he evidently means to include the entire field of mathematics and

[52] Astrology is part of physics according to Algazali's *Tahafut al-Falasifah* quoted by Caleb Afendopolo (See *Monatsschrift* XL, p. 93).

[53] *Emunah Ramah* II, iv, 1, p. 58:
ואחר ילך בהדרגה אל חלוקת ההקדמות, וסדורם על תמונות מה, והולדת התולדות ההם, עד שיגיעו לו החכמות הלימודיות, והטבעיות, והאלהיות.

[54] *Ibid.*, General Introduction, p. 4:
אמנם נושא העיון הזה הנה מבואר שהוא פילוסופיא מעשית.

[55] *Ibid.*, II, Introduction, p. 45.

physics. Under the third he includes the productive arts, or the *artes mechanicae*[55a].

Of all the classifications of sciences the most comprehensive and complete, despite its brevity, and the most truly Aristotelian is that given by Maimonides in the *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV. We shall reproduce it here with a running commentary.

He begins with a statement as to the use of the term מלאכה. This term may be taken to represent the Arabic صناعة and the Greek *τέχνη*, meaning "art". Now, *τέχνη* in Aristotle has, on the whole, two meanings. In *Metaphysics* I, 1, the term *τέχνη* is used in the sense of *θεωρία*, *speculation*, and is contrasted with *ἐμπειρία*, *experience*, and *αἴσθησις*, *perception*. In *Ethics* VI, 3, however, the term *τέχνη* is used in the sense of *ἐπιστήμη ποιητική*, *productive science*, as contrasted with both *ἐπιστήμη θεωρητική* *theoretical science*, and *'επιστήμη πρακτική*, *practical science*. In these two senses the equivalent Arabic term صناعة is used by the Ihwan al-Safa when they divided the sciences into الصنائع العلميّة, *speculative arts*, and الصنائع العمليّة, *productive arts*. As has already been shown, the former stands for both the *θεωρητική* and the *πρακτική*, whereas the latter stands for the *ποιητική*. Referring to this, Maimonides thus says: "The term art is used among the ancients in an equivocal sense and is applied by them to every theoretical science and to all works of production. They thus call every philosophic discipline a theoretical art and every form of carpentry and masonry and their like a productive art".[56]

[55a] *Sefer ha-Galui*, Introduction, pp. 1–2:
ודע כי כל החכמות הנמצאות במדרגת שלש כסאות. החכמה העליונה היושבת בכסא כבוד מראשון היא חכמת אלהות בדעת יחוד הבורא ובתורותיו ובמצוותיו להשיג אהבתו לעולם הבא. ואין לזאת החכמה חלק בזה העולם. כי צריך האדם שתהיה כוונתו לעבוד הבורא ולאהוב אותו ולא בעבור העולם הזה. והחכמה היושבת במדרגת השנית היא חכמת הככבים וחכמת השעורים וחכמת הרפואות ודומיהם, שהם נחלקים לצורך העה"ז ולצורך העה"ב, ומוחר ליהנות מהם בעה"ז. והחכמה היושבת במדרגה התחתונה היא חכמת המלאכות והאומניות לישוב העה"ז, תקון בתים ושדות וכרמים ומלבושים וכסף וזהב ותקון אבנים טובות ודומיהן.

[56] והשם מלאכה אצל הקודמים שם משתף, יפילוהו על כל חכמה עיונית [חכמה שכלית Ahitub's translation:]. ויפילוהו גם כן על כל המעשים המלאכתים. ויקראו כל חכמה מחכמת הפילוסופיא מלאכה עיונית [שכלית Ahitub:]. ויקראו כל אחת מהנגרות והחצבות ומה שדומה להן מלאכה מעשית [מלאכה מלאכותית Ahitub:].

Maimonides thus like the Ihwan al-Safa divides the Aristotelian sciences into two parts, calling the θεωρητική by its given name and designating both the πρακτική and the ποιητική by the general name "philosophy", the latter of which he also calls "theoretical art" [שכלית] מלאכה עיונית. Similarly Averroes, in his classification of the sciences, couples "art" and "science" together.[57]

Maimonides now takes up the term "philosophy". This, too, is an equivocal term, for in a general sense it applies to the art of demonstration, מלאכת המופת, i. e., logic, and the special philosophic disciplines.[58] Similarly Averroes, and as we shall see also Aristotle, says that philosophy in a general sense includes also logic. But, properly speaking, says Maimonides, logic is not a philosophic discipline; it is only an instrument (כלי, ὄργανον). Thus the term philosophy is to apply only to the theoretical and practical disciplines. We therefore now have a new set of terms, "theoretical philosophy", הפילוסופיא העיונית, and "practical philosophy", הפילוסופיא המעשית, which are not to be confused with "theoretical art", מלאכה עיונית, and "practical art", [מלאכותית] מלאכה מעשית. In Hebrew, it should be noticed, the same term מעשית is used for both πρακτική and ποιητική. Similarly the Arabic term عمليّة, used by the Ihwan al-Safa, has these two meanings, as has already been pointed out.[59]

The "theoretical philosophy" is divided by Maimonides into the conventional physics, mathematics and metaphysics, mathematics being again subdivided into the quadrivium. Of the subdivisions of "practical philosophy," we shall speak later.

In the literature after Maimonides, the Aristotelian scheme continues to be the model for all classifications. The occasional mention of the sciences in such works as the *Ma'amar Ikkawu ha-Mayim* by Samuel ibn Tibbon,[60] the *Sefer ha-Yareah* by

[57] Cf. *Epitome of the Metaphysics.*

[58] ושם הפילוסופיא שם משחף, פעמים יקראו בו מלאכת המופת, ופעמים יקראו בו החכמות.

[59] See above p. 266.

[60] *Ma'amar Ikkawu ha-Mayim*, Ch. XI, p. 54:

וזה המין הוא מה שקורין חכמי המחקר חכמה התכונה, והוא חלק מהחכמות שקורין הרגליות או למודיות.

Abba Mari Don Astruc of Lunel,[61] and the *Nobelot Hokmah* by Joseph Solomon Delmedigo[62] all belong to this category. Of a similar nature is the classiffication given by Abraham Shalom in his *Neveh Shalom*.[63]

It is this Aristotelian classification which forms the groundwork of the encyclopedic works in Hebrew beginning with the thirteenth century, though some confine themselves only to certain selected sciences and other amplify their plan by introducing auxiliary linguistic and religious sciences after the manner of the encyclopedia of the Ihwan al-Safa. Judah ben Solomon ha-Kohen ibn Matkah in his *Midrash ha-Hokmah* enumerates

[61] *Sefer ha-Yareah*, ch. 1, p. 125:
ידוע ומפורסם לחכמים כי מיני החכמות שנים: הא' חכמת הטבע, היא חכמה מעשה בראשית, והב' חכמת אלהית, והוא מעשה מרכבה. ויש עוד חכמה ג' שהיא במדרגה לאלו הב', ונקראת חכמה לכורית, כפני שהיא מרגלת השכל ומלמדת אותו להשיג האמחיות. ויש לחכמה הזאת כמו מספר תכונה השבורה, והם שקורין אוחה ז' חכמות, מהם שהם מדרגות קרובות לחכמות הטבע, ומהם שהם מדרגות קרובות לחכמת האלהית. ואע"פ שהם מדרגות לב' החכמות יש לכל אחד תכלית מכוונת לעצמה, המשל ביה מלאכת הרפואה, תכליתה הראשון מכוון לב' חלקים. החלק הא' שמירת הבריאות. והחלק הב' הסרת החולי, ומי שיקרא רופא מסיר החולי כן יקרא רופא שומר הבריאות. והוא שאמר הכתוב: כל המחלה אשר שמתי במצרים לא אשים עליך כי אני ד' רופאך, ר"ל שומר בריאותך. וכמו שיש תכלית מכוון למלאכת הרפואה, כן יש תכלית מכוון לשאר החכמות, שהוא נדר ונבול לחכמה ההיא. ויש תועלת גדולה לחכמים יראי ה' לכל אחד מהחכליות, כי בהם יבחן האדם סוד המציאות, וידע וישכיל קצת מפליאות ד', ויעלה באלה המדרגות עד שיגיע אל ב' החכמות העליונות, והם מעשה בראשית ומעשה מרכבה, ומתוך כך ידע ויכיר מי שאמר והיה העולם.

As for the sevenfold division of the mathematical sciences see quotation from Avicenna above n. 8. As for the propaedeutic character which this passage ascribes to mathematics see above n. 22.

[62] *Nobelot Hokmah*, f. 4a:
ועוד יש קדימת הסדר אצל הפילוסופים כאשר יאמר שהדקדוק קודם בסדר הלמוד למלאכת השיר או להלצה ולהגיון, וההגיון לטבעית, והטבעית לאלהית, וחכמת המספר והשעור לתכונה או למיכאניקה או לחכמת הראייה.

[63] *Neveh Shalom* V, 7 f. 74b–75a:
ולפי שסוגי החכמות שבהם ישלים האדם נפשו הם שלש: האחת, הלמודית, והיא ידיעת צורת הגלגלים... והנה סוג אחר נמצא לחכמה והיא הטבעית, ונחלק המדע הטבעי לשמנה חלקים עצומים... ותמצא אלו השמנה חלקים באו בשלמות בתורתנו במעשה בראשית... הסוג השלישי הוא חכמת האלהות.

The term צורת הגלגלים in this passage is not to be taken as the ordinary translation of صورة, *εἶδος*, but rather as synonymous with תכונה and like the latter may be considered as a translation of هيئة, *διάθεσις*, for the Arabic هيئة literally means not only "dispositions" but also "form" (See below n. 155, 179).

physics, mathematics and metaphysics, to which he adds logic as an instrument to the sciences but not included among them.[64] Shem-tob Joseph Falaquera deals with the classification of sciences in several of his works. In his *De'ot ha-Pilusufim* he deals only with physics and metaphysics and of the latter only with the problem of the active intellect.[65] But his *Reshit Hokmah*, which is devoted to the classification of sciences, contains a complete Aristotelian classiffication. A similar classification is found in his poem at the beginning of the *Reshit Hokma* and parts of it may also be found in his *Mebakesh*. Gershon ben Solomon of Arles in his *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* deals with the three parts of the Aristotelian theoretical philosophy, physics, mathematics and metaphysics, but in mathematics he confines himself to astronomy and he similarly narrows down the scope of metaphysics to psychology only.[66] A complete classification is given by Caleb ben Elijah ben Judah Afendopolo in his commentary on a Hebrew translation of the arithmetic of Nichomachus of Geresa. It comprises logic and all the branches of theoretical as well as practical philosophy.[67] A somewhat modified plan is found in the encyclopedia *Kelal Kazer mi-Kol ha-Rashum Biketab* by Judah ben Joseph ibn Bulat. He divides all learning into (a) sacred and (b) profane (הלמודיים החצוניים, חולין), a division which is not unknown among the Scholastics.[68] Under profane sciences, however, he enumerates the Aristotelian practical and theoretical philosophy and also logic and linguistics.[69] Similarly Solomon ben Jacob Almoli divides his encyclopedia *Meassef Lekol ha-Mahanot* into speculative sciences and traditional sciences, giving under the former linguistics, logic and the branches of the Aristotelian theoretical and practical philosophy.[70]

A sevenfold classification of science is to be found in the

[64] See Steinschneider: *Uebersetzungen*, § 1.
[65] *Ibid*, § 2.
[66] *Ibid.*, § 3.
[67] Steinscneider: *Monatsschrift* XL, pp. 90–94.
[68] See H. O. Taylor: *The Mediaeval Mind*, II, p. 343.
[69] See Steinschneider: *Uebersetzungen* § 8.
[70] *Ibid.*, § 9.

writings of Zerahiah Gracian (Hen), Moses da Rieti and Leo Hebraeus (Judah Abarbanel). It is significant that all these three lived in Italy and were acquainted with Latin literature. The sevenfold classification must have been introduced by them under the influence of the enumeration of the so-called seven liberal arts which, beginning with Varro, contemporary of Cicero, runs throughout European literature.[71] But these Jewish authors accepted only the number seven, which was not entirely new in Hebrew literature, without its contents. The seven liberal arts are as a rule the trivium, (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the quadrivium, (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music). In all these three Jewish authors, however, the seven sciences are physics, metaphysics, the four branches of mathematics and practical philosophy. Thus Zeraḥiah Gracian in his commentary on Proverbs 9, 1, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." says as follows: "After he has finished his discourse about Wisdom, he proceeds to mention in passing the classes of science that constitute Wisdom. He says their number is seven, which is well known to students of philosophy. These seven are divided into two parts. The first is mathematics, which includes four disciplines, namely, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. The second part is philosophy and is divided into three branches: physics, theology and politics".[72] The same enumeration is given by Moses da Rieti in his *Mikdash Me'at*.[73]

[71] See Robert Flint: *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum*, pp. 88–89.

[72] See *Ha-Shahar* II, pp. 226–7:

חכמות בנתה ביתה חצבה עמודיה שבעה. אחר שכלה לדבר בדבר החכמה בא לזכור לך על צד הרמז טיני החכמות, ואמר שהם שבעה, כמו שיה ידוע אצל אנשי החכמה, והם נחלקים לשני חלקים, האחד הוא הלמודים אשר בכללם ד' חכמות, שהם חכמת החשבון, הגמטריא שהוא בערבי אלהנדסה, המוציקא בלשוננו ניגון, וחכמת הכוכבים. והחלק השני הוא הפילוסופיה, ונחלקת לג' חלקים, חכמת הטבע, וחכמת האלהות, והנהגת המדינה.

[73] *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3:

במספר החכמות... נלקח כדברי אבונצר אלפראבי ואלגזלי ואבן רשד והרב ז"ל.
הראשונות שבעה למיניהן
תשבורת, מספר, תכונה, נגון,
תחת הלמודים סדורות הן.
הטבעיות–גם בסדר הגון
האלהות והמדות, ובם

In Judah Abarbanel's *Dialoghi di Amore* the same seven sciences are called *arti liberali* of which the Hebrew translator gives the Hebrew equivalent השבע חכמות.[74] A reference to seven sciences is also found in Abba Mari Don Astruc of Lunel's *Sefer ha-Yareah*,[75] but his seven are the seven branches of mathematics enumerated by Avicenna. Similar allusions to the number seven is found in Joseph ben Isaac Kimhi's Introduction to his *Sefer ha-Galui*[76] and in Moscato's commentary *Kol Yehudah* on the *Cuzari*.[76a] Abraham ibn Ezra's reference to the seven sciences has already been discussed above.

The three theoretical sciences are of unequal importance and they are therefore arranged according to a certain gradation of value. Aristotle himself evaluated these sciences, declaring metaphysics to be superior to the others.[77] In Arabic and Jewish philosophy, Avicenna, Algazali, Al-Mukammas and Bahya use the terms "superior", "middle" and "inferior" in the description of metaphysics, mathematics and physics respectively. Accordingly the logical order of arranging these sciences would be either from the highest to the lowest or *vice versa* from the lowest to the highest. And in fact, these two methods of arrangement are found to have been followed indiscriminately by various authors. Thus Algazali and Al-Mukammas (in one instance)[78] begin with the highest, metaphysics, whereas Bahya, Judah ha-Levi (in one instance),[79] Judah ibn Matkah, Solomon of Arles, Abba Mari Don Astruc, Caleb Afendopolo,

חיי הלב ולא יהיה עגון.

. . . . . .

ושני כלים להם אתה בוחר
דקדוק הלשון גם ההגיון
כי הם לכל כאניות סוחר.

[74] See *Wikkuah al ha-Ahabah*, p. 7b:

ובו נכללו השבע (חכמות), ארטי ליביראלי.

For his entire classification see p. 8b.

[75] See quotation above in n. 61.

[76] מי חכם ויבין אלה ונבון ויחבונן במופלא לחקור ולדרוש בשבעה עמודים שחצבה החכמה.

[76a] See his comment on the enumeration of topics under metaphysics in Book V, section 12: והיא אשר הטביעה אדניהם לעמודיהם שבעה.

[77] *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 23.

[78] See quotation in n. 23.

[79] *Cuzari* V, 12.

and Judah ibn Bulat begin with the lowest, physics. In many enumerations, however, we find that the order given is that of mathematics, physics and metaphysics.[80] Thus we find it in the Ihwan al-Safa, Alfarabi, Israeli, Al-Mukammas (in one instance),[81] Judah ha-Levi (in one instance), Abraham ibn Daud, Maimonides, Zerahiah Gracian, Moses da Rieti, Abraham Shalom, and Solomon Almoli. This peculiar phenomenon may be explained by the distinction between the arrangement of these sciences according to the order of importance and their arrangement according to the order of study—a distinction, already pointed out by Reifmann.[82] According to the former method of arrangement, mathematics occupies a place between physics and metaphysics, for reasons which will be made clear in the sequel. But according to the latter method of arrangement, mathematics comes before physics.[83] We have a clear statement on the order of study in Maimonides where warning is given that instruction should not begin directly with metaphysics but should start with logic and should then proceed from mathematics through physics to metaphysics.[84] A similar warning is sounded

[80] This order is followed by Aristotle himself in *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 19. In *De Anima* I, 1, 403b, 10–16, however, mathematics is placed between physics and metaphysics. But, on the other hand, physics is sometimes referred to by Aristotle as the "second" philosophy. Cf. Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 186.

[81] See quotation in n. 30.

[82] See *Ozar ha-Sifrut* II, pp. 49 and 50.

[83] That the order of study of the sciences was to be distinguished from their mere classification may be derived from the fact that Alfarabi, in addition to his work on the *Enumeration of the Sciences* (במספר החכמות), has also written a treatise on the *Order of the Study of the Sciences* (אגרת בסדור קריאת החכמות). See Steinschneider: *Uebersetzungen*, pp. 293–294. Similarly Averroes, at the beginning of his *Epitome of the Metaphysics*, after classifying the sciences, discusses their proper order of study. See also quotation from *Nobelot Hokmah* above in n. 62.

[84] See *More Nebukim* I, 34:

אי אפשר אם כן בהכרח לפי שירצה השלמות האנושי מבלתי התלמד תחלה במלכת ההגיון ואחר כן בליטודיות על הסדר ואחר כן בטבעיות ואחר כן באלהיות.

By על הסדר after ליטודיות, Maimonides evidently refers to the four branches of mathematics. See also Maimonides' letter to Joseph ibn Aknin which forms the Itroduction to the *Moreh* where the author refers to having taken him through a course of mathematics and logic in preparation to the

by Judah ha-Levi who criticises the Karaites for plunging directly into metaphysics without first going through the preliminary disciplines.[85] There is no justification however, for Steinschneider's and Kaufmann's attempt to prove the alleged Karaism of Al-Mukammas on the ground of his naming metaphysics first in his enumeration of sciences.[86] Al-Mukammas is simply arranging the sciences in the order of importance, starting with the highest, and his classification was not meant to be taken as a programme of study. In fact, Al-Mukammas himself, as we have seen, in another place, changes the order and names mathematics before physics and metaphysics.[87]

The order of importance of these sciences is determined by the subject matter with which they deal. We thus come to another point in our discussion, namely, the definition of each of these sciences, their subject matter and the special disciplines which they comprise.[88]

Metaphysics[89] seems to have been defined by Aristotle in

study of metaphysics. But later in the same letter, according to a marginal note in Alharizi's translation, Maimonides recommends physics as an additional preparatory study:

ולא יבין זה אלא מי שהקדים לדעת מלאכת ההגיון וטבע המציאות.

This passage occurs neither in the Arabic text nor in Ibn Tibbon's translation. There seems to be, however, an inconsistency in these passages as to whether logic precedes mathematics or *vice versa*.

An outline of a ten year programme of study, attributed to Aristotle, is given in Al-Harizi's translation of Honain ben Isaac's *Musare ha-Pilusufim* I, 11: בסדר למוד עשר החכמות. There mathematics precedes logic.

[85] See *Cuzari* V, 2:

לא אנהג בך על דרך הקראים אשר עלו אל החכמה האלהיח מבלי מדרגה.

[86] See Kaufmann: *Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda* in *Gesammelte Schriften* II, p. 21, note, and cf. quotation above in n. 23.

[87] See quotation above in n. 30.

[88] Thus Algazali, after defining each science, discusses its "subject", موضوع, נושא, and its "branches" فروع, סעיפים. The Ihwan al-Safa speak of the main divisions and the subdivisions of the sciences as the "genera", اجناس and the "species", انواع.

[89] "Metaphysics", *μετά τά φυσικά*, is also called by Aristotle "theology", *θεολογία*, and the "first philosophy", *πρώτη φιλοσοφία* (cf. Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 76, n. 1 and 2). All these terms are used in Arabic and Hebrew philosophic literature, as in the following passages:

three ways. First, he describes it as the science which deals with "something which is eternal and immovable and separable [from body]".[90] Second, he characterizes it as the science which deals with "being *qua* being—both what it is and the attributes which belong to it *qua* being".[91] Third, he very often speaks of metaphysics as including the principles of mathematics, logic and physics. He thus says that metaphysics must include "the truths which are in mathematics called axioms;"[92] it must deal with the logical methods of demonstration, for "the philosopher, who is studying the nature of all substance, must inquire also into the principles of syllogism;"[93] and it must also comprise the general principles of physics, such as the four causes and the like.[94] Of these three definitions Algazali reproduces the first,[95] Avicenna the second,[96] and Alfaribi restates the first[97] and the third.[97a].

Maimonides: *Millot ha-Higgayon*, Ch. XIV:
ויקראו גם את החכמה האלהית מה שאחר הטבע.

Algazali: *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 76:
الالهى والفلسفة الاولى, האלהית והפילוסופיא הראשונה

So also Judah ibn Bulat: הלמודים האלהיים and הפילוסופיאה הראשונה, (See *Uebersetzungen*, p. 30, n. 194).

Ibn Bulat uses also the expression החכמה הרבנית, ربّانية (See *Ibid*).

[90] *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 10–11. See also *De Anima* I, 1, 403b, 15–16.

[91] *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 31–32.

[92] *Ibid.*, IV, 3, 1005a, 20.

[93] *Ibid.*, 1005b, 5–8.

[94] *Ibid.*, I, 3, 983a, 24. cf. Grote: *Aristotle*, II, p. 135.

[95] See *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 78.

[96] See quotation above in n. 8.

[97] See T. J. De Boer: *Philosophy* (*Muslim*) in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX, p. 881: "The doctrine of the existent in general, together with its *accidents*". The word *accidents* is erroneously used here. The existent in general can have no accidents. The underlying Arabic word must have been something meaning *attributes*. Thus in the definition reproduced in Falaquera's *Reshit Hokmah* it is correctly stated והדברים אשר יקראו להם במה שהם נמצאים, i. e., "and the things which are predicated of them *qua* being" and not אשר יקרו להם, i. e., "which are accidental to them *qua* being". See quotation below in n. 102 and reference to Aristotle above n. 91.

[97a] See De Boer, *loc. cit.* and compare Averroes' classification in his *Epitome of the Metaphysics*.

In Jewish philosophy, too, these three definitions of metaphysics are restated in whole or in part. Thus in the *Cuzari* two of these definitions are given. The first is reproduced in the following words: "Things metaphysical, such as the knowledge of the principles of being *qua* being and the attributes which belong to it".[98] The third definition is reproduced later in the same passage as follows: "And the establishment of the principles of the speculative sciences, the mathematical and the physical as well as the logical, which cannot be attained except by this science [i. e., metaphysics]".[99] The first and third definitions are given by Maimonides. He says: "Theology is divided into two parts: First, it is an inquiry into every being that is not material nor a force inherent in a body. . . . The second part of theology is an inquiry into the underlying causes of everything included in the other sciences."[100] The first and third definitions may also be discerned in the vague poetic verses of Moses da Rieti, in the following passages: "Where the mind causes its cloud to rest over absolute being in general and its attributes. . . . And there the Philosopher has shed his light over the principles of demonstration and has spread his pavilion over the other sciences".[101] Abraham Shalom mentions only the

[98] *Cuzari* V, 12:

והצטיירות הדברים האלהיים וידיעת התחלת המציאה בסתם מצד שהיא מציאה והתלויים בה.–ותצור אלאמור אלאלאהיה ומערפה מבאדי אלנוד אלמטלק מן חית הו ונוד ולואחקה.

This definition is almost a verbal reproduction of Aristotle's passage referred to above in n. 91.

[99] Ibid.:

וקיום התחלות החכמות העיוניות מהמוסריות והטבעיות מן הדבריות אשר לא יניעו אליהם אלא בואת החכמה.–ואתבאת מבאדי אלעלום אלנטריה מן אלריאציה ואלטביעיה מן אלמנטקיה אלתי לא יתוצל אליהא אלא בהדא אלעלם.

[100] *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV:

והחכמה האלהית תחלק לשני חלקים, אחד מהם הוא העיון בכל נמצא שאינו גשם ולא כח בגשם, והוא הדבור במה שנתלה באל יתעלה שמו, ובמלאכים גם כן לפי דעתם, כי הם לא יסברו שהמלאכים נשמיים אבל יקראו אותם השכלים הנפרדים. והחלק השני בחכמת האלהית, העיון בסבות הרחוקות מאד מכל מה שיגללו עליו שאר החכמות האחרות [Ahitub: ולכל מה שכוללת אותן שאר החכמות האחרות] ויקראו גם כן את החכמה האלהית מה שאחר הטבע.

[101] *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3:

מקום השכל עננו ישרה
על הנמצא המשולח כולל

second but seems to imply that the first is included in it.[101a] All the three definitions are mentioned by Shem-tob Falaquera[102] and Caleb Afendopolo[102a] in their enumeration of the topics of metaphysics.

After the definition of metaphysics and a general description of the subject matter with which it deals there naturally follows an enumeration of the topics which are included under this science. We shall first give a tabulated list of topics mentioned by various authors and then we shall make a few general observations about them.

The Ihwan al-Safa enumerate five topics: (1) The Creator and His attributes, such as unity, existence, knowledge, providence and the like. (2) Spiritual beings (i. e., the Intelligences). (3) Soul. (4) Ethics in its various branches, including the Aristotelian subdivisions of practical philosophy and revealed law. (5) Eschatalogy.[103]

Algazali gives two lists of general concepts, as follows: (a) Unity, cause and effect, likeness and difference, being and privation.[104] (b) Substance and accident, whole and part, one and many, cause and effect, potential and actual, like and dif-

. . . . . וכשיניו.
. . . . . .
ושם הפלוסוף האיר נרו
על החחלות טופתים ונטה
על יחר החכמות שפרירו.

[101a] *Neveh Shalom* V, 7, f. 75a:
הסוג השלישי היא חכמת האלהות, והוא ידיעת הנמצא במה שהוא נמצא ותארו וכשיניו וחלקותיו, ונכנס בזה ידיעת השכלים הנבדלים וידיעת תארי האל ומציאותו.

[102] *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 53:
וזו החכמה נחלקת לשלשה חלקים, הראשון יחקור הדברים הנמצאים והדברים אשר יקראו להם במה שהם נמצאים. והשני יחקור בו ההחלות הטופתים בחכמות העיוניות הפרטיות... והשלישי יחקור הנמצאים אשר אינם בנופים [read: נופים] ולא בנופים.

One is not to be tempted to change in this passage ארש יקראו להם to אשר יקרו להם. See above n. 97.

[102a] See Steinschneider in *Monatsschrift* XL, pp. 93–94: "1. Die separaten (מופשטים) Intelligenzen, 2. Die Wesen in Allgemeinen, ohne Rücksichit auf ihre Körperlichkeit oder Unkörperlichkeit, 3. Principien (? ההחלות) der Beweise der besonderen speculativen Wissenschaften".

[103] See Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber*, pp. 15ff. Arabic text. *Idem: Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 251ff.

[104] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 76. See n. 117.

ferent, necessary and possible,[105] He ends both lists by saying "and the like".

Among the Jewish philosophers we have the following lists:

Israeli: Unity of God. Spiritual beings.[106]

Al-Mukammas: Unity of God. His laws and commandments.[107]

Bahya: God. His law. Intelligible forms, such as soul, intellect and the spiritual beings (i. e., Intelligences or angels).[108]

Judah ha-Levi: His list is divided into two parts, following his two definitions of metaphysics. Under the first definition, he enumerates the following concepts of being *qua* being: Potential and actual, beginning, cause, substance and accident, genus and species, the opposite and the same in species, likeness and difference, unity and plurality.[109] Under the second definition, he enumerates certain general principles belonging to the various other sciences, as follows: "Proof of the existence of the Prime Creator, the nature of the species [i. e., universals]. the relation of intellect [i. e., rational soul] to the Creator, the relation of the [animal] soul to the intellect, the relation of nature [i. e., vegetable soul] to the [animal] soul, the relation of matter and form to nature, the relation of the spheres, stars and other phenomena to matter and form, the wherefore of their being classified in this manner, the wherefore of their being arranged in this order of anteriority and posteriority, the knowledge of things human and divine, of universal nature, of divine providence."[110]

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 77–78. See n. 117.

[106] See above n. 17.

[107] See above n. 23 and 30.

[108] See above n. 31. For "Spiritual beings" Bahya uses the expression האישים הרוחניים; Isaac Israeli: הענינים הרוחניים; Maimonides: השכליים הנפרדים, המלאכים. In Al-Harizi's translation of Honain ben Isaac's *Musare ha-Pilusufim* I, 11, Philosophy, i. e., Metaphysics, is identified with האוחוה העליונים: חכמת הפילוסופייה והיא חכמת האותות העליונים. The expression on האוחוה העליונים usually means "meteorology." But the suggestion has been made to change it here to האישים העליונים (See Loewenthal: *Honein ibn Ishak, Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*, p. 69, n. 4).

[109] *Cuzari* V, 12. See n. 117.

[110] *Ibid.*
בקיום הבורא הראשון, והנפש הכללית, ואיכות המינים, ומדרגת השכל מהבורא, ומדרגת

Abraham Ibn Ezra: God, psychology, angels, eschatalogy.[111]

Joseph ben Isaac Kimhi: Unity of God. His laws and commandments.[111a]

Maimonides: Divine attributes, angels.[112]

Shem-tob Falaquera in his *Reshit Hokmah* and Afendopolo:[113] They both classify the topic of metaphysics into two groups. The first is presented by them as an analysis of Aristotles' *Metaphysics* and contains the following topics: Being *qua* being, principles of the other sciences and a refutation of the false theories of the ancients, God, the Intelligences, the universe in its relation to God. The second group, called by both of them "branches", contains the following: Prophecy, eschatalogy. Afendopolo adds also soul. In his *De'ot ha-Pilusufim* Falaquera deals only with the Active Intellect.[113a]

Gershon ben Solomon of Arles: Psychology.[114]

Moses da Rieti: Like Judah ha-Levi he arranges the topics of metaphysics under its two definitions which he has reproduced. Under the first definition he enumerates the following: Substance and accident, cause and effect, whole and part (or universal and particular), one and many, potential and actual, prior and posterior, finite and its opposite, necessary and possible.[115] Under the second definition he enumerates the following topics: The immaterial Intelligences, God, His attributes, refutation of erroneous views.

הנפש מהשכל, ומדרגת הטבע מהנפש, ומדרגת ההיולי והצורה מהטבע, ומדרגת הגלגלים והכוכבים וההויות מההיולי והצורה, ולמה הוטבעו על המחלוקת הזאת, והקדימה והאיחור, ידיעת האנושות והאלהות והטבע הכללי והשנחה הראשונה.

[111] See *Yesod Mora* I.

[111a] See quotation above in n. 55a.

[112] See quotation above in n. 100.

[113] *Monatsschrift* XL, pp. 93–94.

[113a] See above n. 65.

[114] See above n. 66.

[115] *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3:

. . . . בעצם ומקרה,
וכמו עלה או אשר יעלל,
כולל וחלקיי, אחד ורב.
ובכח ובפעל שם יתגולל.

קודם ומתאחר בם יעורב
והבעל תכלית יסותרו,
ומחוייב ואפשר אחר נקרב.

Abraham Shalom: Essence and attributes of God, angels, sublunar world, soul, prophecy, eschatalogy.[116]

These topics, as will have been noticed, may be grouped together under the various definitions of metaphysics reproduced above from Aristotle. Some of them are an enumeration of immaterial beings and their attributes, others are general concepts of being *qua* being, still others are principles common to the other sciences.

In Algazali's lists all the topics, sixteen in number, are to be found in the list of terms defined by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* V. Of the fourteen terms given by Judah ha-Levi in the first part of his list, nine are the same as those given by Algazali and the remaining five are to be found in *Metaphysics* V.[117] Thus both lists are based upon *Metaphysics* V.

Similarly, of the sixteen terms enumerated by Moses da Rieti twelve are found in Algazali and Judah ha-Levi and thus go back to the same Aristotelian source. The remaining four are also found in Aristotle, and two of these, *prior* and *posterior*, in *Metaphysics* V (ch. II).

In Israeli and Al-Mukammas there occurs the expression "unity of God" which is to be taken in the general sense of

[116] See quotation above in n. 101a.

[117] The fourteen terms mentioned by Judah ha-Levi are as follows: 1. בכח, באלקוה; 2. בפעל, אלפעל; 3. ההתחלה, אלמבדא; 4. העלה, אלעלה; 5. העצם, אלנוהר; 6. המקרה, אלערץ; 7. הסוג, אלגנס; 8. המין, אלנוע; 9. ההפך, אלמצאדה; 10. הדומה, אלמגאנסה; 11. ההסכמה, אלאתפאק; 12. החלוף, אלאכתלאף; 13. האחדות, אלוחדיה; 14. הרבוי, אלכתרה.

The seven additional terms mentioned by Algazali are as follows: 15. מחוייב, واجبا. 16. אפשר, ممكنا. 17. עלול, معلولا. 18. כולל, كليا. 19. חלקי, جزئيا. 20. המציאות, الوجود. 21. ההעדר, العدم.

The corresponding Greek terms in *Metaphysics* V are as follows:

1. Ch. 12: *δύναμις*. 3. Ch. 1: *ἀρχή*. 4. Ch. 2: *αἴτον*. 5. Ch. 8: *οὐσία*. 6. Ch. 30: *συμβεβηκός*. 7. Ch. 28: *γένος*. 9. Ch. 10: *ἀντικείμενον*. 10. Ch. 10: *ταὐτά τῷ εἴδει*. 11. Ch. 9: *ὅμοια*. 12. Ch. 9: *διἀφορα*. 13. Ch. 6: *ἕν*. 14. Ch. 6: *πολλά*. 15. Ch. 5: *ἀναγκαῖον*. 16. Ch. 12: *δύναμις*. 18. Ch. 26: *ὅλον*. 19. Ch. 25: *μέρος*. 20. Ch. 7: *τὸ ὄν*. 21. Ch. 22: *στέρησις*.

Only 2, 8 and 17 are not given in the *Metaphysics*. But they are all implied in their antithetical terms.

divine nature or divine attributes as used by Maimonides and others, for the unity of God is the foundation of all discussions of divine nature and attributes. The use of the expression "unity of God" shows the influence of the Motazilite school one of whose chief dogmas was the principle of the absolute unity of God on which account they were called the partisans of unity. Saadia, too, deals with the problem of attributes in a chapter bearing the title of the unity of God.

In some of these lists (Ihwan al-Safa, Judah ha-Levi, Ibn Ezra, Shem-tob Falaquera, Caleb Afendopolo) certain phases of psychology, especially of the higher faculties of the soul, or human psychology *par excellence*, are included in metaphysics. In Aristotle, psychology is part of physics, and so it is also treated by Avicenna and Algazali. The reason for the inclusion of the treatment of the higher faculties of the soul in metaphysics, or rather theology, is probably due to the close relation of the subject to the problems of religion. Gershon ben Solomon, however, includes the entire subject of pyschology under metaphysics.

The inclusion of ethics under theology, noticeable in the Ihwan al-Safa, Al-Mukammas and Bahya, is probably due to the fact that in ethics the works of the pagan authors were supplemented, and sometimes supplanted, by the revealed writings of religion, and religious subjects as a whole, irrespective of their subject matter, were included under theology or metaphysics. It is for this reason, probably, that in some of these classifications the original distinction between theoretical and practical philosophy is not mentioned. Maimonides, who retains the main division of philosophy into theoretical and practical, includes under the latter, as we shall attempt to show, religious legislation as a special branch of practical philosophy in addition to three Aristotelian branches.[118] Thus also Ibn Daud openly appropriates the expression "practical philosophy"

[118] See *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV:

ולפילוסופים בכל אלו הדברים ספרים הרבה שכבר יצאו בלשון הערב ואולי לא יצאו יותר מהם וכבר הועתקו אל הערבי ושמא אותם שלא הועתקו יותר רבים :Ahitub]
והנה איננו צריכים באלו הזמנים אל כל זה, ר׳ל החקים הדתות והנמוסים והנהגת האנשים בעניני אלהיים.

and uses it as a designation for certain principles of religious belief and conduct. He says: "Similarly in the second part we shall explain the origin of evil, which we absolutely deny to proceed directly from God, and we shall explain the nature of prophecy and the different kinds thereof, and what are the attendant conditions of a prophet whom we are under obligation to obey, and we shall also explain what is meant by reward and punishment. This is the method which we intend to follow. The subject matter of this sort of inquiry is obviously of the kind known as practical philosophy, for the same subject which in religion is only a matter of revelation is in true philosophy demonstrated by proof".[119] It is for this reason that purely religious precepts which constitutes religious ethics take the place of Aristotle's practical philosophy and are included under theology.

The inclusion of eschatalogical subjects under theology by Abraham Ibn Ezra[120] and Caleb Afendopolo[121] has its parallel in the Ihwan al-Safa.[122] Algazali includes it under physics together with psychology.

Physics is defined by Aristotle as the science which "deals with things which are inseparable from bodies but not immovable",[123] or as he says in another place, "the physicist deals with all the active properties or passive affections belonging to a body of a given sort and the corresponding matter".[124] This definition runs throughout Arabic and Jewish philosophy. Algazali says it deals with "the bodies of the world in so far as they fall under motion, rest and change".[125] Bahya defines it as "the science

[119] See *Emunah Ramah*, General introduction, p. 4:
וגם כן נבאר במאמר השני מקורי הרעות, אשר נכחיש המשכם מהאל יתּ בחכלית ההכחשה, ונבאר הנבואה ומיניה, וחנאי הנביא אשר אנחנו מחויבים לשמוע אליו, ונבאר ענין הגמול והעונש. זה אופן הדרך אשר ניחל ללכת בו. אמנם נושא העיון הזה הנה מבואר שהוא פילוסופיא מעשית, מצד היותה בדת מקובלת ובפילוסופיא האמתית מבוארת במופת.

[120] See *Yesod Mora* I.

[121] See *Monatsschrift*, XL, p. 94.

[122] See Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber*, p. 17; Arabic text, *Idem*: *Die Abhandlungen der 'Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 253.

[123] *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 13–14.

[124] *De Anima* I, 1, 403b, 10–12.

[125] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 78.

of the natures of bodies and their accidents".[126] It also underlies the vague statement of Al-Mukammas when he says that it is "the science which investigates the bodies of things and the secrets of their nature".[127] Maimonides narrows down this definition by distinguishing, again after Aristotle,[128] between works of nature and works of art. He says: "The science of physics inquires into bodies which exist by nature and not by the will of man—such as the various species of minerals, plants and animals. The science of physics thus deals with all these bodies and with everything belonging to them, i. e., their accidents, properties and causes, and also with everything under which they fall, as time, space and motion".[129]

In enumerating the topics of physics two methods are used. The first of these is a classification of the physical writings of Aristotle, and this is done in two ways.

Sometimes the physical writings of Aristotle are referred to by their titles. Thus we find it in Judah ibn Matkah,[130] Shem-tob Falaquera, Abraham Shalom,[131] Caleb Afendopolo,[132] and Judah ibn Bulat.[133] They mention among them the following works of Aristotle, which are sometimes spoken of as the eight books of Aristotle's physical writings:[133a] (1) *Physics*, (2) *De Caelo et Mundo*, (3) *De Generatione et Corruptione*, (4) *Meteorologica*, (5) *De Anima*, with which are sometimes coupled some of the works of *Parva Naturalia*, such as *De Sensu et*

[126] See quotaion above in n. 31.

[127] See quotation above in n. 30.

[128] *Metaphysics* VII, 7; XII, 3.

[129] *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV:

והחכמה הטבעית תעין בגשמים הנמצאים בטבע לא ברצון האדם כמיני המקורים והמחצבים ומיני הצמחים ופיני בעלי חיים. הנה החכמה הטבעית תעין בכל אלו ובכל מה שימצא בהם, ר'ל בטקריהם כלם וסגלותיהם וסבותם, ובכל מה שימצאו הם בו [Ahitub: בהכרך] כזמן והמקום והתנועה.

See also *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 48ff.

[130] See above n. 64.

[131] See above n. 63.

[132] See above n. 67.

[133] See above n. 69.

[133a] Cf. *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 51:

והספרים המחוברים בשרשים [=בחכמת הטבע] הם שמונה במספר החלקים, וצריך שנזכיר כל אחד מהם בשמו כמו שעשינו בחכמת ההגיון.

Sensibili, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, *De Somno*, *De Somniis*, *De Longitudine et Brevitate Vitae*, (6) *Historia Animalium*, and two spurious works, (7) *De Plantis* and (8) *De Mineralibus*.

Sometimes the physical writings of Aristotle, instead of being mentioned by their titles, are referred to by some description of their contents. Thus Judah ha-Levi describes eight of Aristotle's physical writings as follows: "The explanation of physical notions, as matter, form, privation, nature, time, space, motion (*Physics*); spherical and elementary substances (*De Caelo*); absolute generation and corruption (*De Generatione et Corruptione*); generated phenomena, as the phenomena generated in the air (*Meteorologica*), in minerals (*De Mineralibus*) and on the terrestial globe, as plants (*De Plantis*) and animals (*Historia Animalium*); the essence of man and how the soul knows itself (*De Anima*)"[134] The Ihwan al-Safa enumerate only seven of these works, leaving out *De Anima*, which they include under theology, but describing the *Physics* almost like Judah ha-Levi as the science of the principles of things, matter, form, time, space, motion.[135] The topics mentioned in Maimonides' definition of physics quoted above may similarly be taken to refer to some of the writings of Aristotle.

The second method consists in giving an independent list of topics not based upon Aristotle's writings. Thus Alfarabi enumerates the following eight sciences: *scientia de indiciis* (prognostication), *de medicina*, *de nigromantia*, *de imaginibus*, *de agritultura*, *de navigando*, *de alkimia*, *de speculis*.[136] Similar topics are included in the incompleted list given by Algazali, as follows: (1) medicine, (2) talismanics, (3) conjury, (4) magic.[137]

[134] *Cuzari* V, 12:
ובהתבונן אמיתת הענינים הטבעיים, בהיולי והצורה, וההעדר, והטבע, והזמן, והמקום, התנועה, והנרמים הגלגליים, והנרמים היסודיים, וההויה וההפסד המוחלטים, וההויות הנולדות ההוות באויר, וההוות במוצאים, וההוות על כדור הארץ מצמח, וחי, ואמתת האדם, ואמתת הצטיירות הנפש את נפשה.

See commentary *Kol Yehudah*, *ad loc.*, followed by Cassel, *ad loc.*

[135] Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber*, p. 13; Arabic text, *Idem: Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 249.

[136] Baeumker: *Alfarabi, Ueber den Ursprung der Wissenschaften* (*De Ortu Scientiarum*), pp. 20 and 12.

[137] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 78: (1) الطب, הרפואה, (2) الطلسمات, הטלסמאות, (*τέλεσμα*), (3) النارنجات, אחיזת העינים, (4) السحر, הכשוף.

It is interesting to note that these sorts of practical and magical sciences are mentioned by the Ihwan al-Safa in the class of sciences which they describe as preparatory,[138] and that *de speculis* in Alfarabi's list is usually placed under the mathematical arts.

Sometimes these two methods are combined. Thus Shemtob Falaquera,[138a] Moses da Rieti[138b] and Caleb Afendopolo,[138c] after naming the eight works of Aristotle's physical writings, proceed to enumerate the branches (Falaquera and Rieti: ענפים, Afendopolo: סעיפים) of natural science, which branches, remarks Falaquera, are not always mentioned by authors in their classifications of sciences.[139] The branches these three authors mention are on the whole like those given by Alfarabi and Algazali. They all mention medicine, physiognomics, oneirocritics, and alchemy. Rieti has also magic and conjury. Falaquera and Afendopolo include among these also astrology which is given by Rieti and others, and again by Falaquera and Afendopolo themselves, under astronomy. Talismanics, which is omitted here by Rieti, is mentioned by him under the mathematical arts.[140]

As we have already seen, physics is identified with the,

[138] Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie den Araber*, p. 10; Arabic text *Idem: Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 246.

[138a] *Reshit Hokmah*, pp. 48–53

[138b] *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3.

[138c] Cf. Steinschneider in *Monatsschrift* XL, 91–92.

[139] *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 53:

ואלו הענפים לא זכרום מקצת הפילוסופים בזכרם מספר החכמות, ואני כדי שיהיה הספר שלם זכרתים.

These branches are also mentioned by Solomon Almoli in his list which includes physics, medicine, magic, talismanics and alchemy (See above note 70).

[140] The following are the Hebrew terms used by Falaquera, Rieti and Afendopolo for some of the physical sciences they mention:
Physiognomics, F: חכמת ההכרה. R: הכרת הפרצוף. A: חכמת הפרצוף.
Oneirocritics, F and A: חכמת הפתרון. R: פתרון החלומות.
Alchemy, F: אלכימיאה (or קמייא, כמיאא). R: חכמת הצריפה.
Conjury, R: אוחזי העינים (see below n. 137).
Talismanics: F.: חכמת הצלמים. A: חכמת התרפים והצלמים (See below n. 155d).

science of medicine by Isaac Israeli.[141] A formal division of medicine into hygienics and therapeutics is given by Abba Mari don Astruc.[142] A sevenfold division of medicine is given by Rieti, as follows: Anatomy, pathology, diagnostics, pharmacology, dietetics, hygienics and therapeutics.[142a]

Al-Mukammas places under physics the science of the structure of heaven and earth and the other creatures,[143] which, of course, includes almost everything under the sun.

Unlike both physics and metaphysics with regard to the subject matter of which it treats, but standing midway between these two sciences, is mathematics. Aristotles describes it as a science which, in so far as its subject matter is concerned, partakes both of physics and metaphysics. "The attributes which, though inseparable, are not regarded as properties of a body of a given sort, but are reached by abstraction, fall under the province of the mathematician".[144] In another place he seems to suggest that some branches of mathematics are more like physics, with regard to their subject matter, while others are more like metaphysics. He says: "Mathematics also is theoretical; but whether its subjects are immovable and separable from matter, is not at present clear; it is clear, however, that it considers some mathematical objects *qua* immovable and *qua* separable from matter".[145] It is evidently upon the basis of this passage of Aristotle that Avicenna arranges the

[141] See above n. 17.
[142] See above n. 61.
[142a] *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3

ולה ענף חכמת הרפואה,
אשר תועלותיה ספורים,
ושבעה דרכים למוצאה:

ידיעת נתוח האברים,
הבריאות ומחלות הנופים,
והאותות אשר בהם נכרים,

וסמים ומזונות מחחלפות,
ושמירת בריאות נמשך רצוף,
והסרת החולי בתרופות.

[143] See above n. 30
[144] *De Anima* I, 1, 403d, 12–15.
[145] *Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 7–10.

seven branches of mathematics in order of their growing dependence upon matter, beginning with (1) arithmetic, which he takes to stand nearest to metaphysics, and following it with (2) geometry, (3) music, (4) the theory of weight, (5) the theory of measure, (6) the theory of perspective, and (7) astronomy, the last of which he takes to be nearest to physics.[146] Aristotle's definition is given also by Algazali.[147] In Maimonides it is reproduced as follows: "The science of mathematics does not investigate bodies *qua* bodies, but investigates the attributes abstracted from bodies".[148] Similar definitions are given by other Jewish authors.

The topics of mathematics are seven according to Avicenna, as already mentioned. Alfarabi[149] gives a similar list, but he counts the theories of measure and weight as one and adds technique. Of these topics the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy constitutes the "roots", اصول, שרשים, of mathematics whereas the others are called the "branches", فروع, סעיפים. Thus Algazali[150] and, following him, Afendopolo[151] use these terms of differentiation. Similarly Maimonides designates the quadrivium by the term "roots"[152] (Ibn Tibbon: שרשים, Ahitub: עיקרים) and Moses da Rieti applies the term "branches" ענפים, to the other mathematical topics.

In the enumeration of the topics of mathematics, some authors mention only the quadrivium (Ihwan al-Safa, Israeli, Bahya, Maimonides, Zerahiah Gracian), others mention only part of the quadrivium (Al-Mukammas, Gershon ben Solomon of Arles, Abba Mari Don Astruc, Abraham Shalom), still others mention part of the quadrivium and some "branches" (Joseph Solomon Delmedigo), but there are some who mention not only

[146] See above n. 8.

[147] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 77.

[148] *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV.
אמנם החכמה הלמודית לא תעיין בגשמים במה שהם עליו, אבל תעין בענינים משללים מהגשמים [Ahitub: מופשטים] מחמריהם.

[149] See Hastings' *Enc. of Relig. and Eth.*, IX, p. 881.

[150] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 78.

[151] See above n. 67. But Caleb Afendopolo uses also שרשית in the general sense of mathematics: חכמה הרגלית או למודית ותקרא גם כן שרשית. *loc. cit*

[152] *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV.

the quadrivium and the "branches" but many of the subdivisions of the latter (Falaquera, Rieti, Afendopolo).

The list given by Judah ha-Levi presents some difficulty. The published text of the Hebrew translation would seem to offer arithmetic, mechanical measurement, astronomical measurement, musical measurement and optical measurement.[153] The Arabic original,[154] however, and the Oxford text of the Hebrew translation read here arithmetic, musical measurement and optical measurement.

The classifications of the mathematical sciences given by Falaquera in his *Reshit Hokmah* and by Moses da Rieti show a striking similarity.[154a] The former follows Alfarabi in enumerating the quadrivium and the theory of weight, the theory of perspective and technique.[155] The latter omits perspective

[153] *Cuzari* V. 12.
והצטיירות הדברים המוסריים מהמנינים, והשעורים המלאכיים, והשעורים הכוכביים, והשעורים הנגוניים, והשעורים המראיים.

[154] *Cuzari loc. cit.*
ותצור אלאמור אלריאציה מן אלעדדיה ואלהנדסיה אללחניה ואלהנדסיה אלמנאטריה.

[154a] There is also a close similarity between the classifications of these two and that of Afendopolo.

[155] The following are the Hebrew equivalents for these seven mathematical sciences:

Arithmetic. 1. חכמת החשבון. 2. ח' המניין. 3. ח' המספר.

Geometry. 1. תשבורת. 2. ח' הכדות. 3. גיוטטריה. 4. ח' השעורים. 5. הנדסה. 6. ח' המדה והמשקל (See n. 21 Text probably corrupt), 7. ח' הטפחות (See n. 33f). 8. תכונה (See below under Astronomy).

But שעורים and the Arabic هندسة are also used in the general sense of measurement in connection with (mechanics, astronomy), music and aspects. See *Cuzari* V, 12, quoted in n. 153 and 154.

Etymologically, תשברת would seem to be connected with the Arabic root شبر, *to measure by the span.*

The commentary *Kol Yehudah* on *Cuzari*, *loc. cit.*, takes תשבורת in the sense of *arithmetic*: ועל התשבורת אמר והצטיירות הדברים המוסריים מהמניינים. Steinschneider takes תשבורת in the sense of Algebra (*Jüdische Literatur* in Enoch und Gruber, p. 435).

Astronomy, 1. ח' הכוכבים, علم النجوم (See above n. 31). 2. ח' הגלגל, علم الفلك (See above n. 35, 38). 3. ח' המזלות (See above p. 278). 4. ח' התכונה, علم الهيئة, an abridged form of תכונת העולם, هيئة العالم (*Makasid al-Falasifah*

though he mentions it, as does again Falaquera, in enumerating the topics of technique. Both divide each of the quadrivium, with the exception of astronomy, into theoretical, עיוני, and practical, מעשי, which reminds us of the Ihwan al-Safa and Al-Mukammas. Astronomy is subdivided by Falaquera into

II, p. 78, Cf. Steinschneider: *Uebersetzungen* p. 998), i. e., *the disposition or arrangement of the world* (תכונה = هيئة = *διάθεσις*, See below n. 179. 5. ידיעת צורת הגלגלים (See above n. 63).

According to Samuel ibn Tibbon, תכונה is a general term including astronomy as well as astrology. See *Pirush Meha-Millot Zorot* under חכמת למודים: התכונה הכוללת תכונת הגלגלים והכוכבים ומשפטי הכוכבים.

In Al-Harizi's translation of Honain ben Isaac's *Musare ha-Pilusufim* I, 11, there is the following passage:

אהרי כן בשנה רביעית לחכמת החשבון. אחרי כן בשנה החמישית לחכמת התכונה והמדות. אחרי כן בשנה ששית לחכמת הככבים. . . . . אחרי כן בשנה שמינית לחכמת המוסיקא היא חכמת הנגון.

It is clear that the passage enumerates the quadrivium. The term תכונה, coupled here with מדה, could not evidently mean astronomy, for the latter is mentioned in חכמת הככבים, unless we take תכונה in the specific sense of astronomy and חכמת הככבים in the sense of astrology, which, however, does not seem probable. If תכונה here is synonymous with מדה in the sense of "measurement" and hence "geometry", then it must etymologically differ from תכונה which is used for astronomy. We may thus conclude that the term תכונה has two roots:

(1) The Biblical תכונה from כון, *arrange* which, as a translation of the Arabic هيئة, *arrangement, disposition*, is used for astronomy as well as in the expression תכונת הנפש, *disposition of the soul.*

(2) The same word from תכן, *measure*, like the Biblical תכן, תכנית and מתכנת, used here by Al-Harizi as synonymous with מדה (also שעור, תשבורת) in the sense of *measurement* and hence *geometry.*

As a derivative of כון and the equivalent of هيئة the term תכונה has all the meanings of هيئة. It thus also means "exterior", "appearance", "form". Consequently, Samuel ibn Tibbon translates the Arabic אלשכל, "form", "shape", "figure" (*Moreh Nebukim* II, Prop. 22) by התכונה, which Efodi (*ad loc.*) and Crescas (*Or Adonai* I, i, 22) explain by התמונה Al-Harizi translates it by התבנית.

Again, תכונה in its Biblical sense of "fixed place" is made use of by Al-Harizi when he translates the Arabic אוצע, "position" (*Moreh Nebukim, loc. cit.*) by התכונה המיוסדת. Samuel ibn Tibbon translates it by הנחה which is the equivalent of מצב (Cf. *Or Adonai, loc. cit.*).

Music. 1. ח' הנגון or הנגינות. 2. ח' הלחנים (لحون). 3. ח' החבור (See n. 17), i. e., *composition*, as explained in *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV by

mathematical astronomy, חכמת הכוכבים הלמודית, and astrology. Rieti, too, has this classification but adds a third part, the art of calendar making, which he characterizes as a particularly Jewish art. Rieti uses the following terms in designating these three parts of astronomy: (1) חכמת החזיון, *the science of observation*, i. e., what Falaquera calls "mathematical astronomy". (2) חכמת הנסיון,[155a] *divination* and hence *astrology*. (3) סוד, העבור, *the secret of intercalation*. Both state that it is only the first which properly belongs to mathematics.[155b] Finally, under *technique* Falaquera includes many branches relating to all the mathematical sciences as well as to the various practical

חכמת חבור הנגונים. But why not the Arabic حبر, *music and dance*? As for חבור in the sense of *astronomy*, See above n. 33f. 4. המוצקי, אלמוסיקה המוסיקא (See n. 17), המוציקא (See n. 72). 5. (لحون) חכמת הקולות (See n. 33f). 6. חכמת העוגבים (See n. 33f).

Theory of perspective, 1. חכמת המראות or המראים or הראיה (See n. 62). 2. ההבטות or ח' המבטים (Cf. Steinschneider, *Uebersetzubng*, pp. 511–512).

Theory of weight, 1. חכמת הכבדים. 2. ח' המשקולת. (But see *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 47, where the latter is made a branch of the former).

Technique, תחבולות (=حيل). See *Monatsschrift*, XL, p. 93, n. 1.

[155a]. Afendopolo, too, uses חכמת הנסיון for astrology. See *Monatsschrift*, XL, p. 93.

The division of astronomy, חכמת הכוכבים, into חזיון and מלאכת הנסיון is also found in Abraham bar Hiyya's *Zurat ha-Arez*, *Introduction*.

As for the etymology of נסיון, Steinschneider seems to take it from the ordinary meaning of נסה, *try*, and translates it by *Erfahrungskunst*. (*Jüdische Literatur* in Ersch und Gruber, p. 435). But it is hard to see why astrology should have been considered as an art based upon experience. It seems to me, therefore, that נסיון should be taken in the sense of ניחוש, *divination*. Thus in Genesis 30, 27, נחשתי is rendered in the Onkelos Targum by נסיתי. Rashi comments upon it: נסיתי בניחוש שלי, and Ibn Ezra says explicitly: נחשתי כמו נסיתי. Thus when Abraham bar Hiyya says of astrology מפני שראיותיה אינם ראיות נכונות וכולם באות מן הסברות לה והנסיונות the term נסיונות is not to be taken to mean "experiences" but rather "conjectures".

[155b] Falaquera: וההלק השני חכמת הכוכבים הלמודים, וזו היא הנמנית בחכמות הלמודיות.

Rieti: ותקרא חכמת החזיון, וזאת אשר בחכמות תתרפק.

Rieti's statement, however, is more reminiscent of Abraham bar Hiyya's characterization of חזיון:

והחלק הזה הוא הנמנה בכל חכמת המדע ומלאכת ההשכל, וכל ראיותיו וטענותיו ישרות ונאמנות שאין בהם שום ספיקא.

arts and crafts. Among those relating to arithmetic and geometry he mentions algebra and the theory of equations.[155c] He also mentions the art of making metrical, astronomical, musical and optical instruments. He also refers to the making of arms and to architecture, sculpture and painting. Rieti gives a similar list but adds talismanics. This is rather strange, for talismanics is usually placed under physics. An explanation for this, however, may be found, if we assume that Rieti was dependent upon the *Reshit Hokmah*, though he does not mention Falaquera among the authors whom he says he has followed in his classification of sciences. Falaquera speaks of a special branch of *technique* which is the working in גופות וצורות. From the context it is clear that the reference is to sculpture, architecture and painting. He furthermore describes this branch of *technique* as a social art, מלאכה מדינית. Now, the terms צורות and צלמים are often used as the Hebrew equivalents for טלסמאות.[155d] Furthermore in another place Falaquera speaks of astrology (and by the same token of the art of forecasting in general) as a social science, חכמה מדינית (p. 52). It is thus easy to see how Rieti could have taken the following passage of the *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 48:

חכמות תחבולות, והן התחלות המלאכה המדינית המעשית, אשר מלאכתה בגופות והצורות כמו מלאכת הבנין, והדומה לזה.

[155c] *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 47:
ומהם ההתחבולות החשבוניות על פנים רבים, מהם החכמה הנקראת בלשון הערב אל גבר ואלמקבלה (الجبر والمقابلة) ומה שדומה לה, ואעפ"י שזו החכמה משותפת לחשבון ולתשבורת.

The same Arabic terms are also used by Afendopolo (*Monatsschrift*, XL, p. 93). Similarly in Judah ben Barzilai's *Pirush Sefer Yezirah*, p. 144, the Arabic term for algebra is reproduced without an attempt to translate it into Hebrew.

וכבר דברתי אליהן דבר ארוך בספר אשר כתבתי בחשבונם הנקרא חסאב אלגבאר.

But in *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 78, the Arabic الجبر is translated by the Hebrew חכמת התחבולה. The term תחבולה, as we have seen (n. 155), specifically means *technique* of which Algebra is a subdivision.

[155d] Thus Maimonides *Pirush ha-Mishnah*, *Pesahim* IV: וזו הצורה נקראת בלשון יון טלס'ם. Thus also Samuel ibn Tibbon explains טלסמאות by צורות מדברות (*Moreh Nebukim* I, 63 and cf. Friedlander, *ad loc.*). Afendopolo uses for it the terms התרפים והצלמים (*Monatsschrift* XL, p. 92).

to refer to talismanics and thus paraphrase it by:

ותחבולות נעלמות באות
עם טבע מה וכוח ככבים
בצלמים גם הטלסמאות.

That logic is not to be included among the sciences but is only an instrument of science is dwelt upon by Maimonides, Judah ibn Matkah, Zerahiah Gracian, Moses da Rieti[156] and others. Though Aristotle himself never explicitely designates logic as an organon or instrument,[157] the term is applied to it by Andronicus (early first century B. C.) and Alexander of Aphrodisias (c. 200 A. D.) and is the title by which Aristotle's logical writings have been collectively known. The topics enumerated under logic are usually based upon an enumeration of Aristotle's logical writings which Maimonides says to be eight in number, and gives their titles.[158] The eight books are also named by Alfarabi,[159] Judah ibn Matkah,[160] Falaquera,[160a] Rieti,[160b] and Judah ibn Bulat.[161] All of these authors mention the six books of the Organon: *Categoriae*, *De Interpretatione*. *Analytica Priora*, *Analytica Posteriora*, *Topica*, and *De Sophisticiis Elenchis*, supplemented by the *Rhetorica* and the *Poetica*. Judah ha Levi, here again, instead of naming these eight books

[156] *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV.:

אמרו מדרגת מלאכת ההגיון מן השכל כמדרגת מלאכת הדקדוק מן הלשון.
ואולם מלאכת ההגיון, הנה אינה אצלם מכלל החכמות, אבל היא כלי לחכמה, אמרו שלא יכשר ללמוד או ללמד על חדר [סדר :Ahitub] כי אם במלאכת ההגיון, כי היא הכלי לכל דבר ולא מן הדבר.

Serahiah Gracian: Commentary on Proverbs IX, 3:

שלחה נערותיה תקרא על גפי מרמי קרת. זה רמז להקדמות הצריכות לדעת תחלה בחכמות, כמלאכת ההגיון בחכמת הטבע ובאלוהות.

Moses da Rieti: *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3:

ושני כלים להם אתה בוחר, דקדוק הלשון גם ההגיון, כי הם לכל כאניות סוחר.

Judah ibn Matkah: See Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, § 1.

[157] See Grote: *Aristotle* I, p. 78, n. a; Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 187; Ueberweg-Praechter: *Geschichte der Philosophie des Altertums*, p. 519.

[158] *Millot ha-Higgayon* X and XIV.

[159] Hastings' *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.* IX, p. 880.

[160] See above n. 64.

[160a] *Reshit Hokmah*, p. 37ff

[160b] *Mikdash Me'at* I, 3.

[161] See above n. 69.

by title, refers to them and also to Porphyry's *Isagoge* by describing their contents, as follows: "Logical truths, as general, species, differences and properties (*Isagoge*); the words (i. e., the ten Categories) both simple (*Categoriae*) and combined in the various ways of combination (*De Interpretatione*); syllogims both true and false (*Analytica Priora*); judgments giving rise to conclusions which are necessary and demonstrative (*Analytica Posteriora*) or only dialectical (*Topica*) or rhetorical (*Rhetorica*) or sophistical (*De Soph. Elench.*) or poetical (*Poetica*)."[162]

In all these lists of logical topics, it will have been noticed, the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* are included under logic. This is significant. Aristotle himself considered rhetoric as a branch of dialectics and politics.[163] How he would have classified the *Poetics* is unknown. Probably he would have put it under his productive sciences.[164] The Ihwan al-Safa place poetics among the introductory disciplines, together with reading, writing and grammar,[165] and rhetoric is made by them a part of logic.[166]

We have already pointed out that Aristotle's practical philosophy is often identified with religious law and is thus treated as a part of theology. Still in many formal classifications it is given a place by itself as the counterpart of theoretical philosophy. Whatever we have to say on this subject we shall give here in the form of a running commentary on a passage taken from Maimonides' *Millot ha-Higgayon* XIV. The vague meaning of the passage is clear enough. But we shall try to

[162] *Cuzari* V, 12:
האמתות הדבריות, כמו הסוגים [אלאגנאס] והמינים [אלאנואע] והחלקים [אלפצול] והמדות המיוחדות [אלכואץ] והמלות [אלאלפאט] הנפרדות והמורכבות בדרכים הנחלקים מההרכבות, וההקשות המחוברות האמתיות והכוזביות, והמזרות המולידות תולדות הכרחיות מופתיות או נצחויות או הלציות או הטעיות או שיריות.

See commentary *Kol Yehudah*, *ad loc.*, followed by Cassel, *ad loc.*

Exactly the same description of the first five of these books is given by the Ihwan al-Safa. See Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber*, pp. 12–13; Arabic text, *Idem*: *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwan Es-Safa*, pp. 248–249. See also *Millot ha-Higgayon*, ch. X.

[163] See Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 185

[164] See *Ibid.*; Ueberweg-Praechter, *op. cit.* p. 281.

[165] Dieterici: *Die Logik und Psychologie der Araber*, p. 10; Arabic text, *Idem*: *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 246.

[166] *Ibid.*, p. 11; Arabic text *Ibid.*, p. 245.

determine the precise meaning of its terms, to make a translation of parts of the text and to account for the allusions it contains.

What is generally called practical philosophy, המעשית (Ahitub: המלאכותית), says Maimonides, is also known as "human philosophy", פילוסופיא אנושית, and "political science," החכמה המדינית. Both these additional designations may be found in Aristotle. The expression "political science", *πολιτική*, is sometimes used by him in a general sense and is made to include the science of individual conduct as well as of the state and of the management of a household.[167] Then also Aristotle uses the expression *ἀνθρώπινα φιλοσοφία*, i. e., "the science of human nature", to designate politics in its widest sense.[168]

Practical philosophy is divided by Maimonides into four parts instead of the three of Aristotelian tradition.

The first is ethics which is described as "man's governance of himself", הנהגת האדם נפשו. The term הנהגה (as well as its equivalent נהילה),[169] which may be translated by "management" or "government" reflects the Arabic تدبير or سياسة.[170] All of these terms may be traced to the Greek *νομία* which occurs in *οἰκονομία*. In Arabic and Hebrew, however, the term is also used in connection with ethics and politics and very often by itself as the equivalent of practical philosophy. Thus the Ihwan al-Safa designate practical science by علم السياسة. The expression "of himself" (נפשו) which occurs in Maimonides' definition of ethics, and which is also used by many other authors, may be traced to Aristotle, who, in contrasting ethics with economics and politics, speaks of it as "knowledge for one's self", *τὸ αὑτῷ εἰδέναι*.[171]

Maimonides' description of ethics which follows is a brief but careful summary of Aristotle's theory of virtue, *ἀρετή*. Virtue,

[167] See Zeller: *Aristotle* I, p. 186, n. 4; p. 187, n. 1.

[168] *Ethics* X, 10, 1181b, 15.

[169] See quotation above in n. 33f. From passages quoted by Steinschneder it would seem that the term תקון is also used as the equivalent of הנהגה. See *Uebersetzungen*, p. 209, n. 734b.

[170] *Makasid al-Falasifah* II, p. 75; Dieterici: *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwân Es-Safâ*, p. 252.

[171] *Ehtics* VI, 9, 1141b. 34.

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according to Aristotle, is one of the qualities of the soul, but, being neither feeling, *πάθη*, nor capacity, *δύναμις*, it is habit, *ἕξις*.[172] Virtue is not only the result of human actions but, on becoming a habit, it also determines action, for "the virtue of man also must be a habit, from which man becomes good and from which he will perform his work well".[173] The opposite of virtue is vice, *κακία*, and virtue is "a mean state between two vices, one in excess, the other in defect".[174] These two moral qualities, virtue and vice, are dispositions, *διαθέσεις*, of the soul.[175] It is according to their virtues and vices that men are either praised or blamed and are called either good or bad.[176] Just as the soul is divided into an irrational, *ἄλογον*, and a rational, *λόγον ἔχον*, part so are the virtues divided into moral, *ἠθική*, and intellectual, *διανοητική*.[177] Finally, virtue and the moral character of man must be formed by education which is to be enforced by law, *νόμος*.[178]

This composite statement, made up of passages culled from the *Ethics*, is the literary background of the following passage of Maimonides:

"Man's governance of himself is the science which enables him to develop good qualities and to free himself from bad qualities, if he has already acquired them. Moral qualities are dispositions which gradually become more and more fixed in the soul until they are formed into a habit by which actions are determined. Philosophers describe moral qualities as either excellent or defective. Praiseworthy moral qualities are called virtues; blameworthy moral qualities are called vices. Actions resulting from praiseworthy qualities are called good; those resulting from blameworthy qualties are called bad. Similarly philosophers describe reasoning, i. e., the act of conceiving ideas, as either excellent or defective. We thus speak of in-

[172] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1105a–b.
[173] *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1106a, 22–24.
[174] *Ibid.*, II, 6, 1107a, 2–3.
[175] *Ibid.*, II, 8, 1108b, 11.
[176] *Ibid.*, II, 4, 1105b, 28–1106a, 13.
[177] *Ibid.*, I, 13, 1103a, 3–10
[178] *Ibid.*, X, 10.

tellectual virtues and intellectual vices. The philosophers have many books on the moral virtues. Every rule of conduct by which one man governs another is called law".[179]

Maimonides' description of the other two parts of practical philosophy is similarly an analysis of Aristotle's *Economics* and *Politics*.

The *Economics* of Aristotle begins with a discussion of the relation of husband to wife and of master to slave. He also describes the methods to be employed by a household manager in procuring and preserving property.[180] These methods, he further explains by many illustrations, differ with time and place.[181]

This outline is reproduced by Maimonides as follows:

"The management of a household is the science by which the manager knows how the members of the household are to help each other and how they are to be provided for in such a manner that their affairs would be properly conducted in accordance with the means of the household and in accordance with the established standards of a given time and place."[182]

[179] אמנם הנהגת האדם נפשו, הוא שיפנה אותה אל המדות הנכבדות, ויסיר ממנה הפחיתיות אם היה שכבר הניעוה. והמדות הן התכונות הנפשיות שתנעה בנפש עד שעור היותם לקנין [טבע Ahitub:] ותסדרנה מהן פעלות. והפילוסופים יתארו המדות במעלות ובפחיתיות. ותקראנה המדות החשובות מעלות המדות [מדות טובות Ahitub:] והמדות המגנות פחיתות המדות [מדות מגונות Ahitub:]. והפעלות הבאות מהמדות החשובות תקראנה טובות, והבאות מהמדות המגנות תקראנה רעות. וכן יתארו הדבור גם כן, והיא ציור המשכלות, במעלות ובפחיתיות. ונאמר מעלות דבוריות ופחיתות דבוריות, ולפילוסופים ספרים רבים במדות. וכל הנהגה ינהיג בה זולתו נקראה חק [והנהגה Ahitub:].

Cf. Rosin: *Die Ethik des Maimonides*, p. 36.

The Greek equivalents of some of the terms in this passage are as follows:

מדות, *ἦθος, manners, moral nature*
תכונה, *διάθεσις, disposition.*
קנין [טבע], *ἕξις, habit.*
מעלות [מדות], *ἀρετή, virtue excellenceé*
פחיתיות [מגנות], *κακία, vice.*
דבורי, *διανοητικός, intellectual.*
חק [והנהגה], *νόμος, custom, law, ordinance.*

[180] *Oecon*, I, 6.

[181] *Ibid.* Bk. II.

[182] ואולם הנהגת הבית היא שידע איך יעזרו קצתם ובמה יסתפקו עד שיכשר תקון ענינם לפי היכלת ולפי הענינים הראוים בזמן ההוא ובמקום ההוא.

Maimonides' description of politics is a paraphrase of such general statements in Aristotle's *Politics* as that the purpose of society is to attain to some good,[183] and that the best government is that which leads to the attainment of that good,[184] and that there are different kinds of good.[185] Maimonides refers only vaguely to Aristotle's elaborate descriptions and evaluations of the different forms of government.

"As for the governance of the city-state, it is a science which imparts to those who pursue the study thereof the knowledge of true happiness, showing them how to go about in attaining it, also the knowledge of true evil, showing them how to go about in avoiding it, and also the knowledge of how to muster up all their moral qualities in abandoning the pursuit of imaginary happiness to the end that they may have no desire for it and take no pleasure in it. It teaches them also the harmless nature of imaginary evil to the end that they may not be affected by it and that they may take no unnecessary trouble to rid themselves of it. It also prescribes the right methods by which groups of people may organize themselves under a proper form of government."[186]

The fourth class of practical philosophy is described by Maimonides as הנהגת האומה הגדולה או האומות, which would naturally be translated "the government of the great nation or of the nations" and is taken to refer to international politics.[187] The underlying Arabic term for אומה must have been امّة. Later in the passage Maimonides speaks of חכמי האומות השלמות, which, again, would ordinarily be translated "the sages of the perfect nations". However, the Arabic امّة

[183] *Politics* I, 1.

[184] *Ibid.*, VII, 1.

[185] *Ibid.*,

[186] ואולם הנהגת המדינה, הנה היא חכמה תקנה בעליה ידיעת ההצלחה האמתית ותראה להם ההתפשטות [וההליכה :Ahitub] בהגעתה, וידיעת הרעה האמתית ותראה להם ההתפשטות [וההליכה :Ahitub] בשפירה ממנה, והשתמש במדותיהם בעזיבת ההצלחה המדמה עד שלא יתאוו אותה ולא יחיו נפשם בה. ותבאר להם הרעה המדמה עד אשר לא יכאבו בה ולא יעזבו אותה. וכן תניח דרכי הישר יסדרו בם קבוציהם סדור נאה.

[187] See Mendelssohn's commentary *ad loc.* and Rosin: *Die Ethik des Maimonides*, p. 35.

may also mean a "religion" or a "religious sect". It is probably under the influence of this Arabic meaning of the term that the Hebrew אומה was applied to the Karaites.[188] It would also seem that when Saadia says of the Jews that they are a אומה, امّة, by reason of the Torah, he does not simply mean a "nation" but rather a "religious people".[189] In view of this, Maimonides' fourth class of practical philosophy may be translated: "the government of the great religion or of the other religions". By the "great religion" Maimonides undoubtedly means Judaism. Thus also Abraham ibn Daud calls Judaism "the exalted religion", האמונה הרמה, though the term used by him is عقيدة[189a] When Maimonides later speaks of חכמי האומות השלמות, I should take השלמות as a deliberate mistranslation, though not altogether unjustifiable, of the Arabic مسلمات, *Moslem*, and hence: "the sages of the Moslem sects." In suggesting this rendering of האומות השלמות, I am not unmindful of the fact that such expressions as המדינה החשובה[189b] and האומה החסידה,[189c] which occur frequently in philosophical Hebrew literature, usually refer to the ideal state and government as described by Plato and other philosophers. Maimonides' fourth class of practical philosophy will therefore refer to religious legislation, both Jewish and Moslem. My reason for suggesting this interpretation is briefly as follows: There is nothing in Aristotle to correspond to this class of practical philosophy, whereas we do find such a branch of philosophy, described exactly in the same words, in the the works of Moslem authors.

The Ihwan al-Safa, in their five-fold division of practical philosophy, the last three of which are Aristotelian, the first is called السياسة النبويّة, i. e., "prophetic government". It is described as the study "of religious legislations, النواميس, (*νόμος*), that is to say, the agreeable divine law, الشرائع المرضيّة, and

[188] וחלמידי ענן וכו' ועדיין הם בטעותם ונעשו אומה לעצמן quoted by Ben Jehuda from *Seder Rab Amram Gaon*.

[189] *Enumot ve-Deot* III, 7: ועוד כי אומתנו איננה אומה כי אם בתורותיה.

[189a] See Steinschneider, *Uebersetzungen*, p. 369.

[189b] Levi ben Gershon: *Milhamot Adonai* II, 2, p. 97.

[189c] Isaac ibn Pulgar: *'Ezer ha-Dat* I, 3, p. 11.

pious customs السنن الزكيّة".[190] Similarly Alfarabi, in addition to politics, mentions "legislative science, i. e., the science of faith and religiou sduty".[191] The underlying Arabic term for "legislative" here must again be the Greek *νόμος*. Furthermore, in Al-Farani's commentary on a work of Alfarabi, the third class of practical philosophy is subdivided into several parts, one of which is "the science of prophecy and divine law" which is called "legisiative science".[192] The term used here, again, is *νόμος*. Maimonides, as will be noticed, also calls this fourth class נמוסים which is again *νόμος*.

From all this it is evident that the fourth class of practical philosophy in Maimonides is the science of religious law, the *νόμος*, of Arabic philosophers. He thus describes it in the following terms:

"Thus the sages of the Moslem sects prescribe customs and usages, each in accordance with his particular belief, and by these their obedient followers guide themselves. These are called religious laws, נמוסים. The different sects are in the habit of regulating their lives according to these religious laws".[193]

The value and importance of each of the sciences is determined not only by the subject matter with which it deals but also by the purpose which it serves. Each science, according to Aristotle, has an end which is called its good, and metaphysics is called the supreme science and the most authoritative of all the sciences because it knows to what end each thing must be done.[194] Unlike all the other sciences, the end of metaphysics, according to Aristotle, is not utilitarian; it is a science which is desirable on its own account and for the mere sake of knowing.[195]

Mediaeval Jewish philosophers, too, speak of the particular end of each science and of the final end of all the sciences[196] which,

[190] Dieterici: *op. cit.* Arabic text, p. 252; German translation, p. 16.
[191] Hastings' *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.*, IX, p. 881.
[192] M. Horten: *Das Buch der Ringsteine Farabis*, pp. 321–322.
[193] וכן חכמי האומות השלמות יניחו הנהגות ודרכים לפי שלמות כל איש מהם, ינהגו בהם עבדיהם הסרים למשמעתם, ויקראו אותם נמוסים. והיו האומות מתנהגים בנמוסים ההם.
[194] *Metaphysics* I, 2, 982b, 4–7
[195] *Ibid.*, 982a. 14–16.
[196] See quotation above in n. 55a and 61.

to them, however, is not, as in Aritsotle, simply knowing for the mere sake of knowing, but knowing God for the sake of knowing and obeying His laws and commandments. Maimonides may affect the Aristotelian manner and begin his discourse by dwelling upon the finality of the contemplative life and upon the superiority of intellectual perfection to moral perfection. But he cannot shake off his belief that obedience to the laws and commandments is indispensable for the life of pure contemplation. He is thus soon forced to admit that the knowledge of God is to be taken to mean the knowledge of God's ways and attributes which ought to serve us as a guide for our actions.[197] Logically, Maimonides could have repeated with Abraham ibn Daud that "the end of all philosophy is right conduct."[198]

This conception of a final end serves as the touchstone by which the particular sciences are tested and evaluated. In Bahya we have a pertinent passage bearing upon this subject. He says: "All the divisions of philosophy as determined by the difference of their subject matter are gates which God has opened to rational beings through which they may attain to a knowledge of the Law and the world. Some of the sciences, however, are more particularly necessary for the understanding of the Law while others are more particularly necessary for the uses of the world. Of those which are more particularly necessary for the world there is first the lowest science, which is the science of the natures of bodies and their accidents, and then the middle science, which is mathematics. These two sciences show the way to all the secrets of this world, its uses, and the advantages that we may gain therein. They also serve as guides to the different arts and crafts which are necessary for the satisfaction of bodily wants and for the acquisition of the various wordly goods. The science which is more particularly necessary for the Law is the highest science, namely, theology. It is our bounden duty to pursue the study of this science in order to attain to a knowledge and understanding of the Law"[199]

Another passage is from Abraham ibn Daud. It is remark-

[197] *Moreh Nebukim* III, 54.

[198] *Emunah Ramah*, General Introduction, p. 4: כי תכליח הפילוסופיא המעשה

[199] *Hobot ha-Lebabot*, Introduction.

able for its freshness and modernity, for its eloquence and worldly wisdom, for its indictment of materialism, pedantry and formalism, for its plea on behalf of the social and liberal aspects of learning and for a higher conception of the religious ideal. Despite its length we shall quote whole sections of it, and with this we shall conclude our paper.

"The sciences are many, ranging one above the other, and the aim of all of them is the knowledge of God. Body is to man only a beast of burden, a stepladder, as it were, by which he may ascend to God. But there are some whose sole ambition is to stuff the beast with plenty of fodder—these are the people whose object in life is eating and drinking. There are others whose desire is to adorn the beast with an ornamental saddle, bridle and blanket—these are the people whose only object in life is to parade in gaudy clothes. Still others waste their entire life in trying to find out what kinds of sickness may befall the beast, how its health may be preserved and how its malady cured, and the nature of herbs and food that are beneficial or hurtful—these are the physicians. I do not mean to say that their art is altogether worthless. Quite the contrary, theirs is an honorable profession, which may do a lot of good in this world now, for through it the worldly life of man may be prolonged so that he may attain perfection and life of a higher kind. This art may also stand its owner in good stead in the world to come, inasmuch as the competent physician may be able to save the lives of God's servants from death and destruction. But I contend that whosoever makes this art the chief aim in life and wastes upon it his entire time does violence to his soul.

There are some who waste their time on something still more worthless, as those who make their chief occupation the art of grammar and of rhetoric, learning it first themselves and then teaching it to others to the end of their days.

Others waste their time in the art of numbers, trying to unravel strange, hypothetical puzzles.....the like of which will never happen, and think that thereby they may be accounted as distinguished arithmeticians. Similarly others waste themselves on the subtleties of geometry. Of these sciences only

that part is truly necessary which leads to a knowledge of astronomy".

The author then tells the story of a slave who was promised freedom and a kingdom if he went on a pilgrimage to a certain holy place. The slave, instead of hurrying to reach his destination and receive his reward, wasted time and unnecessarily prolonged the journey. The author proceeds:

"Like the wasting of too much time on the preparations for the journey is one's excessive devotion to the arts which are mostly of use to the material world, as medicine and law. By this I mean to refer only to a person who wastes his time in the practice of medicine for the sake of picking up fees rather than for the sake of rendering merciful service, or to a person who similarly wastes his time in the practice of law in order to gain a reputation or to amass a fortune or to display his wit. Both of these sciences have something good in common, for both may be useful in alleviating certain evils. Law may do away with some of the unpleasantness that springs up in the mutual relations of men and may establish friendly intercourse among them. By medicine, too, many of the ills resulting from the discordant rheums and from the inclement seasons of the year may be remedied. There is, however, a difference between these two professions. If all men were honest and did no wrong to each other, there would hardly be any need for the legal profession. But without medicine it would never be possible for mankind to get along.....

Like the one who prolongs the journey by making too many unnecessary stops and by pacing slowly with lingering steps is the one who is given too much to the purification of the soul in an effort to cleanse if from the cardinal vices and the offshoot thereof.

Like the arrival at the journey's end is one's attainment of perfection in the knowledge of God".[200]

[200] *Emunah Ramah* II, Introduction, p. 45.

PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA

By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, Cambridge University, Cambridge, England

MOST ENGLISH STUDENTS owe their knowledge of the Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola to Walter Pater. Pater opens his charming essay with a confident assertion which, unlike many confident assertions, is absolutely true. Pater claims that no account of the Renaissance would be complete without some notice of the circle of ideas in which Pico shone for a brief but splendid hour. Wonderful is the skill with which Pater succeeds in picturing Pico to us, seeing that he lays no stress on one of Pico's claims—to me it seems his chief claim—to immortality.

The other day two of us were discussing the hero of this causerie. My friend asked: What do you consider the most interesting incident in Pico's career?—Well, I answered, there was his birth in 1463, and his death thirty-one years later in 1494. Both of these episodes, birth and death, are highly interesting stages in a man's pilgrimage from cradle to grave.—But, he impatiently rejoined, in between?—In between, I replied, the most influential episode in Pico's brief but well-filled life was his interview with Reuchlin in Florence in 1490.—This remark of mine was received with astonishment as well as incredulity. Pico and Reuchlin never met, my friend objected, for, if they had, Pater must have mentioned so important a fact. I convinced him, however, by sending him a transcript of the letter written by John Streler to Reuchlin in August 1491 from Florence. This leaves no doubt as to the meeting. Streler was then serving as guide to Reuchlin's younger brother; and tutor and pupil called on Pico. "I did as you requested", writes Steler to Reuchlin, "and mentioned your name to Pico. The latter at once said: Is not that he who was here with me last year, and who (if I remember aright) asked me some questions about Orpheus?"

We shall soon see the deep significance of this talk about Orpheus. At all events the talk took place, and it was more important than Pico's casual reference implies. It is probable that Pico realized less than Reuchlin did the help that the Italian gave and the German received. With Francesco, Pico's nephew, successor and biographer, Reuchlin became much more intimate, but assuredly he knew Pico himself as well as his books. Pico's earliest biographer wrote before Reuchlin's important works began to appear, so that he could not know how far Reuchlin was building on Pico's foundations. But more recent English biographers of Pico, with Pico's and Reuchlin's complete works in their hands, ought hardly to have ignored the indebtedness. The omission has led to some injustice being done to Pico. That Reuchlin's contribution to European humanism was profound and lasting, no critic can doubt, and no biographer of Reuchlin doubts that Pico was Reuchlin's chief inspirer in the very field in which he won his fame. This being so, it is not possible to hold with Mr. J. M. Rigg, that Pico "is one of those writers whose personality will always count for a good deal more than their works". On the contrary, Pico's works are not altogether inferior to the man. We may freely agree, on the other hand, with Pater's remark â propos of Pico that "the Renaissance of the fifteenth century was, in many things, greater by what it designed than by what it achieved". But we must append the proviso, that its achievement was by no means small.

Reuchlin was some seven years senior to Pico, yet the older regarded the younger man as master. It is he who asks about Orpheus and Pico who answers. In disposition they were not unlike; both were erudite, both poets, both devoted to Hebrew as well as Greek. In appearance, however, they were very unlike. Reuchlin's heavy countenance was of Teutonic massiveness; Pico had the fine-cut features idealised in ancient classical art. Reuchlin reminds us of a stolid burger; Pico of a shining Apollo. Sir Thomas More, soon after Pico's death, translated into Tudor English Francesco's biography of his uncle Pico, "a great lord of Italy", More terms him, and "an excellent cunning man in all science and virtuous of living". More sent his version of Pico's life as a New Year's gift to his "entirely

beloved sister in Christ, Joyce Leigh"—just as a century and a half later Sir Kenelm Digby sent his version of Albertus Magnus' tract *On Adhering to God* as a present from France to his mother. What a fine expression this, of Renaissance chivalry—this dedication to beloved women of men's spoils won in the arena of the spirit! In his letter of greeting to Joyce Leigh, Sir Thomas explains that he prefers to send a ghostly rather than a carnal offering. "Mine heartily beloved sister, in good luck of this New Year I have sent you such a present as may bear witness of my tender love and zeal to the happy continuance and gracious increase of virtue in your soul." What more eloquent testimony could we have to the impression which Pico made on his age than this issue of More's translation so soon after Pico's death, and with so dainty a dedication?

Now in the course of his version—and this is what I have been leading up to—More thus reproduces Francesco's description of Pico's personal appearance. "He was of feature and shape seemly and beauteous, of stature goodly and high, of flesh tender and soft: his visage lovely and fair, his eye gray and quick of look, his teeth white and even, his hair yellow and not too piked", i. e. not too trimmed. It is curious that Pater entirely reverses the sense of the Latin *inaffectato capillitio*, for, according to him, Pico's hair was actually "trimmed with more than the usual artifice of the time." What Francesco really says is that the hair was left natural, not as Rigg suggests out of carelessness, but possibly because it needed no care, if, in Jessup's phrase "it bore an easy curl". Jessup, I may observe in passing, published in 1723 a lively comparison of Pico and Pascal. Both were wealthy, both infant prodigies, both sacrificed their wealth in charities, both were free-thinkers and devout believers, both were unmarried laymen. "To close my parallel", says Jessup, "the two great men were so disposed as if the soul of Picus had informed the body of Pascal."

Such foreign panegyrics, and they were many, match the delight felt in Pico by his Florentine contemporaries. "Contemporaries" is perhaps an inappropriate word. Of the famous group who basked in the sunshine of Lorenzo's Court, Pico was the youngest. He was the darling of his elders, who at once

revered and petted him. Possibly their tenderness was due in part to Pico's delicate health. It is true that Francesco never hints at this delicacy, but we may infer it from a letter of Politian's written in 1491. Politian was defending himself against the charge of flattery. "Provided his life is prolonged, and he continue as he has begun, envy herself shall be compelled to own that I have not commended Pico above, but infinitely below, his real deserts". This was penned three years before Pico's death, and the phrase—"provided his life is prolonged"—indicates a certain anxiety. Politian's sentence reminds us that Pico died at an age when most scholars have not yet begun their serious productions; all his work was that of a boy; and it must be judged with this fact ever-present in our memory. But to return to the circle in which Pico moved in Florence. It was indeed a glorious time for the scholar. Not since the far-off days when Abd-er-Raham III ruled as Caliph in Cordova, had learning been so honoured as it was by the Medicis. There were no caste levels between patron and patronised. The Florentine Nights were indeed seasons of mutual admiration. But though the circle flattered each the other without restraint, they spoke modestly enough about themselves. Lorenzo the Magnificent earned his title not merely from his political station but from his mental stature. He deserved the adulation he received, even though Pico ought not to have preferred Lorenzo's verses to Dante's. Then there were Ficinus and Politian, the first translator of Plato and the first translator of Homer. In what was Pico the first? He was the first Christian student of the Cabala, the first to see how to link the Platonism of the Renaissance with the olden Hebraism. It was a period of excitement and exhilaration; the scholarship of the Renaissance was beginning to bear fruits; and if the cultivators of this fair harvest were full of admiration for each other, the world is still full of admiration for them all. No harm, nay much good, is done by the admiration of the admirable. A less conceited group never existed. Politian was conscious of his own limitations. He excused his imperfect Greek because he was a Latin, and his poor Latin because he knew Greek. So Pico said of himself: "Among poets I am a philosopher; among

philosophers a poet". This playful self-depreciation is not the language of men spoilt by mutual admiration. Nor do I think that our own pre-Raphaelites—Burne Jones, William Morris and Rosetti—suffered in their work because they so thoroughly believed in each other's genius. On the contrary, the best in a man is brought out by his consciousness that his friends expect the best from him.

On another quality of the Florentine circle a few words are necessary because some writers misconceive it. There seems an impression that the circle, or rather that Pico, was serious beyond his years, had no sense of humour, never relaxed. This is a grave charge. It is true that in the latter part of his brief life Pico became more ascetic. He destroyed his early love poems, much to Ficinus' satisfaction, much to Politian's dismay. He offered the sacrifice *religionis causa*, burning the erotic lays as Politian writes, not because they would have hurt Pico's fame as a poet but because they might have hurt other people's morals. The fragments which have survived hardly bear out Politian's judgment; they are perfectly harmless morally, but of little account poetically.

When, however, Pico thus sacrificed his boyish indiscretions on the altar of his not very much maturer wisdom, he did not turn his back on the lighter side of life. Precociously clever, prematurely serious—so some picture Pico. I cannot admit the second clause. True, his "preoccupation with religion became more intense and exclusive", and he took to scourging himself. But Francesco is careful to tell us that he did so only once a year. Similarly with his sacrifice of his wealth; it was only a partial sacrifice. In 1491 he sold his estates to his nephew, and at a price "so good cheap that it seemed rather a gift than a sale". Of the price, he spent much in works of relief, and in providing marriage-dowries for poor maids. But even with all this extravagant benevolence, Pico's poverty was only comparative. "He was content with mean fare at his table, how be it somewhat yet retaining of the old plenty in dainty viand and silver vessel". He refused royal honours and political preferments. But, on the other hand, he declined to take holy orders. In this respect he disappointed Savonarola, who influenced

Pico otherwise towards austerity. Pico embraced no bride, neither Church with her saintly charms, nor a Florentine beauty with more mundane fascinations. Of the two, said Pico, marriage is less of a servitude and a less dangerous experiment than entering the priesthood. Savonarola took a mild enough revenge, for in his funeral oration on Pico he consigned him to purgatory when he might have located him in hell. But with all this, to speak of Pico's "deep religious melancholy" goes beyond the facts. "He was of cheer always merry" (*vultu hilari semper*) asserts his first biographer. On his death-bed "he lay always with a pleasant and merry countenance" (*hilari et placido ore*). He retained his love of music. Moreover, during these very years of austerity, Politian was constantly in Pico's house; we have Streler's direct testimony to this in 1491. Now, no one could have been intimate with Politian unless he could respond to gaiety. Politian was light-hearted and playful, ready with verbal quips and practical frolics. Pico was not above playing a practical joke on Politian himself. And finally we have the evidence of Politian in terms which leave no doubt. In the very last letter that he wrote in the year of his own and of Pico's death, 1494, Politian observes: "You know what kind of a table Pico keeps: economical yet elegant: enlivened by his wit and cheerful conversation". In face of this evidence, we cannot assent to Mr. Rigg's verdict. "Sense of humour Pico certainly seems to have lacked; I have not found in him the least suggestion that he had any faculty of hearty laughing at all". Our verdict must be the very reverse of this.

Into the company of the Florentines, Pico was admitted while fresh from his boyish prank at Rome. He was twenty-three years of age when he flung before the scholars of the eternal city 900 questions on a vast medley of subjects. "All which questions he fastened and set up in open places (that they might be to all people the better known): offering himself to bear the costs of all such as would come thither out of far countries to dispute". Francesco in his biography of Pico fails to see the colossal joke of this astounding challenge. He takes it quite seriously, as no doubt Pico himself did, herein possibly betraying some of that lack of humour with which Mr. Rigg charges him.

How did the dignified Roman pundits counter the juvenile invitation to combat? At first they followed a wise course; laughed at his pretensions, and kept him dangling at Rome for a whole year vainly clamouring for a date and a hearing. This was assuredly a well-deserved snub. But they soon changed their tactics, and from passive contempt turned to aggression. Excommunication was a weapon by which most easily and most effectively to crush this waspish youth, who claimed to know more than men twice his age, and what was more irritating, made the claim with justice. Few people of his or any other age have possessed Pico's opportunities, and of those few fewer still have used them. He had intellect, memory, wealth, industry, enthusiasm for research. As to his memory, "if he heard a poem but once recited he could repeat it exactly both forwards and backwards". As to his wealth it enabled him to spend 7000 ducats on collecting a library, paying no doubt a good price for each volume. There has been misunderstanding of a remark of Pico's as to his payment for Cabbalistic books. Pico does not imply that he was imposed on. Books were very scarce and very dear in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century. The very three Cabbalistic books referred to were acquired from Pico's library by Gaffarelli, who also records that he paid a not inconsiderable sum. At all events Pico's library was extensive, and he used it to effect in his Roman campaign. After a period of indifference, the Roman theologians determined to bring a charge of heresy against him. History repeated itself with Reuchlin, but Pico escaped more easily. Rome showed less animosity than Cologne. Nevertheless, the charge nominally hung over Pico for the rest of his life, or rather till shortly before his death. Pope Alexander "by a Bull dated August 18th 1493 acquitted him of heresy and assured him of immunity from further annoyance". Reuchlin eventually triumphed as Pico did, but not without an acrimonious struggle in which the Letters of Obscure Men played so prodigiously satiric a part. And this reminds me that Pico, with a humour worthy of Ulrich von Hutten, pokes fun at the ignorant monks who mistook the Cabala for a "diabolical person."

Yet, when all is said and done, Pico's 900 theses are a stu-

pendous tour de force both as to range and subtlety. When the charge of heresy was raised, not altogether without justice, thirteen of the theses were selected for special attack. These Pico defended in his Apology written in twenty nights. Hastily prepared, his defence is masterly in substance and style. He published it with a loyal dedication to Lorenzo, and like many another on the verge of heresy, was at great pains to defend his orthodoxy. "I may be wrong but I am no heretic; error is involuntary, but heresy is of intention." "No magician am I, no Jew, but I honour Jesus and bear his cross". How any careful student of the Apology can pronounce Pico's work obsolete, I cannot fathom. It touches, and that profoundly and vitally, some of the controversies of our day. So "actual" is it, that without undue impropriety Pico's Apology might be issued at this juncture as an up-to-date Modernist tract. But this is dangerous ground, and I had better not linger on it.

Yet on one of the impugned propositions I cannot avoid dwelling, for it strikes the key-note of the whole of Pico's subsequent utterances, indeed the key-note of his whole contribution to Renaissance scholarship and thought. I refer to the fifth of the thirteen theses. It runs thus: "There is no science which can more firmly convince us of the divinity of Christ than Magic and Cabala".

When he formulated this queer, even weird sentence, Pico was actually bringing theology, for the first time, into line with the spirit of the Renaissance. In his Apology, he explains what he meant by Magic and Cabala. Magic is not the art of witchcraft, but no more and no less than Natural science, applied to discovery of the secrets of the universe: the contemplation and investigation of the underlying wonders which, when understood as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus understood them, reveal from out the hidden recesses of nature the world-filling glory of God. If, in Pico's terminology, magic is Nature's mysterious revelation of God, Cabala is God's mysterious revelation of himself. Cabala, from *cabal* to receive, was originally a name given—apart from the non-Pentateuchal Scriptures—to certain types of "received" or "traditional" lore. This traditional lore may be of two types; the ordinary tradition

of the elders, institutions and prescriptions assumed to have been coeval with the written law of the Pentateuch—: and secondly, a mystic doctrine, supposed "to have been handed down as a revelation to elect saints from a remote past, and preserved only by a privileged few". Pico well-understood this two-fold meaning of Cabala: traditional law and traditional mysteries: he by no means confused them as some of his critics have urged, but he equated them. In neither sense was Cabala a secret lore. Even in the second sense it was less secret lore than lore of secrets; less mysterious matter than matter of mysteries. Certain quacks claimed to be in possession of exclusive secrets, just as certain charlatans claimed diabolical and wonder-working powers. But this must not prejudice the truth which Pico very thoroughly realized, i. e. that the Cabala was essentially a genuine mystical philosophy based on a logical application to the Bible of neo-Platonic principles.

This is all that need be said here of the term Cabala. On the subject a very able and accurate account, historical, expository, critical, may be read in the third volume of the Jewish Encyclopedia, and to that article, I refer you as the best essay ever written on this intricate but fascinating theme. Now its author, Dr. Louis Ginzberg, fully realizes that though, here and there, a slight dabbling with Cabala may be found in earlier Christian books, it was beyond a doubt Pico della Mirandola who introduced the Cabala effectively into the Christian world; that through Pico it reached Reuchlin, and through Reuchlin became a most potent factor in the application of the work of the Renaissance to the progress of the Reformation. The interest of both these men in the Cabala was partly what is called apologetic: the Cabala was for them a bulwark of Christianity against Judaism. While the Dominicans were attacking it as anti-Christian, the humanists were applauding it as pro-Christian. Pico, and Reuchlin after him, found in the Jewish Cabala all the main dogmas of Christianity denied by Jews in their other writings. Pico and Reuchlin detected in the Cabala the Trinity, Incarnation, Original Sin, and Atonement through Christ. It was Pico who exclaimed: "In the Cabala I find the same than I find in Paul; in the Cabala I hear the voice of

Plato—that strong bulwark of the Christian faith. In short," I am still quoting Pico's very words, "there is no subject of controversy between Church and Synagogue but finds its support for our Christian side in these books—so that no corner is left for our adversaries to hide in". It is unnecessary to discuss whether Pico and Reuchlin justly drew these conclusions from the Cabala. Jewish students themselves are not of one mind, either as to the date of the Cabala or its relation to Christian ideas. Similarly, Hellenists are divided as to the alleged Trinitarian adumbrations of Plato and Philo. Krauss thinks Pico and Reuchlin right; Broydé thinks them wrong. My own opinion is that certain ideas common to Judaism, neo-Platonism and Christianity, are found in *all* mystical literature, the Cabala included. Some Rabbinical authorities sought to prevent the study of the Cabala by excommunication. Graetz, noted for his antipathy to mysticism, points with glee to the use of the Cabala against Judaism as an argument against Cabala in every form and stage. Here, however, we need not consider whether the allegations of Pico and Reuchlin are true. The important fact is that Pico and Reuchlin believed the allegations to be true. They were led by that belief to an interest in Hebrew which crowned the learning of the Renaissance.

For this is what happened. Pico and his disciple Reuchlin became saturated by the Cabala. Their pages are full of citations of it and allusions to it. But in order to understand Cabala it was necessary to learn Hebrew and Aramaic, beginning with Hebrew. When Pico became an enthusiast for Hebrew and cognate dialects, the Renaissance was complete. For Hellenism and Hebraism are , to use Butcher's famous phrase, the streams which, by their confluence gave the Western world its culture. The Renaissance set that culture on a new basis by the rediscovery of the original sources. Neither Reuchlin nor Erasmus was a discoverer. Pico and his Italian contemporaries were discoverers, and it was due to them that Reuchlin was as certainly the father of academic Hebrew learning as Erasmus was of Greek. How could the Renaissance be complete without both? Fortunately the later Renaissance synchronised with the invention of printing, and we might not go very far wrong if we were to assert that the Renais-

sance reaches its summit with the publication of the first editions of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. Pagan Greek alone was not enough for the Renaissance. How could it have fed the modern spirit of it had limited itself to Athens and had forgotten Jerusalem? The completion of the work of the Renaissance is typified by an event in the history of Cambridge University. The same year 1540 saw the foundation by Henry VIII of Regius Professorships not only in Divinity, Civil Law, and Physic (Medicine)—but also in Hebrew and Greek. It is true that in 1312 the Council of Vienna resolved that chairs for Hebrew ought to be founded in Paris, Oxford, Salamanca and Bologna. But for two centuries little was done even in Paris; elsewhere nothing was done, though Oxford possessed an earlier Hebraist of a kind in Roger Bacon. It was the work of the Renaissance to place Hebrew on a firm academic basis in Oxford as well as in Cambridge; the Regius Professorships in Oxford are of the same date and foundation as in the sister University.

Reuchlin in spirit, Erasmus in person, were in England, and both these men knew what they owed to Pico and his circle. Here is one interesting piece of evidence. When Reuchlin was being worried by the Pfefferkorn business, he wrote despondently to Erasmus. "What!", retorts Eramsus, "You complain of your ill-fortune! Yet you saw the Italy of Pico della Mirandola!" It was Pico who stood to both as the type of the Italian Renaissance; stood so to the men who were the undoubted founders of modern Greek and modern Hebrew learning. Hence it is futile to waste our time and temper with Pater and Rigg in complaints of Pico's allegorical interpretations of Genesis, or in wonderings at Pico's resumption of the ancient myth—and a very ancient myth it was—that Plato was only Moses talking Greek instead of Hebrew. Despite these vagaries into the quicksands of uncritical absurdity, Pico stood on firm ground in his main journey; a journey whose goal was the release of the human mind from dogmatism and narrowness. To see, as Reuchlin did, that Platonism was a solvent of dogmatism, or as Pico did, that Platonism is the link between the messages of Jove and Jehovah, between Orpheus and Christ—how Orpheus fills the pages of the Renaissance writers, not only the pages of the

Florentines and Germans, but also of the Cambridge Platonists More and Cudworth!—I say that all this was not ephemeral, because the critical basis of it was unsound. Ely Cathedral and St Paul's in London stand on far from safe foundations, but they are beautiful edifices none the less, and loving hands will always be ready to underpin the foundations without destroying the superstructures.

We have now reached the very heart of Pico, penetrating beneath the charm of his person to the message of his mind. Professor J. A. Stewart, in his great work on The Myths of Plato, sums the matter up in the remark that Renaissance learning was Platonic, just as the medieval learning was Aristotelian. The Divine Comedy was the last great legacy of Aristotle, our modern Idealistic philosophies are the first great legacy of Plato. The rationalism of the scholastics made way for the mysticism of the Renaissance. But both were needed for the support of the human spirit. The scholastics made the Bible talk Aristotle; the Renaissance made it talk Plato. Pico made it talk both, by agency of the Cabala. It is curious that he arrived at his syncretism by this route. But so he did. Of that there is no room for question. The theology of the Renaissance after Pico never leaves the Cabala alone. Ficinus might have translated Plato a dozen times in vain had not Pico discovered Plato in the Cabala. This fact—that Renaissance Platonism was so Cabalistic—would be a mystery deeper than the Cabala itself were it not that we after all possess the clue. The Cabala was both Hellenic and Hebraic; it held itself close to the Bible and also to the spirit of the Greeks who had no Bible. The Renaissance was no revolt against the Bible, on the contrary it restored the Scriptures to a world that knew too little of them. But it was a revolt against dogmatism, against authority. How was this difficulty to be overcome: how was reverence for the Bible to be reconciled with rejection of dogmatism? Simply by the aid of the Platonic mysticism as expressed in Cabala. "I will walk at liberty for I seek thy precepts" says the Psalmist. The Renaissance theologians seized on this idea with avidity. Mysticism gave them freedom under Law; Plato the freedom, Aristotle the Law; the Cabala both. Pico refused his assent

to the common delusion that every boy and every girl born into this world alive, is either a little Platonist or else a little Aristotelian. This denial of Pico's is illustrated by his treatise *De Ente et Uno*, in which he strove to prove that Plato the Idealist and Aristotle the Rationalist taught the same thing. This effort is a failure. Not so Pico's underlying thought that we ought to be able to harmonize or syncretise Platonism and Aristotelianism, that neither the universe of things nor the universe of ideas can be interpreted solely on rational or solely on idealistic principles, solely on transcendental or solely on immanent theories. Each one, to put it theologically, must find God immanently, in and for his own soul: but having thus found him, God must be realized transcendentally, as outside the individual soul, as the principle which reconciles things as they are, with things as we know them. So of moral truth. It morality true because authorised, or authorised because true? Is virtue imposed, or is it the innate quality of things? Pico, if I interpret him aright, would have agreed with Cudworth that on the one hand virtue is a law of human nature, independent of prescribed law; but that this law of human nature derives from the mystic stamp of the image of God in the human soul. I very much like the way in which the Cambridge Platonists equate the Pauline Justification by Faith with the Platonic ὁμοίωσις θεοῦ:—likeness to God. It was an uncritical identification, but it was a truth deeper than criticism. In brief, what the Renaissance gave us on the theological side was a scientific or rational mysticism. But let us leave these difficult speculations, though it was necessary to discuss them however briefly if we were to understand Pico, and the ground of his extraordinary influence.

I have several times admitted that the Renaissance learning was uncritical. Cudworth's classical scholarship stood badly in need of Bentley's corrective satire. Similarly much vain learning lies in Pico behind a far from vain message. Now there is consolation in this. Our modern humanism has gained permanent good from the very errors of Pico and the Renaissance. It was untrue that the Pagan mythologies adored the Hebrew Jehovah under the name of Jove, or Christ under the name of

Osiris. It is untrue historically that in Cudworth's language the Trinity is an element of the "Orphic Cabala". And yet, regarded from the humanistic point of view, the theory of divine continuity in human thought and aspiration, the theory in short of Pico and the Renaissance, the theory that the relative truths of the ages tend towards the one absolute truth of eternity,—I say that this humanistic theory is the best means we have of saving ourselves from sheer pessimism—of saving ourselves from the devastating thought that there have been countless centuries of waste, when primitive men or pagan men or any men who happen not to share our particular creeds or philosophies, have been shut out from any glimpse of Truth whatever. Either God has always been in the world or he has never been there. Alexander Pope was a shallow thinker, and yet his Universal Prayer is not shallow.

> Father of all! in every age
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove or Lord!

Part at least of this thought, adumbrated a quarter of a century earlier by Nicolas de Cusa, and possibly many centuries earlier by Malachi (I, 11), came to fruition direct from Pico, from his identifications of pagan and biblical beliefs. Indeed, as Pater justly says: "Pico is a true humanist. For the essence of humanism is that belief of which he never seems to have doubted, that nothing which has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality—no language they have spoken, no oracle beside which they have hushed their voices, no dream which has once been entertained by actual human minds, nothing about which they have ever been passionate, or expended their zeal". In saying this Pater interpreted the Renaissance, and he also interpreted Pico.

To sum up in plain terms: Pico's permanent service to learning and thought arose from his obsession with the Cabala. The Cabala was not worth all his devotion to it, but out of that devotion, through Reuchlin whom he also impregnated with his Cabalistic obsession, Pico restored Hebrew to the academic

world as the complement to Greek, thereby perfecting the Renaissance on its literary side. Further, again through the Cabala, Pico helped to give back Plato to modern theology and philosophy; and with the return of Plato, Idealism came to its own as a criticism and corrective—through not as a supplanter—of Rationalism. Finally, out of his mistaken idea that he could trace Cabala in Paganism, Hebraism, Hellensim, and Paulinism, he helped on the humanistic movement which believes in the continuity of the human spirit, the humanistic movement, which out of the belief in the values of all expressions of the human spirit, has created in our time comparative science as applied to religion and anthropology.

Gresswell said of Pico that he was at once a gentleman and a devotee. That he was a gentleman we are aware; that he was devout we know from one of his latest works, his delightful set of Twelve Rules for fighting the world, the flesh, and the devil. But the hero-worshippers were not content with so sober a panegyric as that of Gresswell. So, legend played around him. His family origin was traced back to the Emperor Constantine, to the princess who eloped with Manfred to Naples, and founded a dynasty on the site afterwards named Mirandola. But besides this family myth of royal descent, there was the personal myth of his birth. Over his cradle, for a moment there appeared a fiery garland which, in More's words, seemed "a token that he, who in that hour was, in the company of mortal men, born in the perfection of understanding, should be like the perfect figure of that round circle or garland; and that his excellent name should, round about the circle of this whole world, be magnified." Language of exaggeration, no doubt. But with an element of truth in it. Politian, using mythical hyperbole, termed Pico the "Phoenix of the Wits". Was all this generous contemporary enthusiasm, all the subsequent idolization, undeserved? Is it true that "once sunk in his ashes the Phoenix never rose again?" I have tried to show, with little success I fear, that out of his ashes the Phoenix did indeed soar again, and soars still, bearing us on his wings, if only a little way, yet onwards and upwards.

RAPHAEL NORZI: A RABBI OF THE RENAISSANCE

By H. G. ENELOW, Temple Emanu-El, New York

IN JEWISH HISTORY, no less than elsewhere, the sixteenth century is "an alluring time." Many lustrous names people its pages—from Judah Abarbanel, with his platonic dialogue on love, to Judah Moscato, the philosophic preacher; from Joseph Karo, with his rabbinic codes, to Azariah de Rossi, with the critical studies of his *Meor Enayim;* from Isaac Lurya and Moses Cordovero, the renewers of the Kabbalah, to Leon Modena, scholar and skeptic; to say nothing of the marvels of the Hebrew press. I should like to call attention to Rabbi Raphael Norzi, who lived in that century of the Renaissance, and whose writings, I believe, deserve attention for the light they throw upon the thought of their age and as an exposition of the spiritual and ethical nature of Judaism.

I

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the life of Raphael Norzi, except that his father's name was R. Gabriel, and that he belonged to a family famous through several centuries for scholars and patrons of Jewish books. As early as 1477 Benjamin b. Immanuel Norzi appears as author of a work on the calendar.[1] In 1491 we meet with Moses b. Judah Norzi as purchaser of a valuable thirteenth century Toledo Manuscript of the Hebrew Bible, which in 1505 his widow, Bencivenuta, sells to her son-in-law, Isaac b. Daniel Norzi.[2] In 1513 we see R. Moses b. Nathanael Norzi as buyer of an illuminated fourteenth century manuscript of David Qimhi's Commentary on the Psalms.[3] In June, 1554, Issac b.

[1] Michael, *Ozroth Hayyim* #353 b.

[2] Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica*, p. 229.

[3] De Rossi, Codex 798 (II p. 175). Cf. Zunz's Notes, *Meor Enayim*, ed. Warsaw, p. XXII.

Immanuel Norzi is a member of the Synod held at Ferrara, and a signer of its Resolutions (*Takkanoth*).[4] In 1593 and 1597 we find the brothers, Isaac and Solomon (b. Samuel) Norzi, publishing at Mantua several Hebrew works, including the Responsa of the Gaonim, after Solomon had in 1588 printed a volume of his own Responsa.[5] With the heirs of a later R. Nathanael Norzi, Azariah de Rossi saw a copy of Jacob Abba Mari's Hebrew translation of Al-Faragani's Astronomy.[6] In 1626 Yedidiah Solomon b. Abraham Norzi finishes his critical work on the text of the Bible, called by him *Goder Peretz*, but known as *Minhath Shay*, though, as Zunz remarked, it had to remain unprinted for 116 years.[7] These are some of the memorable members of this illustrious family,[8] which derived its name, no doubt, from the town of Norcia in the district of Spoleto.[9] Raphael, according to Mortara, lived in Ferrara and Mantua, where, Mortara asserts, there were two distinct families by the name of Norzi,—one having come by way of Tizzano, near Bologna, and the other by way of Torazzo, near Turin.[10]

As for Raphael himself, we know him as author of three books: (1) *Seah Soleth*, "A Measure of Fine Flour;" (2) *Marpeh la-Nephesh*, "Healing for the Soul"; and (3) *Orah Hayyim*, "The Path of Life." The first two appeared for the first time at Mantua in 1561, a year after the completion of the first edition of the Zohar, while the third was issued, together with a reprint of the first two parts

[4] Cf. Finkelstein, Jew. Self-Government in M. A., p. 300ff.

[5] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 259; Benjacob, *Ozar*, p. 561.

[6] Cf. *Meor Enayim*, p. 317, and Zunz's Notes, p. XXI. In my article on Jacob Anatolio in the *Jew. Enc.* I, p. 564, I wrote that the Hebrew title of Anatolio's translation was undoubtedly recent. Azariah calls it *Tekunath Al-F.*

[7] *Ibid.* p. 260. The Ms. Bible used by Jedidiah was the very one bought in 1491 by Moses Norzi from Hefatziah b. Mordecai Finzi; now Cod. De Rossi 782. Cf. Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, III, p. 40; Bernheimer, *loc. cit.*

[8] Other names are given in *Jew. Enc. s. v.* Norzi.

[9] Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* III, p. 39f.

[10] Mortara, *Indice*, p. 44—The name appears, also, as Norsa and da Norcia. Norzi, however, has become the usual spelling. The Hebrew is *Me-Nortsi.*

TITLE PAGE OF THE MANTUA EDITION OF NORZI'S *SEAH SOLETH*.

at Venice, in 1579.[11] The fact that there was a second edition so soon after the first—and the laudatory words accompanying it—would indicate that these works were received favorably and found a considerable number of readers. Moreover, they were reprinted at Amsterdam in 1758, with a dedication by the editors, Meir Hakohen and Isaac Belinfante, to the directors and the treasurer of the local Jewish Academy, *Etz Hayyim*. Both the dedication, written in Portuguese, and the approbations of several rabbis, attest the high honor in which the writings of Norzi were held, for their erudition and lofty doctrine, as well as for their popular usefulness.[12]

To serve the religious needs of the people, we are told by Norzi, was what prompted him to write. Scholarly distinction or originality he disclaims. He knows that a great many authors had preceded him, and that his own literary venture might be deprecated. But he realizes that most men lack time and training to master a variety of learned works. His object is to provide in small compass a readable summary of the best thought on Religion and Conduct, for the benefit of those who would perfect their understanding and practice of Religion, and

[11] The Venice edition was printed by Degara. On the reverse of the title page of part II there is the following note: *Le tre operette sudette d'uno istesse autore, sono state reuiste e spurgate dal. Reuer. Padre Dan Marco Marino da Brescia, e stampate da Gioanni Degara in Venetia con licentia de i Superiori.* This title-page is reproduced in Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*, p. 357. The date, however, should read 1579 and not 1584. I cite the three parts of the Venice edition as I, II, and III respectively. Brüll was mistaken when he said that Norzi published all three books in one year (1579) and that the reason for such rapid work was that Norzi did nothing but plagiarize (Cf. *Jahrbücher*, II, p. 168). Brüll ignored the earlier edition of the first two parts, reference to which he might have read on the title-page of the third part.

[12] On Isaac Belinfante, one of the editors of the Amsterdam edition, Gabriel Pollak wrote in *Ha-Maggid* (1869) No. 10 (p. 77) and in *Ha-Karmel* VI No. 34 (p. 269) and No. 37 (p. 294), giving specimens from his bibliographic work and his epitaph in the Amsterdam cemetery by the poet David Franco Mendes, whom Belinfante had eulogized in a poem of his own (Cf. Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* I p. 99; Fünn, *K'neseth Yisrael* p. 596 f). The last paragraph of the article on him in the *Jew. Enc.* (II p. 660) needs correction. His poem *Qinyan Tora* is described by Pollak, who had the manuscript, as a poetic account—in the manner of the old payyetanim—of Belinfante's library, and not, as the *J. E.* has it, of the books he composed.

yet cannot study profound books, cannot swim in the mighty and endless waters. "As a little truth," he says, "conquers much falsehood, so a little light may dispel much darkness."[13] Hence, the three parts of his work: "A Measure of Fine Flour,"[14] on the essential qualities of the religious life; "Healing for the Soul," on the fundamental concepts of Religion; and "The Way of Life," on the ethical aspects of life. There is no sharp division of subjects, however, in the three parts. The same themes appear again and again under different aspects, illustrating the earnestness of the author and his devotion to the dominant ideas of his scheme of life.

Reading Norzi, one is reminded of Matthew Arnold's definition of culture as the "pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on matters which most concern us, the best which has been said and thought." This is what Norzi seeks to do. His purpose is to spread religious culture—to acquaint his contemporaries with the best that has been thought and said on the subject of Religion, and thus to help them to perfection. Like Matthew Arnold, Norzi wants to increase sweetness and light among men—though the phrase may not mean to them exactly the same thing. In pursuit of his plan, Norzi draws upon various masters of the past — the Bible, the Talmud, the Midrashim, the Zohar, medieval philosophers and preachers, preeminently Maimonides and Isaac Aramah, the author of *Aqedath Yitzhaq*, with occasional references to others, such as Nahmanides, R. Levi ben Gershon, Don Isaac Abarbanel,[15] the *Sepher Mitzwoth Gadol*, the *Zror ha-Mor*,[16] the *B'hinath Olam*,[17] the *Sepher ha-Musar*,[18] the *Arukh*,[19] as well as Aristotle and perhaps other

[13] III, Preface. Cf. Bahya, *Hoboth Ha-Lebaboth*. V, 5.

[14] Cf. II *Kings* 7, 1.—On the duty of the public teacher to make the Torah "as delicious as fine flower," cf. *Midrash Shir Ha-Shirim* IV, 22 and Moscato, *Nephutsoth Yehuda* XII, p. 33b (ed. Warsaw, 1871).

[15] III p. 27b.

[16] III p. 9b, 18a.

[17] III p. 28b, 29b. This poem, first published by Estellina Conat about 1476, was printed for the sixth time at Ferrara in 1551. Cf. Wiener, *Bibl. Friedl.*, p. 139.

[18] III p. 12b.

[19] I p. 4a.

unnamed non-Jewish thinkers. In his discussion of the nature of Love, he borrows, without quoting, from Joseph Albo, and he may owe something also to Leon Abarbanel's Dialogue on Love, which appeared earlier in the century. Also, he has numerous excerpts from Bahya b. Asher's *Kad Ha-Qemah*,[20] as well as passages from Bahya b. Joseph's *Hoboth Ha-Lebaboth*.

What distinguishes Norzi, is the free use of his sources. Slave of no single school, he employs all, according as they support his own construction of life and religion. Nor does he share the excesses of any school. For instance, he uses the Kabbalah to accentuate his ethical and spiritual teachings, but there are in his pages no such extravagant speculations on the migration of the soul and the nature of the hereafter as may be found, for example, in Elijah di Vidas's *Reshith Hokhma*, a contemporary production.[21] Or, take as another example, astrology, which during the Renaissance prevailed among both Jews and non-Jews, though Pico della Mirandola wrote a treatise against it.[22] This belief forms a part of Norzi's thought, despite his devotion to Maimonides who, in his philosophic work[23] and in his Letter to the Scholars of Marseilles,[24] brands astrology as a disease and pernicious superstition. It belongs to the furniture of Norzi's mind, taken from his milieu. In the Jewish academy which David Provenzale, with his son Abraham, a physician, proposes in the year 1564 to establish at Mantua, he provides for the study of astrology as well as other sacred and secular subjects.[25] Norzi seems partly to accept astrology; yet, invariably, he subordinates it to his dominant ideas. He seems to fight against it. Essentially it does not go with his basic belief in human freedom, and one feels that he tries to get it out of the way. The Torah, he

[20] Cf. Brüll, *loc. cit.*—The second edition of the *Kad* appeared Venice, 1545.

[21] The first edition was printed by Degara in the same year (1578–79) as the Venice edition of Norzi. Cf. *Shaar Ha-Yir'ah.*

[22] Cf. Charbonnel, *La Pensée italienne au XVI siècle*, chap. 2; Taylor, Thought in the 16th Century, II p. 326.

[23] Cf. *More Nebukhim* III, 37.

[24] Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetz.*, p. 931.

[25] Cf. Güdemann, *Projekt einer jüd. Universität aus dem 16. Jhndrt*, Berliner *Festschrift.* p. 164ff.

affirms, is given us as a means of annuling the order ordained by the stars.[26]

Norzi, to use his own metaphor, may have gathered ears of corn from many fields, but he ground them in the mill of his own mind into the fine flour of his teaching. Indeed, nowhere does he show his originality more clearly than in the ingenious use of a biblical or rabbinic passage to sum up his own train of thought.

II

At the core of Norzi's system is his theology, in which he strives to be clear and complete. Our modern spokesmen who maintain that in Judaism belief always had occupied a secondary place, or no place at all, would find small support in him. The root of Religion, in both doctrine and practice, according to Norzi, is belief. All the commandments are based upon it. Religion is life, both present and eternal; but what leads to life, in the religious sense, is Belief. This is why the Rabbis cite the saying of Habakkuk (2, 4) as a summary of the Torah: "The righteous shall live by his belief." They might have quoted from the Psalms (119, 86): *Kol mitzwosekah emunah;* "All Thy commandments are belief." But they prefer the utterance of Habakkuk, because the word "live" is in it, which, according to the Targum, refers to the eternal life. Religion, says Norzi, is meant to make a man live a life devoted to truth and other godlike qualities, and thus to equip him for life eternal; but all such life depends on the belief that there exists in the world the One Being who oversees mankind, generally and individually.[27]

First, then, comes belief in God. The whole Torah, we are reminded, makes it clear that we must believe in the existence of God: that this is the most essential part of Religion, upon which everything else rests. Without God there could be no divine Torah, and yet the Torah was necessary to the maintenance of the human species and the attainment of its happiness.

[26] III p. 16a.

[27] I p. 1f. Cf. on the basic value of belief, *Reshith Hokhma* p. 84b: "The whole Torah depends entirely on belief."

For, the most important subjects bearing on his spiritual weal, man cannot grasp by mere reason, which is not strong enough to apprehend the inmost truth of things. Something more than human reason is needed to determine beyond doubt the most desirable actions and to illumine the true ideas. This can come only by Divine guidance, of the kind granted to Israel in the Torah, which, all agree, was given by God from heaven, and which contains all the wisdom needful to the proper conduct of life and the attainment of durable bliss. "There is no branch of wisdom, natural or divine, but is contained in the profound depths of our perfect Torah, and one can find it there if one's desire has sprung from the light of intelligence. According to his intelligence a man excels—*l'phi sikhlo yehulal ish*—and gains happiness."[28]

It is here that Norzi, in common with other Jewish teachers, sees the merit of revealed religion. There are three kinds of religion, he says: natural, nomic, and divine. Natural religion is alike among all men, its object being to bar evil and bring about upright conduct. Nomic religion goes farther, aiming, as it does, to provide safeguards for the prevention of the unseemly and the spread of what is proper; such religion is devised by a sage, or a group of sages, according to the needs of time and place, and the nature of those for whose guidance it is designed. But divine religion is the most important. Its object is to lead men to true happiness, which means the happiness of the soul and its eternal survival, and also to teach them the meaning of true evil and how to avoid it. In a word, it deals not merely with the public weal of society, which is included in all other religions, but with those supreme themes upon which human perfection depends. As the vehicle of divine religion, the Torah is valuable.[29]

To serve its purpose, however, the Torah needs interpretation. The Divine Law, says Norzi, is perfect, allowing neither addition nor subtraction; yet its contents are liable to misconstruction on the part of diverse men, as, for instance, the *Sh'ma*

[28] III p. 15a—On the Torah, and its relation to secular studies, cf. Judah Messer Leon's *Nopheth Tsuphim* II, 18 (ed. Jellinek, p. 107ff).

[29] II p. 16a—Cf. Maimonides, *More*, II chap. 40; *Aqedath Yitzhaq*, chapters 44 and 71.

Yisrael, which the Jews construe as proclaiming the absolute unity of God and others in an entirely different sense. Therefore, the Oral Law was meant to accompany the Written Law, in order that the true meaning of the latter might be preserved. It was impossible that the Torah should be so complete as to cover all the particular needs arising among men in the course of the ages. No one book could contain it all. Hence, general principles only are laid down in the Torah, from which the teachers of every generation may deduce particular lessons required for the new times, in order to form a bond of union between men and God. The chief rules of conduct toward this end, Norzi adds, are in the Decalogue. That is why it is divided into two groups; on one table are given the five rules relating to God; and on the other, the five relating to man: thus showing that both groups are important to the attainment of human perfection. The fifth rule, however, refers not only to parents in the literal sense, but also to respect for tradition, as represented by both one's parents and the teachers of Religion.[30]

The purpose of human life is the development of spiritual perfection, and the aim of Religion is to assist man to that end. "The entire purpose of man's serving God," Norzi affirms,[31] "is for man's own good. No perfection can be added to the Holy One, for in Him there is no lack of perfection. It is all for the sake of augmenting man's own perfection." What counts most in this process, however, is one's own effort—*Hishtadluth*. This Norzi tries to stress in various ways. In the natural order, he argues, even the lower animals were gifted with a leaning toward the useful and desire to avoid the harmful. But man was endowed with reason by means of which he can assist the natural instincts and receive in ever-growing measure the outflow of Providence.[32] He can do so by constantly increasing his knowledge of Religion and by opposing with every means possible the destructive influence of the Evil Desire, which lures him to corrupt practices and toward developing an inward tendency to evil. Indeed, the numerous duties of the religious life are meant

[30] II p. 18a-b.

[31] III p. 2b.

[32] On the idea of *Shephah* (Emanation), cf. Maimonides, *More*, II, 12.

to serve as an incentive to effort in the way of self-perfection. One religious duty, says Norzi, done in the right spirit, is enough to secure spiritual happiness.[33] Yet, why does the Torah contain a multitude of duties? To augment the possibility of happiness, to heighten the degree of attainment. If one's share in the hereafter (spiritual happiness and the hereafter go together) depended on the perfect performance of *all* religious duties, then even one man in a generation might be unable to accomplish it. By doing one good deed in a perfect way, one has secured a share in the perfect life; and that is open to all. The Rabbis say rightly (*Sanh.* X, I) that all Israel have a share in the world to come. On the other hand, there is a possibility for every one to ascend in the scale of perfection, according to the phases of one's spiritual interests and occupations. The more one does, the higher one rises, provided, also, the proper intention—*Kawwana*—is there.[34]

Nor does perfection consist entirely in positive acts. Negative duties, too, play an important part, if backed by the right intention. You must bear in mind, says Norzi, one general rule in the performance of religious duties; namely, that all is according to inward intention. One may perform many duties and yet have them count for naught; and another may perform only one duty, which may be worth more than many, because of its content. Similarly, all the duties named in the Torah, whether positive or negative, are equally a means to the attainment of human perfection, or of some degree thereof, provided they are done in the proper spirit. For not only the performance of good deeds causes the perfection of the soul, but also refraining from doing evil deeds. The general expression of the Torah for serving God is: "Thou shalt walk in His Ways." But if one refrains from doing evil, one also walks in His ways. Thus, David says (*Ps.* 119, 1): "Happy are those of the perfect way, who walk in the law of the Lord." But he adds (*ibid. 3*): "They who do no evil, walk in His ways." Moreover, there are in the Torah, according to R. Simlai (T. B. *Mak.* 23 b), 365 negative duties, corresponding to the days of the solar year. The idea, Norzi

[33] Cf. T. B. *Qid.* 39b.

[34] II p. 20a

suggests, is to compare the negative duties to time. For, time does not exist in actuality, seeing the past is non-existent, the future has not yet become actual, and the present is only the now connecting the past with the future; and even the now itself is not really divisible time: thus, time does not actually exist, and yet it gives existence to all things found in time. Similarly, the negative duties, though they are things which do not exist in reality, give perfection to the human soul.[35]

Life is an opportunity for this kind of perfection and preparation. This is why Moses was eager to live on and to enter the Promised Land. He desired the chance of further self-perfection by the exercise of new religious duties.[36] What counts, however, is the spiritual intention. For example, there are two men, both equal in wisdom, riches, and every other regard. One gave a thousand pieces to charity once, in the right spirit, and the other gave a thousand pieces a thousand times, also in the right spirit. Obviously, the merit of the latter is greater. The degree of perfection must needs rise with the multiplication of good deeds, done in the right spirit. On the other hand, think of two other men: the one has occupied himself with Torah and good deeds all his life. But all his deeds were devoid of the right spirit. The other man's good acts are less numerous than those of the former; but his aim in everything was always godly. No doubt, the latter attains to a higher degree. Therefore, every man should endeavor to perfect his soul according to his power, combining purpose with performance, spiritual sincerity with practical diligence, for both the idea and the act are essential to perfection. Thus, one shall gain durable delight.[37]

With the value of personal effort goes Norzi's insistence on the importance of habit. Man, he tells us, was created by God in His own image, and endowed with power to know his Creator and to walk in His ways perfectly, and thus to attain the goal for which he was created. But man is apt to fall prey to the Evil Desire, luring him to corrupt acts and purposes, just as the ancient man was led astray by the instigation of the serpent. The

[35] II p. 19.
[36] Cf. T. B. *Sotah* 14a.
[37] II p. 20a.

Evil Desire, to Norzi, is the personal concern of every individual; it is not due to the primeval fall. While he refers occasionally to "the instigation of the ancient serpent," he does not hold it responsible for the sins of mankind, as was taught by some of his contemporaries. "The Evil Desire," says Judah Moscato, "grows strong in man by dint of the pollution thrust into him by the serpent of old."[38] Not so Norzi. He holds, like Pelagius, that each man must deal with the Evil Desire as a personal matter. And here lies the value of habit. How very diligent should a man be, he says, in acquiring the habit of reducing the power of the Evil Desire, and how very watchful of beginnings, for the first act enables a man to gain strength for the second, and the second for the third, and so forth. As the sages have said (T. B. *Yoma* 66 b): If a man has committed one trespass and repeated it, he comes to regard it as permissible. Yet, though a man's natural inclination be bad, if as a child and in youth he gets into the habit of breaking it, it will become easy for him to conquer whenever he wills to do so: a stone can be worn down and iron be broken. But if he begins by surrendering to the Evil Desire, he will find it ever harder to overcome. Habit is second nature —*ha-hergal teba sheni*.[39] This is what the sage of the Bible meant when he said (*Eccl.* 10, 4): "If the spirit of the ruler rises against thee, do not leave thy place," which the Targum renders: "If the spirit of the Evil Desire masters thee, and tries to overcome thee, do not quit the good place thou hast been in the habit of occupying." Therefore, avoid the beginning of sin and adhere to the beginning of good deeds; as in both cases the beginning is more than half of the whole—*ha-hathhala hi yother m'hatzi ha-kol*.[40]

For this reason, says Norzi, it is particularly important to train the young to a life of intelligence, and to instruct them frankly. Their mental instruments are not fully developed and the Evil Desire may seize upon them sooner than the Good Desire, their thought being bent upon the pleasures of the world.

[38] *Nephutsoth Yehuda XXVIII*, p. 70a.

[39] III p. 15b.

[40] On the growth of the Evil Desire, cf., e. g., Zohar, *Waethhanan*, III p. 267b.

They need counsel and instruction to guide them and to cause them to submit to the Good Desire, whereas if they are allowed to accustom themselves to nothing but bodily appetite and pleasure, they will find it hard later on to change their conduct. Persistence will make an impression upon their hearts: a drop of water is soft, but by keeping on it bores a hole in a hard rock.[41]

Moreover, he reminds the youth of sixteenth-century Mantua, as if they were of twentieth-century Manhattan, although liberty and independence are beautiful, and cherished by every intelligent being, nevertheless, to subject oneself to what deserves self-subjugation and to submit to one who is entitled to our submission, is something even more precious. For, true liberty and freedom are nothing but submission to whom natural and rational submission properly belongs.[42]

Nor does Norzi evade the question, Why was not man created altogether good by nature, so that he would not sin? The Master, he says, is not honored so much by servants who are not responsible for their acts as by those that compel their nature to do the will of their Creator. Therefore, it was necessary for the Divine Wisdom to create man out of matter and intellectual form. In point of intellectual capacity, man is superior to the angel: for man possesses intellectual endowment, by which he is able to apprehend the supernal beings, while the angel does not possess any material element to help him grasp material things and understand their true nature. When a man directs the material part of his nature toward the spiritual, and occupies himself with themes of Intelligence (*Sikhliyuth*), he honors his Creator and fulfills the real purpose of his creation. Thus, he obtains the perfection meant for him, as well as durable delight. When thou knowest and strivest after understanding, says Norzi, "thy eyes shall see aright." (*Ps.* 17, 2)[43]

From this point of view, he regards the purpose of Israel—the meaning of both the choice and the dispersion of Israel. Israel was chosen, he says, and set apart by the Lord, in order to serve Him. As long as the Jews do what is good and right in the

[41] III p. 14a.
[42] III p. 2a.
[43] III p. 2a-b.

eyes of God, they hallow His great Name. But whenever they do not conduct themselves properly, they desecrate the name of Heaven. Similarly, the Jews were scattered among other peoples so that the latter might learn from them belief in the existence of God and in Providence. This is what is meant by the words (*Hos.* 2, 25): "And I shall sow her unto Me in the world." Does a man sow one measure save for the purpose of gaining many measures? Thus, the Lord has sown Israel in various countries in order that a large number of strangers might join him. There is also a mystical explanation. When the Israelites were chosen by God, it meant that they were placed under His direct influence, rather than that of the other supernal powers. But the Israelites sinned in the Holy Land, which is the centre of the world, and thus departed from the central point of the supernal world, to which the earthly centre corresponds. They profaned the holiness of God by removing themselves from His medium unto that of the other supernal forces. Therefore, it was decreed that they should be dispersed to other parts of the world.[44]

III

Belief in the existence of God, according to Norzi, must lead one to the love of God and, namely, to a love which is disinterested and embraces all one's faculties, especially the intelligence. Here we have an adumbration of Spinoza's doctrine on the intellectual love of God; also, a hint that the conception of Religion as embracing all one's faculties is not as new as President Eliot, in his address on "The Future of Religion," seems to assume. Love of God, says Norzi, is a positive duty. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God!" (*Deut.* 6, 5) This love consists in one's trying to understand the true meaning of the religious duties and thereby to achieve a comprehension of God and find genuine delight in it; so much so as to turn others toward God and cause them to love Him.[45] Though fear of God is one of the basic qualities of the religious man, yet the service of God is per-

[44] III p. 2b; I p. 8a; III p. 27a—Cf. *Kad Ha-Qemah, Geulah.*—On the centrality of the Holy Land, cf. Zohar I p. 61a, II p. 157a.

[45] Cf. *Sifre* to *Dt.*, *Waethhanan* 32.

fected not by fear but by love: for love includes fear, while fear does not necessarily include love. If one loves another, e. g., a ruler, one will be loath to do anything contrary to the latter's wish; while if one only fears him, it is quite possible that one may not love him at all.

Indeed, in what sense may we speak of fear of God as part of the religious life? In view of so much recent criticism of Judaism, on the ground that it stresses fear, rather than love, of God, Norzi's analysis is valuable. Fear is of two kinds, we are told. It is prompted either by the soul's dread of some injurious object, or by apprehension of something great, sublime, and majestic, in the presence of which the soul is filled with awe at the thought of its own relative smallness and lowly worth, though it does not deem itself in any peril of injury from it. Fear of the latter kind we have in mind in Religion. That is the kind Abraham was praised for, when the Lord said of him (*Gen.* 22, 12): "Now I know that thou art a God-fearing man." Such a disposition a man reaches by complying with the commands of the Torah. For, if a man realizes that the Holy One looks upon both what is hidden and open within him, he grows aware of his own littleness and mental poverty, as well as of the exaltedness and majesty of God, and is filled with awe and shame to transgress His commands. On the other hand, if one fulfills religious duties from sheer fear of punishment and love of reward, one's service of God is not called disinterested. Thus, love is the essence of man's relation to God.[46]

Love, however, may be of three kinds: love of the good, the useful, and the pleasant.[47] With all these three kinds of love, we should love the Holy One. But the highest form is to love Him because He is good. This sort of love a man usually attains only in the declining years of his life, namely, from fifty onward; in the ascending years—namely, before thirty—when a man's blood is warm and he is steeped in desire, love of the pleasant rules him. Similarly, during the years of maturity, from thirty to fifty,

[46] II, 21a—On love as highest type of religion, cf. *T. Yer. Ber. IV.* 7. Also, *Seder Eliyahu Rabba*, Ed. Friedmann, Chap. 26, p. 140. The two kinds of fear and of love are often discussed in the Zohar. Cf. I, 11b.

[47] Cf. Albo, *Iqqarim* III, 35.

when the economic factor prevails, he is likely to love only from utility, eager as he is to amass wealth and other kinds of possession. But when the declining years arrive, he does not care so much for the pleasant or the useful, realizing their impermanence; he cares for the good because it is good. This kind of love is permanent and unchangeable. All three forms of love Moses bids us show toward God, when he says (*Deut.* 7, 5): "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might." To God we owe all kinds of love—from the standpoint of the pleasant, the useful, and the good; for He is the absolute good.

Moreover, like the heroes of the Bible, we should associate love to God with the divine quality of justice, as well as with that of mercy. No matter how He deals with us, we are meant to love Him, whether it is love or justice He metes out to us. Also, we should love Him with both sides of our nature—the evil inclination as well as the good. Whatever happens, we should accept gladly. For, the righteous man rejoices even in the divine quality of justice. Just as the Lord loves us, so we are bound to love Him.[48]

The quality of love is great. But even greater is the quality of Desire (*Hesheq*). Love consists in loving one's beloved in all one does, whether openly or secretly. Yet there are times when one forgets one's love because of other interests and occupations. But Desire means the attachment of one's thought to the beloved. This is the strongest form of love, where the thought of the desirer clings inseparably, unceasingly, to the desired one, no matter what else he might be doing. It was true of the Patriarchs, who, even while engaged in their diverse pursuits, with their flocks and in their fields, never let go of their desire for God. Whatever they did toward securing their bodily sustenance and material wealth, their chief aim was to draw near to God and to create a people which shall know God and serve Him. Purity of thought goes with the desire for God. For thought comes from the intellectual soul, which is the divine part of the soul. It is in the nature of one who desires that his thought clings insepara-

[48] Cf. *Talm. Yer.* and Zohar *loc. cit.*

bly to the desired one. As the Psalmist says (*Ps.* 91, 14): "He hath desired Me, therefore I will save him!" In other words, union with the Deity comes through desire, and the desire for God is both the cause and the effect of pure thought. Thus Solomon says (*Prov.* 20, 9): "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?" He means: Who can say my heart is pure and clean? He can say I am pure from sin! That is why Maimonides urges us to try our utmost to multiply periods during which we are with God—or seeking to attain Him—and to lessen the contrary periods.[49]

By loving God the soul enjoys utmost pleasure. Although ordinarily the love of an unattainable or difficult object causes pain and confusion as one casts about for means to gain the beloved object, which is the reason why people in love are in a state of sorrow and anxiety; nevertheless, the love of the Holy One, in spite of its unattainable nature, does not worry or harrass the soul, for the little of it that is won fills the soul with joy and wonderful delight. Such, indeed, is the nature of the lover; what little he obtains of the object beloved gives him more pleasure than a great deal outside his love. The more he obtains, the greater grows his love and delight, even though it be impossible for his love ever to cease or to be content, because its object is limitless, so much so that with every degree obtained, desire, as well as delight, increases. If one serves by virtue of such absolute love, one is not influenced by questions of gain or loss to oneself. One's aim is solely to do the wish of one's beloved, to be useful to the beloved, and not to regard one's own effort and hardship. Thus, Jonathan, loving David, did not worry about losing the kingdom, his thought being entirely for the weal of David. Such is absolute love. It is for the sake of the beloved altogether, immutable. Love prompted by utility changes and ceases; as the Rabbis have said (*Aboth* V, 19): Every case of love that depends upon something comes to naught. But love that rests upon the beloved alone remains as long as the beloved remains.

[49] I, p. 3a-b—Cf. Maimonides, *More, III*, 51. On the relation of desire to the love of God in Franciscan mysticism, cf. Etchegoyen, *L'Amour divin* (1923).

As the Holy One remains forever, it must needs be that love for Him is permanent and unceasing.[50]

Moreover, such love, felt for the sake of the beloved will exist only in those possessed of intellect and understanding. When a man loves another unselfishly, it is for the intellectual part of the latter; if the beloved changes or dies, love ceases, seeing that the soul is flown forth from the body, and the thing beloved is there no more. This being the highest form of love, men are praised or blamed according as they do or do not possess it. Therefore, it must be free also from every element of compulsion or necessity. Men cannot be praised or blamed for things they do under compulsion or from inevitable necessity. It must be of their own free will, their free choice in every way, as was Abraham's love to God. Only for what he does freely man is praised if it is good, and blamed if it be evil. Even a sacrifice, if brought by a man without examining the differences between good and evil, and only as a matter of habit, or custom, is worth nothing. This is what Koheleth means when he says (*Eccl.* 4, 17): "Watch thy feet when thou goest to the house of God;" namely, be sure that your going there is intelligent and not merely a matter of habit or custom. Man deserves credit for a good act only when he knows how to do evil, and might do it, but chooses to do good and rejects the evil. Thus, one who serves God from love is praiseworthy only when his love is absolute, without any admixture of necessity or of consideration of personal safety and advantage. That is the love of delight and eternal bliss.[51]

Norzi also discusses God's love for man. What is it based on? At first, it might seem inconceivable. Why should God love man, seeing they are so far apart and so different? It is due to God's grace and will, and not to any natural necessity. We distinguish three causes of love between human beings, says Norzi. First, love based upon likeness, as when two love each

[50] Cf. Abarbanel, Dialogue on Love, Hebrew version (Lyck, 1871), p. 4ff.—"Love is a sea agitated by waves and wind, and has neither harbors nor shores. The lover perishes in this sea and in his distress perish his torments and are born his perfections."—Raymond Lull (13 cent.) in The Book of The Lover and the Beloved, quoted by Etchegoyen, *loc. cit.*, p 186.

[51] II, p. 21b.

other because they are alike in moral nature, or because they pursue the same ends, whether of goodness, utility, or duty. Next, love based on natural kinship, as that of parent for child, or of the artist for a work which he strove and labored to produce. This is why mothers love their children more than do their fathers! In the mother both forms of this love are combined. There is more of her in the child. She both gives the material and toils more on the bringing up of the child. The third kind of love is based on mutual relations: *Ahabah yahsith*, as that of ruler and people, leader and follower, husband and wife. Such love devolves obligations upon both sides, relative to the position and power of either side. The ruler, for instance, owes it to the people to maintain justice among them and to safeguard their interests in the fullest measure, while the people owe the ruler honor, loyalty, and gratitude. Similarly, the love of husband and wife implies not only something based on natural attraction, but certain mutual duties.

Thus, the love of God and man is one of mutual relationship. For, the Lord supplies the wants of human beings, and He expects them to honor His name; not that He is in need of honor, but because thus they make it possible for the divine effluence to adhere to them and for the divine vigilance to watch them. For this reason Scripture often likens God to a king, ruler, and father, and speaks of God's relationship to Israel as that of husband and wife. God's love for Israel is based on free will and choice, and not on likeness or natural kinship. It is due to the divine desire for Israel, without any cause that can be explained, the desire of a lover for the beloved one. Scripture calls this love *Segulah*: something cherished, due not to the worth or merit of Israel, but to God's desire. Nevertheless, though there is this relationly love between God and man, it does not interfere with man's loving God for all reasons:—from the standpoint of the good, the useful, and the pleasurable. Indeed, love of God is the purpose of the whole Torah, for it draws God's love to man.[52]

[52] II, p. 23.

TITLE PAGE OF THE MANTUA EDITION OF NORZI'S *MARPE LA-NEPHESH*.

IV

Belief in Providence, according to Norzi, is another requirement of Religion, and namely, in both general and special Providence. His argument, supported by numerous homely illustrations and literary quotations, reveals familiarity with the medieval philosophers, as well as his own profound faith. Proof of Providence, he says, we find in the order of the universe, in the adaption of the organs of even the humblest creatures to their particular needs and circumstances, and in the experience of human beings. How often are not the evil plans of the shrewdest men changed to good! How often do not wicked men try to cause injury to simple-minded people and fail! This shows that the simple are saved by Providence rather than by their own wisdom, as, indeed, the Psalmist says (116,6): "The Lord keepeth the simple." Moreover, how often do we not see the wicked receive measure for measure? This is something observed in every period and every place, says Norzi, that he who does evil is himself hurt by it, who digs a pit falls into it. Even when things seem to go against us, as often they do, they are no less part of Providence. Nevertheless, Norzi agrees with Maimonides that the measure of Providence allotted to a man is according to the perfection of his intellectual power.[53] The individual who has perfected his soul according to his power is alone worthy that the divine Providence should adhere to him. Every road of thought with Norzi, as will be seen, leads to the duty and advantage of spiritual self-perfection.[54]

V

This appears again in his teaching about free will, the next element of his religion. Human acts, he asserts, may be divided into three classes. First, those caused by necessity; second, those representing a mixture of necessity and choice; and finally, those due to complete freedom of choice. The latter are the only ones for which a man is entitled to praise or blame. Acts

[53] Cf. Maimonides, *More*, III Chap. 7.
[54] II p. 23–24

due to necessity are so decreed by one's constellation or by Providence. Norzi shares the contemporary belief in the influence of the stars, though in him, as I have said, it is tempered by his religious and ethical attitude. The Torah is designed to help one to nullify the dictates of the stars, he teaches,[55] and the star is put in charge of man's intellect to guide it when he chooses.[56] Even in cases seemingly pre-determined, much depends on personal effort and volition, which one is in duty bound to exert, and by means of which one may modify astral or divine decrees. It is not enough to desire wisdom; one must desire the things that lead to it, namely, the yoke of study and a painstaking life. The Celestial Cause accomplishes its effect only insofar as men use the necessary means. As Aristotle has it, a man's star has no power to compel his actions, whether for good or ill; rather is man left to his own will to lead him in thought and deed, either to submit to his star or to fight against it. It is for man to decide whether his star shall be subject to him, or rule him; whether all his purposes shall depend on his star, or he shall be master and break the influence of the star. The power of the constellation at a man's birth extends so far as to give him a natural bent toward certain virtues or defects. But it is within man's power always to rise superior to such indications and to conduct himself according to his reason and free choice, either to break completely the indications of the star, or, at least, so to modify them that they shall do no harm, or even do some measure of good. As by bad choice and evil acts one can make a good star bad, so one may turn a bad star to good by a godly life. There is no decree so strong as to make a man righteous or iniquitous by necessity. Always personal effort is essential, without which nothing can come into existence. Just as ink depends for its existence upon gallnut and calanthum,[57] so even in things which would seem

[55] III p. 15a.

[56] III p. 13b.

[57] There was a lively discussion in 16th century Italy on the proper ingredients of *kasher* ink, and R. Moses Provenzale, the eminent rabbi of Mantua, remembered for his sanction of the first edition of the Zohar, was asked for a decision by R. Hillel of Modena. Norzi's simile is probably an echo of ebate. (Cf. Bernheimer, *Paleografia*, p. 128ff.)

caused by necessity, effort is necessary, though at first blush it might seem useless. For, if in spite of initial effort, a man finds that he was unable to attain the good, it must needs be that his own merit was not yet great enough to overcome whatever in his own life, or in that of his ancestors, may have caused the unfavorable decree, be it of the stars or of the Deity. This will serve to stimulate him to a scrutiny of his past conduct and further improvement. Thus, personal endeavor is commendable and profitable under all circumstances. With human diligence and effort comes divine help, and not otherwise. Nor is it fair to conclude that because some one thing that happened would seem to have been foreordained, all things are thus determined. But, rather, should one regard all things as matters of perfect free choice, for we with our own reason cannot judge. God will grant the good. As R. Aqiba has said (*Aboth* III, 19): Everything is foreseen, but freedom is granted. Freedom of choice is allotted to man. Therefore, a man should try his utmost to do what is good for him, and the Divine Desire will help him, according to his deeds and prayers.[58]

VI

In his ideas on prayer, we see also the blending of the ethical and the spiritual in Norzi's teaching. His discussion of prayer follows that of Providence and Freedom. And naturally so, says Norzi. For, first prayer is allied to freedom, because only a prayer made freely has any worth. There must be no compulsion whatever about it: *ki ha-naaseh b'ratson taaleh l'ratson.* Secondly, to believe in Providence is to believe in the value of prayer. If one is in trouble and does not resort to prayer, one either does not believe in Providence or does not regard oneself worthy of having one's prayer answered. Of course, it is part of Religion not to consider oneself as perfectly righteous. But that should not deter one from praying concerning one's needs, for God's mercy and compassion are extended to His creatures on the side of grace and not merely of merit, whether one is quite prepared for them or not. Prayer affords man a preparation for

[58] II p. 27a; III p. 7a.

gifts which lie beyond his natural equipment—something he can obtain from no other being save God.

Here we come again upon a bit of Norzi's astrology, or rather his battle against the astral beliefs of his age. All the supernal powers, he reminds us, are limited; they can affect only those prepared for them; that is, adapted to their influences. As fire can only warm, and water chill, so Mars can only influence one to kill and destroy, and not the opposite. Nor can it influence any one not subject to it. Similarly, the other planets: they are all limited by their own nature and that of the receiver. God however, can accept and benefit any one, whether worthy or unworthy, prepared or unprepared; He can do a thing and its opposite, and perform acts of grace for nothing. Moreover, God is the only being who combines the four conditions necessary in a being worthy of being prayed to: He is unchangeable; He has no need of help from another; He can do a thing and its opposite, and no outside force can prevent Him from doing His will. These four conditions are summed up in the verse of Deuteronomy (32, 29): "I am He; and there is no God with Me; I kill and I make alive; and none can rescue from My hand." Therefore, God alone is worthy of our prayers. No doubt, Norzi here argues against those wont to pray to the constellations or to intermediary celestial beings.[59]

Also, prayer may change the divine decree. For, if prayer is made in a spirit of freedom, it must be attended by humility and contrition. Now, whatever decree may exist against a man, it was formed when he was in a certain state of preparation. If prayer leads him to repentance, however, his preparation changes, which must be followed by a change of the divine judgment of him. By repentance he is changed into a different being, bringing about an alteration of the divine decree.[60]

Prayer and penitence, thus, are closely connected. There is no other religious duty, says Norzi, so sure to lead man to his supreme goal, namely, the love of God, as Penitence. It is a comprehensive element of Religion, associated with all other duties,

[59] II p. 27b—Cf. T. Yer. *Ber.* IX, 1: "In time of trouble, says the Holy One, let a man pray not to Michael, nor to Gabriel, but to Me," etc.

[60] II p. 27f.

including prayer. Prayer without penitence may avail for some particular needs. But in order to lead to general spiritual achievement, prayer must be bound up with repentance. Moreover, repentance must be from the heart. Indeed, it is one of the distinctive qualities of repentance that its performance depends on a man's heart. That makes it an easy virtue to acquire, if one is really in earnest. It is to repentance that, according to Nahmanides, Deuteronomy (30, 11–14) refers when it says : This commandment is not too hard for thee, nor too far off, neither in heaven nor beyond the sea: it is in thy mouth and in thy heart. So much the more is repentance to be commended, seeing it is within a man's easy reach, though its importance is so great that it would be worth pursuing even if in its quest one had to ascend the heavens or to go beyond the sea. In reality, it depends upon the heart of man and the loving grace of God. The ease of obtaining it makes its practice the more imperative, as it involves one's entire spiritual life. Suppose a man is suffering from a serious illness, and the common opinion is that there is no cure for him; then a certain physician arrives and says to the sick man: I will tell you of a drug which will cure you! The patient thinks that so rare a drug would surely require a great deal of effort and money to obtain. But the physician assures him that though the drug is marvelous, one need not go to much expense nor a long distance to secure it: it can be gotten nearby. The more reason, he says, to do all you can to get and use it: your life hangs upon it. Penitence is like that.[61]

Incidentally, I may point out that Norzi is fond of using medical terms in describing the spiritual life. I do not know whether, like many of his Italian contemporaries, he had studied medicine,[62] and thus acquired the habit of medical expressions. In any event, this is a striking feature of his style, illustrated for one thing by the title of one of his books: "Healing for the Soul." Like Francis Thompson among the moderns, and so many of the medieval rabbis, Norzi regards health and holiness as going

[61] II p. 31a-b; I p. 12b; II p. 35a.

[62] One of David Provenzale's objects in planning a Jewish academy was to enable Jews to study medicine in a Jewish atmosphere rather than in Christian "studios." Cf. Güdemann, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

together, and the quest of perfection to him is chiefly a seeking of spiritual health. What the physician does for physical health, the religious teacher is meant to do in the sphere of spiritual life. There is health and illness of soul, Norzi says, as there is health and illness of body. The soul's worth consists in a disposition on its part and on the part of every element of it, toward good and seemly acts, while disease of the soul lies in a contrary inclination. Just as the sick suffer in their sensibilities, so as to mistake sweet for bitter and bitter for sweet, and perversely crave for things injurious to their health, imagining them to be good and enjoyable, so one afflicted with disease of soul fails to discern the difference between good and evil, swayed by wild fancies and appetites until cured by the proper spiritual medicine. Moreover, as a sick man, aware of his illness but unfamiliar with the art of healing, goes for advice to a physician, who tells him what he must take or leave alone, and makes him take even bitter and distasteful things, in order to restore his physical health, so the Torah, which is the perfect art of spiritual healing, has provided for religious teachers, who are the physicians of the soul.[63]

To return to prayer, however, Norzi believes that a good deal of prayer is desirable for all. There are some exceptional beings, he admits, who find it sufficient to pray in spirit, and others who are granted even what they have not prayed for, and others still—those of the highest religious type—who are such lovers of God that they do not need to pray. But they are few and far between.

In order to be worthy of acceptance, prayer must contain three rudimentary characteristics: first, it should be spoken in short and suitable phrases, indicating the purpose of the person praying, and free from too much talk: a fool multiplies words. Moreover, the words spoken should be such as would please the hearer and not weary him. This is the reason, Norzi points out, why we have adopted poetical and metrical prayers. Secondly, there must be sincerity—harmony between heart and tongue. Thirdly, one's voice should be soft, indicating humility: one

[63] II p. 20b; I p. 13b; III p. 5a, 7b. On the Torah as Medicine, cf. *Mekhilta*, ed. Weiss, p. 54a.

should not be of those of whom it is written (*Jer.* 12, 8): "She raised her voice against Me; therefore, I hated her."[64]

Most important, however, in prayer is the question of ethical fitness. When a man goes to prayer, Norzi writes, he should first of all rid himself of every evil thought. While praying, he should, as the Rabbis say (T. B. *Sanh.* 22a), think the Divine Presence before himself. Moreover, he must eliminate secular conversation while in the synagogue, and desist from talking during the period of prayer. If there is a synagogue in town, he should be careful to attend services daily. But in doing so, he must be sure to come with clean hands and a pure heart. That is to say, hands clean of any form of robbery. This is one of the commonsense duties, which a man's own reason would have discovered had the Torah failed to mention it.[65]

In this regard, there is a profound suggestion in the old sacrifices. The Torah discarded from the altar the organ of food in the case of bird sacrifices. (*Lev.* 1, 16) The crop was to be thrown away, because it served as a means of robbery, so that mere washing was not sufficient, as was the case with the organs of domestic animals (*ibid.* v. 13); for the domestic animal feeds on the fodder of its owner, while a bird feeds on stolen things. There is a profound meaning in this, says Norzi, that might well arouse the dormant. Whoever holds in his hands objects of robbery, should not approach the altar of God, without first returning them. This is true of one who has robbed his equal. But one who robs a poor man does not redeem himself by merely paying it back. It is one of the mortal sins. Similarly, the Torah makes robbing a non-Jew a more serious offense than robbing a Jew, for it involves *Hillul ha-shem.*[66] If one is guilty of having robbed his fellowmen, he should restore it while alive, and not leave it to be done after his death; for, who will have pity on him more than he has himself? Lifetime uprightness is like a candle which gives light only if one carries it in front. [66a]Says the Prophet (*Is.* 58, 8): "Thy righteousness shall go before thee!" Moreover, the Bible says (*Deut.* 16, 20): "Justice, justice thou

[64] II p. 29b.

[65] On ethical purity as condition of prayer, cf. *Exod. Rabba* XXII, 4.

[66] Cf. Tosephta, *Baba Qama* X 14–15 (ed. Zuck. p. 367).

[66a] Cf. Eliezer Ha-Gadol, *Oroth Hayyim*, 27.

shalt follow!" It repeats the word justice for several reasons: first, do it whether you gain or lose; second, do it in both speech and deed; and, thirdly, do it in relation to the non-Jew as well as the Jew. By means of such uprightness a man becomes worthy of attaining the Divine Presence. As the poet has it (*Ps.* 17, 15): "By uprightness I shall see Thy face!"

All this applies to robbing an individual. But robbing the public, as for instance, robbing the taxes, is a sin worse than all other sins. This is a vine, the grapes of which are gall and wormwood; because by robbing the public treasury one touches the welfare of the poor, the orphan and the widow. Besides, it involves *Hillul ha-shem.* It includes perjury, insofar as one has sworn to pay the taxes faithfully and failed to do so. There are many men, says Norzi, who are very poor in money, who have no fixed income, who must toil for a living, and still, with their very life's blood, manage to bring their share of the public tax. And yet, there comes along the iniquitous and worthless rich man, with denial of God in his heart, and wants to fill his house with the spoil of the poor and the groans of the destitute. Such a man dishonors God's name publicly and it is a duty to expose his iniquity. Nor should such a man expect to escape punishment, no matter how long it may be in coming. Certainly he should repent before attempting to pray.[67]

Yet, we must not think that even if a man has done all the things named, he shall necessarily gain the perfect end he seeks. It is conceivable that one might do all one should, and in the way one should, without reaching the desired goal. Often you see a physician doing the proper things in the best possible manner, without an error either by himself or the patient, and yet health is not obtained. Similarly, a farmer may do all that is necessary, and plant at the right season, the field being good and properly tended, and yet not succeed with his crop. The reason is that the maker of health is not the physician alone, nor the patient alone, but the physician and Nature together; and agriculture does not depend solely upon the farmer, nor upon the field, but upon the farmer and Nature. In the same way, a blessing given

[67] I p. 6a, b—Cf. *Kad Ha-Qemah, Gezel.*

by a good man, the vehicle of divine influence, may yet fail of its effect, either because of the agent, or because the recipient is not qualified, or because, for one reason or another, the will of the Holy One does not assent: "The secret things belong unto the Lord" (*Deut.* 29, 28). Thus, also, a man may offer a prayer in the right way and at the right time, and yet see it unfulfilled. Not because of any fault in him, but because the will of the Holy One does not assent to it for one of many possible reasons, whether for the correction of the person praying or for his ultimate material or spiritual advantage. Therefore, that sage—R. Eliezer—was right who offered the following prayer (T. B. *Berak.* 29b): "O, Lord of the World, do Thy Will in heaven and give serenity of spirit to Thy servants below, and do what is good in Thy sight!" He prayed that God might do His own will in heaven in such a manner as to give tranquility of spirit to His servants below. That is, He should so order the constellations as to remove unfavorable decrees from those doing His will. And then he added: "And what is good in Thy sight, do!" Which is to say: In all things I am praying unto Thee, pay no heed to my words and wishes, for often I pray for things that are bad for me, though I imagine them to be good. But Thou knowest better than I whether a thing is good or bad for me. Therefore, do Thou choose what is best in Thy sight in regard to my welfare: for none knows but Thou! This is why the Rabbis taught that a man should praise God for the evil as well as for the good; because it is God, not man, that must decide what is good, and what is for the weal and help of man.[68]

The proper way to pray to the Holy One is to invoke His will in general terms and not in particular, limited, and individual phrases. If one goes into personal details, one may seem eager to constrain the Divine Will, rather than to submit one's own mind to the Divine Will. This is why the poet says (*Ps.* 62, 6): "Oh my soul, trust silently in God, for from Him cometh my help!" Addressing his soul, he says: When you pray before a human being, you have to explain your desire and the means you would use to obtain it. Otherwise, he might not know what

[68] II p. 30f.

you are after. But when you pray before God, do not explain your supplication, be silent in His presence, and leave to Him the way and manner of helping you.[69]

The crown of prayer is hope. All Religion culminates in hope, which must needs be part of every true believer. Hope is the means of eliciting divine grace. There are three grounds of hope. First, hope caused by one's faith in the divine love given freely. Then, hope through reliance on the divine glory; namely, that it is to the glory of God to help His servants. And, thirdly, hope inspired by the divine promise. The greatest is the hope prompted by faith in God's grace, though not everybody can rise to that height. Then, let us at least be guided by trust in the divine promise. There is certitude in it. This is why the Psalmist (130, 6) compares his hope in God to that of the watchman waiting for the morning, which is sure to come. Such hope does not worry one; it makes for strength and joy. Indeed, hope and strength complement each other: hope makes for more strength and strength for more hope. Where there is hope, quickened by trust, no heat can dry up or damage the greenness of perfection. Though one suffer a season of drought, namely, want and adversity, the flowers of the rose of trust shall strengthen one's heart. "My Beloved is mine, and I am His, who feed among the roses!" (*Cant.* 2, 16.) Man's union with God is unbreakable amid the roses of hope.[70] Hope in God is worth more than all the hymns of praise in His honor. Therefore, the poet says (*Ps.* 75, 14): *Waani tamid ayahel wehosaphti al kol tehilathekah*: "I shall hope continually and thus add more to Thy glory than all the songs sung to Thee!" The finest prayer is inspired by hopefulness—a virtue urged upon us by Prophet and Psalmist and for which spiritual reward is certain.[71]

VII

The process of spiritual perfection cannot be carried on without a certain degree of asceticism, which means self-liberation from too great a love for the material things of this world. Norzi

[69] II p. 31.

[70] III p. 18b.

[71] I p. 40a-b—Cf. Albo, *Iqqarim* IV, chap. 47.

does not advocate the extreme asceticism of flight and flagellation, which is out of keeping with the chief current of Jewish tradition. "God"—wrote Jacob Anatoli some three hundred years earlier—"does not hate the body; He loves it, even as He loves the soul. It is the means of preserving the individual and the species. Not as the non-Jewish saints hold, who think that they can attain perfection only by going to the last extreme in all manner of self-affliction; they are both cruel and foolish. As Proverbs has it (11, 17): "The pious man is good to his soul (and, therefore, to the body, the seat of the soul); while he that ruins his body, is cruel."[72]

Neither does Norzi deny the rights of the body and the desirability of material things. On the contrary, he often speaks of them as needful to the proper pursuit of spiritual ends, which sometimes is hampered by worldly worries. Time and again he mentions details of the physical life, and their relation to the spiritual task—food, business, marriage. Nevertheless, he maintains, upon the realization of the inferior and ephemeral character of material possessions depends spiritual perfection. The chief reason, he says, why some are called *Am ha-aretz*—people of the earth—is that those who have not gained spiritual perfection, whether in point of study or practice, do not regard themselves as sojourners upon earth, but rather as permanent inhabitants, clinging to it and its cares. On the other hand, the wise regard themselves as sojourners upon earth and prepare for their eternal dwelling in the spiritual world; here they are not like the people of the earth, but strangers. As the poet puts it (*Ps.* 119, 19): "I am a sojourner upon the earth." Therefore, it is proper to endure the hardships of the times and the vicissitudes of this life, which, as the Rabbis have said (*Aboth* IV, 21), is but a vestibule to the life to come. It is not customary for a man in a vestibule to enjoy every comfort. As some one has said: Is not what is stored for them in the future world enough for the righteous? If the Lord withholds from them some of the good things of this world, it is His own He holds back. With this in mind, a man will be free from many cares and anxieties, realizing that the contents of this world are merely means of pre-

[72] *Malmad Ha-Talmidim*, 79b.

paration and equipment for the weal of the soul in the world which is wholly good; for only in that world is there perfect peace: *shalom shalem.*[73]

Because man's soul is precious, one must beware of the things that damage it. It is impossible to attain spiritual happiness without first lessening wordly interests. One should set one's heart upon the goal of life rather than on physical objects. One should choose an occupation and a mode of life which would enable one to keep on perfecting oneself. Although the usual habit of our age, says Norzi, is for men to spend their efforts on the acquisition of temporal possessions, yet should every man set aside certain periods for the study of the Torah and other spiritual occupations, no matter how little prepared he may think himself.[74] One should eat and drink, according to one's actual need, in order to be healthy and strong for the service of the Creator. Similarly, in the matter of acquiring riches: one should be content with little and should carry on one's business faithfully. Too much riches, a wise man has said, is as bad for the soul as too much blood for the body.[75] One's chief aim in amassing money should be to spend it on the gaining of good qualities and intelligence and things conducive to one's physical improvement and spiritual happiness. Even affliction should be used for spiritual ends. Thus, the Israelites were made to go to Egypt. By their suffering there, they were prepared for the worship of God. Pharaoh's chains of iron were changed to divine cords of love.[76]

VIII

Norzi's preoccupation with the spiritual and supernal destiny of man does not make him indifferent to human conduct and welfare on earth, especially to what today is called social service or social justice, and is by some regarded as a recent discovery and as a post-theological stage in the history of Religion.

[73] III p. 9b. By way of illustration, Norzi quotes the story of R. Hanina b. Dosa (T. B. *Taanith* 25a). Cf. I, p. 5a; 1 11a; III 12a, 16b, 23b, 26a, 28b.

[74] II p. 19a.

[75] III p. 16b. Cf. the Fourth Parable in *Shisha Meshalim*, ed. by Prof. A. Marx, Berlin, 1924, derived from Isaac Aboab's *Menorath Ha-Maor*, V, I, 1, 3 (Prof. Louis Ginzberg). On Jewish asceticism cf. also *ibid.* V, I, 3, 1 and V, II, 1, 4.

[76] III p. 11a, b.

Demand of justice and protest against social abuses is part of Norzi's religion, as, indeed, it has been part of Jewish religion from the days of the Patriarchs and the Prophets. The fabric of his theology, as we have seen, is shot through with fibres of social doctrine. There are four reasons, he says, why a man will do good to his fellows: first, because he is good by nature, and thus is prompted by his own character to be kind to others; second, because of a previous promise or agreement; third, because of sympathy for the poor and oppressed who have none to help them; and, finally, because of revolt against the strong and arrogant, who crush the weak without cause, and a desire to come to the help of the latter.[77]

It is such protest against arrogance and injustice that he voices again and again. There are men so stricken with folly and blindness, he cries, as to put their sole trust in wealth and to boast of their riches. That they regard as the supreme good and final goal. They can conceive of no object more praiseworthy and glorious. They love their money more than their soul. Like a blind man groping in the dark, they do not understand the work of God, nor do they realize that money cannot save them from death and that they cannot know into whose hands it shall fall, whether into those of a wise man or a fool. They are too shortsighted to see that all this is folly and vanity; that it is proper for a man, whether poor or rich, to employ his money for the purpose of fulfilling with all his soul and might the commands and teachings of his Creator. Unto that one should turn one's attention, as do the perfect men whom God has graced with understanding and whose whole aim and desire and effort is to attain to divine spiritual perfection and happiness and who strive to reach that eternal light which has no ceasing.[78]

Let no man think that by roaming up and down the land, by following the sight of his eyes and the devious desires of his heart, and by gratifying his wild fancies, he may hope to gain the supreme divine light. Only when one has learned the divine art of overcoming one's appetites by pursuit of the Torah and the service of the great and wondrous God, can one find one's way

[77] III p. 11a.
[78] III p. 10a ff.

to the abode of God's light and sweetness. Thus, and not by amassing immense riches, or things bought by money, nor by the other pleasures which serve to estrange many from their godly heritage, prompting them to forego the eternal life for the ephemeral. Our sages have pointed out the inherent inferiority of imaginary possessions, which is proved by the fact that the absence of material riches is worth more than its presence. For, all other attainments—those truly excellent—serve a man by being with him and by his clinging to them, while money, on the contrary, serves him only as he parts with it

If a man has succeeded in obtaining wealth, it is his duty to thank his Creator, who has dealt wondrously with him and has graciously entrusted to him great riches, in order that he might spend a proper amount on food and other needs, and the rest on charity and acts of mercy and similar ends. Money spent in such a manner, a man really takes in, and receives, rather than gives away. As Scripture says (*Exod.* 25, 2): "They shall take unto Me an offering!" You would have expected Scripture to say: "They shall *give* unto Me an offering!" But it says: "They shall take!" To teach us this lesson, that by giving to others, we really take.

Nor shall a man boast and say, My own strength and the might of my hand has made for me all my wealth! Let no man cry: I have toiled all my life in the heat of day and in the cold of sleepless nights; what do I care about charity and philanthropy, and why should I take my good money and give it to one who has not toiled and moiled for it? Such an attitude is woeful. It is like denying the Providence of God. God gave this man all his riches, and it is His; as the sage of Bartotha has said (*Aboth* III, 7): "Give Him of what is His, for thou and what thou hast are His!" Also, David says (I *Chron.* 29, 14): "From Thee is all, and out of Thy hand have we given Thee." Why should it grieve a man to give of his bread to the poor, seeing we are all sitting at God's table? Rejoice in thy table, say our sages, when the hungry are enjoying it. Or, as R. Joshua has it (*Lev. Rab.* 34, 10): More than the host does for the poor, the poor does for the host. That is why Ruth says to Naomi: "The name of the man for whom I worked today is Boaz." (*Ruth* 2,

19). The Hebrew might be rendered: The man for whom I *did* today. More than Boaz did for Ruth (by giving her food), she did for him.[79]

Similarly, we are admonished to love the stranger. In thirty-six places, says R. Eliezer the Great (T. B. *Bab. Metz.* 59 b), the Torah admonishes us concerning the stranger. Who is a stranger? First, says Norzi, every Jew who goes from his own town to another town. Then, one of another people who has turned to the Jewish religion; a righteous proselyte. Also, an outsider who has renounced the worship of idols and come to dwell in our midst; a sojourning proselyte. It is one's duty toward such a stranger (of whatever class) to provide him with sufficient food and to welcome him in a spirit of genuine love and friendliness. For, when a man is an exile, driven from his own country and wandering about in foreign parts, one has a twofold duty toward him: first, to give him sufficient support; and, secondly, to receive him in a kind manner and with pleasant speech. The latter means more to him than all the gifts one might give him. The Prophet says (*Is.* 58, 7. 10): "Deal out to the hungry thy bread" and "extend to the hungry thy soul!" The one refers to nourishment; the other to kind words. Whatever you do for the stranger, do it in sincerity, in love and devotion. One should bear in mind that the righteous call themselves strangers in relation to this world. A man, therefore, should love the stranger and magnify himself by the quality of compassion, by taking pity on human beings.[80]

IX

Though Norzi stresses the value of the external duties of Religion, he insists time and again that inward disposition and aim are paramount. It is above all an inward operation, as Matthew Arnold maintained concerning culture. God wants the heart, Norzi asserts with the talmudic rabbis. As man is made of body and soul, both representing the divine love, so we are meant to serve God outwardly and inwardly.[81] Inward service

[79] III p. 10b.
[80] I p. 7a-b.
[81] Cf. *Bahya, Hoboth Ha-Lebaboth,* Introduction.

consists in sincere acceptance of God and His Torah, love and reverence for Him, and the effort to apprehend His grace. Outward acts of religion are perfect only if they reflect one's own volition and desire, and one's own understanding.[82] The chief purpose of the soul is to develop an inward disposition toward godliness. Where that exists, the soul will keep ascending and all the rest shall follow, both as regards the cognitive and active phases of religion. Both these sides are important: the cognitive side, whereby one gets to know God and godliness; and the active side, which means the performance of outward duty. It is a fault in devotees of Religion, Norzi insists, if they fail to pay heed to the cognitive side of Religion; to them refers the prophetic phrase (*Jer.* 2, 8): "They that uphold the Torah do not know Me." By the cognitive part of Religion, that inward disposition may be developed which leads to active and sincere religiousness, and thus to eternal bliss.[83] As the modern German philosopher would put it, both *Erleben* and *Leben* are wanted.

The proclamation of the divine Unity, for instance, is part of this kind of inward service: "To serve Him with all your heart (*Jos.* 22, 5)." And since in uttering words we sometimes mean what we say, and sometimes do not, therefore, we are told, in connection with the declaration of the Unity, *Sh'ma Yisrael*: "Hear, O Israel!" The word *Sh'ma* means both to hear with one's ears and to understand with one's mind. We must grasp the inward meaning of the words we cause our ears to hear. Moreover, since it is impossible for a human being ever to know whether another person's public utterance is in accord with his secret intention, therefore the traditional text has the *Ayin* of *Sh'ma* and the *Daleth* of *Ehod* in large letters, making the word *Ed*, "Witness;" which is to say, God is witness to the sincerity and intelligence of our proclaiming His Unity. As Scripture has it (*Jer.* 29, 23): "I am He that knoweth, and am witness, saith the Lord."[84] Therefore, one should be very careful to clear one's mind of all material interests during the Unification. More-

[82] III p. 9a.

[83] II p. 21a.—Cf. Moscato, *loc. cit.*, Sermon 18, on the inter-relation of cognition and practice: "A Golden Bell with a Jeweled Clapper."

[84] Cf. *Kad Ha-Qemah, Yihud Ha-Shem.*

over, the verse of the Unity refutes the sectaries (*tzaduqim*), who maintain that there are two divine powers. This is the reason why the Name of God is mentioned in it three times. For, if it had read: Hear, O Israel, God the Lord is One; it might have offered to the other people a chance for saying that it referred to their Deity, called by them likewise Lord. Therefore, there is added "our God," that is, the God of Israel. Moreover, if it had said: The Lord our God is One, they might have said: The God of Israel is one; and so is our God, whom we call Lord, one. For this reason, the verse reads: The Lord our God, the Lord is One, to proclaim that the Lord, who is the God of Israel, He alone is called Lord, and He is One—One from every side and from every angle; without any combination whatever, and unequalled in His unity by any other being above or below.[85]

The basis and the pillars of Religion, thus, are the intentions of the heart. So much so that sometimes one transgression is worse than many other transgressions, and one good deed is worth more than a multitude of other good deeds, according to the inward aim and desire of the individual. The fundamental quality of man, Norzi affirms, has to do with eternal spiritual perfection, and the essential form does not depend on material objects. Material conditions may thwart good intentions; yet merit lies in intention.[86] As Robert Browning has it in his "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

> "All, I could never be,
> All, men ignored in me,
> This, I was worth to God."

Hence, one should seize the yoke of the heavenly kingdom with a pure soul. For, deeds come from thought. Man is like a tree. As the flow of the soil is transformed in the tree according to its nature and sap, and as the fruit of the garden is sweet or sour, or even bitter, according to the roots of diverse trees and the seeds of various plants, thus with man. The flux of instruction descending upon him from above is changed in the heart of every individual after its own nature, bringing forth

[85] I p. 11b.
[86] III p. 9b.

either beautiful blossoms and fruits, or bad and bitter fruits.[87]

Therefore, one should pray for pure thought and a pure heart, that one might not be defiled by evil meditations. "Create me a clean heart!" says the poet (*Ps.* 51, 12). He prayed for pure thought. Similarly, the sages say (T. B. *Yoma* 29a) that the meditations of sin are worse than sin: which means, they are worse for the soul than the actual committal of a sin. Meditation depends on the heart, the abode of the soul. Defile it by evil thought, and it will weigh more heavily upon the soul than actual sin, which burdens thought less than constant meditation of sin. Also, from meditation it is harder to free oneself, because the habit of thinking on sin leads one to commit it. Again, when a man begins to think of committing a certain sin, say, to steal or to rob or to commit adultery, he might reflect that if one were to interfere with him, he would not hesitate to deceive or even to murder in order to fulfill his desire. Thus, meditating upon any one sin involves the possible commitment of many more sins. Likewise, meditation upon a sin after one had committed it, adds to the evil. As a man is responsible for the choice of his acts, so he is responsible for his thoughts, whether good or bad. Norzi questions the talmudic saying (T. B. *Qid.* 39b) that the Holy One, blessed be He, does not account an evil thought as an evil deed, and that one is not punished for it. One would think, Norzi says, that since a man is not responsible for his thought, he is not guilty unless he has actually committed a sin. Yet, is it really so? Why should a man not be held to account for his evil meditations, since by them he defiles his intellectual soul? Inward dwelling upon sin is in itself a sign that one has turned away from the divine path; it is a pitfall. One should try to direct one's thoughts toward God. "The thought of man," says the Zohar, "is the beginning of all, and from it spreads the pollution and mastery of the Evil Desire." If an evil thought arises, one should resist it, and prevent it from becoming effective in the heart. This the Psalmist means by clean hands and a pure heart. Clean hands mean physical qualities, leading to good deeds; a pure heart means mental qualities,

[87] III p. 3b.

which have to do with the purifying of thought, so that a man might be within as without—the same in his inward life as outwardly.[88]

For this reason Norzi often decries hypocrisy. It is the denial of the very essence of Religion. Deception is worse than theft: it is more grievous to "steal the mind" of your fellow than to steal his money.[89] When a man engages in study of the Torah let him not do so for the sake of being regarded as a sage by the populace, or in order to gain renown among the great, or to acquire ascendancy over his fellowmen. Unfortunately, there are such men, says Norzi, who seem outwardly righteous, engaged in good deeds, and yet inwardly belong to the class of the evil minded and iniquitous. Their sole aim is to obtain fictitious possessions, external honors, and imagenary lordship over others—all of which are in reality grapes of gall and wormwood. Hypocrisy brings Religion into disrepute, and hinders its work in the world. Often the foolish among the crowd, observing in certain scholars a trace of some blameworthy quality, conclude that it is something that goes with the study or the teaching of the Torah. But herein they show their lack of insight. If a man of the Torah goes wrong, it has nothing to do with the essence of the Torah. He does so because his study did not suffice to save him from his natural wickedness, to remove from him the inward dross. Men of this type are guilty of the desecration of the Divine Name, and cause the Shekhina to remove from Israel.

There are many prominent and esteemed men who do things that should not be done, and do not regard them as sinful, thus causing religion and duty to be despised by the general community: this we call *Hillul Ha-Shem*. How important it is for a man not to give rise even to suspicion of sin! How many foolish people there are who, knowing no better, believe everything they hear—any whisper—"So-and-so did so-and-so; so

[88] 1 p. 11–12.—Cf. Zohar I p. 155a, II p. 150b. Also, cf. *Midr. Tanhuma Yelamdenu* on the Burnt offering: It was all sacred, because it was brought for mental sins. (Ed. *Horeb*, p. 377 and p. 385, and note of *Etz Yoseph*).

[89] III p. 3a. Cf. *Reshith Hokhma, Shaar Ha-Qedusha*, chap. 12 (p. 61a), where a similar view is quoted from Israel Alnaqua's *Menorath Ha-Maor*.

and-so said so-and-so!" Promptly they themselves lose contempt for acts of sin, wich is the cause of much shame and anger, and of desecration of the Name. The greater and the more eminent a man, the more serious his trespass. Says Koheleth (1, 18): "The more wisdom, the more vexation," which means that the more eminent a man is for wisdom and ethical quality, the greater the indignation at his sins. Yet prominent men often are guilty of such trespasses. Their habit begins with small things and spreads to greater ones, gradually leading to disgraceful acts.[90]

Pride is the worst of vices. Like Ben Sira (X, 14), Norzi regards it as "the original of sin." To be guilty of it is to be an abomination to the Lord (*Prov.* 16, 5). Though a man be righteous and his entire conduct be in accord with reason and wisdom, yet it is not proper that he should be filled with pride; on the contrary, he should abase himself, for even the Holy One, to whom pride is suitable and who clothes Himself therewith, does not in His relation with human beings show pride, but rather lowliness; as the Bible says (*Job* 37, 23): "As for the Almighty we do not find Him mighty in power." *Shadday lo metsanuhu sagi koah.* That is, we do not find Him overwhelming us with force and pride, but rather dealing with us in lowliness, humility, and grace; though He is called *Shadday*—Almighty —in relation to the upper spheres, in view of the majesty He shows in ordering and commanding the constellations.

Pride is at one extreme and lowliness at the other, while the quality between the two is humility. In all other virtues it is proper for a man to use the middle course; but in regard to pride we are warned not to be content to stop in the middle, but to go to the other extreme, namely, lowliness; as the Rabbis say (*Aboth* IV, 4): "Very, very lowly of spirit be thou!" and, as is recorded of Moses (*Numb.* 12, 3): "The man Moses was very humble." "Very" was added to show that he inclined toward lowliness. Pride and lowliness are two qualities, the one of which is hated of the Lord and the other, beloved; and it is for us to hate that which He hates and love what He loves. That is

[90] I p. 9a-b; III p. 31a.

why the Rabbis warn us against arrogance and playing the lord. Even Joseph, they declare (T. B. *Berak.* 55a), in spite of his other virtues, died before his brothers, because he played the lord against them. Three things, they teach (*ibid.*), shorten a man's life: if he is asked to read the scroll of the Law and declines; if he is asked to say the blessing over a cup and he refuses; and if he is in the habit of playing the master. Moreover, says Rabh (T. B. *Suk.* 29 b), for four reasons men forfeit their property: for holding back the wages of their employees; for robbing employees of their wages; for evading their duty and imposing it upon their fellows, and, most of all, for arrogance. A man should try to be tender-hearted, beware of the pollution of pride, and be humble in all his interests and activities, having in mind always their ultimate purpose, and following reason in all his enterprises. For, without reason there is no perfection for the soul.[91]

Even in his dress a man shows whether or no he is animated by pride. With the author of the *Aqedath Yitzhaq*,[92] Norzi believes that the garments of the High Priest were a lesson in moral qualities. Thus, the ephod is a reminder of true godliness and a warning against idolatry; the breast-plate is meant to recall the divine grace in electing Israel; the robe is a warning against slander, and the tunic against the shedding of blood. ("They dipped Joseph's tunic in blood"—*Gen.* 37, 31). Iniquitous men who run about bent on evil and who are quick to shed blood wear their coats cut short, for thus they can pursue and catch more easily. But the long coat is the opposite: it reaches to the heel and, wearing it, one cannot jump about grossly. Such a garment is proper for people who are in the habit of staying at home. It symbolizes and enforces the qualities of integrity, uprightness, and love of home, rather than loafing about in the streets and public places, to say nothing of pursuing one's fellowmen with murderous intent. Similarly, headgear often is a mark of haughtiness. Scripture says (*Eccl.* 10, 3) that by the way the fool walks he proclaims himself a fool. By his motions and his clothes he betrays the fool. On his head he puts a lofty hel-

[91] I p. 7a.
[92] Cf. Chap. 51.

met—long and high, touching his head and not touching it: loose as if floating in the air. And he regards it as a veritable crown, as is customary, says Norzi, with many nowadays. A sensible person will have none of such foppery. He will choose headgear sufficient to cover his head, learning from the high priest who wore a cap that remained set on his head, enough to cover his head down to the place for the phylacteries.[93]

With pride goes covetousness. Who covets what does not belong to him, says the Talmud (*Sota* 9 a-b), will not obtain what he desires, and may lose what he has—as happened to the primeval serpent, who conceived a desire for Eve. Moreover, covetousness leads to many other transgressions, as, according to the Rabbis, happened to a certain man who coveted another man's wife; step by step, in order to save his neck, he broke every one of the Commandments, winding up with apostasy. If a man longs for the money of others, it is certain that he will be so greedy of his own money as to fail to give justly to the poor and to fulfill other duties, involving money. This is why "Thou shalt not covet" is at the end of the Decalogue: to show that this Commandment is equal in importance to all the others combined; for, if one is not careful to observe it, one may be led to break all the rest. Another explanation is this: the tenth Commandment is meant to correspond to the first. Both depend on inward thought: the first is positive, the last, negative. Their position at both ends of the Decalogue is for the purpose of reminding us that whoever fulfills the last Commandment—"Thou shalt not covet"—fulfills the first: belief in the one God; but who breaks the Commandment against covetousness, breaks the first also. Inasmuch as one is covetous, one shows lack of trust in Him who said: "I am the Lord thy God!"[94]

[93] III p. 12a—Italian moralists time and again tried to check extravagance in clothes, Jewish congregations even issuing decrees against it. (Cf. Güdemann, *Erziehungswesen in Italien*, p. 213ff. and Note XIV.)

[94] I p. 11a—On the Unity of the Commandments, cf. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, III, 104.

X

In modern discussions of Judaism, we hear little of the hereafter. We are prone to overlook, or even to deny, the important place which eschatology has occupied in Jewish belief. When Norzi speaks of spiritual perfection, it is always with an eye to the future world. What were his ideas on the hereafter?

In regard to reward and punishment, he informs us, there are four different kinds of belief. First, that there is no reward and punishment, neither spiritual nor material; second, that there is both spiritual and material reward; third, that reward is material but not spiritual; and, fourth, that it is spiritual but not material. These ideas are due to differences of opinion on the nature of the soul. Some believe that the soul of man does not differ from that of other creatures, except that man is more skillful in devising means for the improvement of the conditions of life, just as some of the lower animals are superior to others. Such people disbelieve in reward and punishment, whether spiritual or physical, holding that human beings are left to chance like other creatures, the divine concern being merely for the preservation of the species as a whole. The second class hold that there is reward and punishment, but that they are material and take place in this world. They try to prove it by alleging that in the Bible there is no mention of spiritual reward, but only of material blessings. Their belief is due to their view of the soul as composed of changeful elements like the element of nutrition, growth, and sensation, and the intellectual faculty. As the other elements are lost when body and soul separate, they hold that the intellectual element also disappears and the soul ceases to exist as do the souls of the lower animals. The third view, shared by some of our sages, is that reward is all in the hereafter, that in this world it does not exist. They refer to experience for proof. How often do not individuals perish while engaged in the performance of a pious act! Only the hereafter, they hold, is the perfect world. Their view coincides with that of the philosophers, who assert that man can become perfect only after death, when the mind is freed from matter and from material entanglements. The fourth belief holds that reward

is partly material (and in this world) and partly spiritual (and in the world to come after death). This is the view of the Torah, which designates partial material reward for the righteous, and a special spiritual destiny for the soul. But the chief part of the reward is spiritual, after the soul has separated from the body.

Moreover, we believe, says Norzi that aside from the spiritual reward in store for the soul, there is still another form of reward of a material kind awaiting us in this world. This will take place in the Messianic Age, through the resurrection, when the righteous shall come to life again on earth, for the purpose either of proclaiming the miracles of God, and belief in Him; or of obtaining some of the pleasures they missed before, when they endured hardship and sorrow for the sake of Religion; or of attaining to a higher degree of perfection than they were able to reach during their previous existence, having been prevented not by lack of devotion, but rather by untoward circumstances. The soul needs a body for such perfection, as an artist needs instruments of work. But after that period of renewed earthly existence, the righteous shall die again, prepared for a higher degree of spiritual bliss than would have been theirs without the opportunity for improvement offered them by their second life.

Norzi, thus holds that there are four separate periods provided for reward: the present life; the hereafter after death; the second life on earth for those resurrected, and, finally, the final hereafter. Both the second life and the final hereafter are meant to give an opportunity for additional spiritual self-perfection.[95]

But what is the future reward to be like? Norzi does not ignore this question, despite its difficulties, and in his answer we hear again the spiritual note which runs through all his teaching, and, perhaps, a protest against the more material construction of the hereafter by other teachers of his time. Briefly, he says, the answer may be stated thus. When the soul after death is separated from the body, it will be eagerly desirous to do what in view of its intellectual element it is natural for it to seek to do, namely, to serve God, and it will also crave the things it was

[95] II p. 35–36

wont to do while in the body. If a man while alive directed all his acts toward the service of Heaven, and sought, according to his power, to do the will of his Creator, this disposition will not depart from his soul after death, until the latter is united with the spiritual Intelligences who worship the Holy One with the same disposition that governed the soul while in this life. Their disposition is undoubtedly of a higher degree than his—so much higher that it would almost seem impossible to compare the two; yet, they do belong to the same kind, just as the light of the star rising before dawn may be compared with the light of the noonday sun. Thus, the soul separated from the body, coming to understand the spiritual things and divine themes in their very truth, will experience a marvelous delight, discovering that the ideas which its intellect had cherished agree with the essence of the divine themes. Just as a man enjoys the rays of the light which come from the sun, and turns the power of vision latent in him into an actual thing (provided he has clear vision), so in the spiritual world, if he is a man of pure thought and intentions he will enjoy as a reality the rays of the Intellectual Light, called the Radiance of the Shekhina. This is a pleasure no material being can describe; even the Prophets were unable to do so.

Similarly, we are to understand punishment and suffering in the hereafter. If a man, while living, gives himself to sensual and material pursuits, and his soul accustoms itself to the service not of God, but of the body, which is the opposite of its own nature, what happens? When it is separated from the body, it still craves those things to which it has grown accustomed; but it lacks the means of obtaining them. On the other hand, its own nature makes it eager to seek union with the supernal spiritual forms. But it lacks experience and training in the service of God, and therefore, it is unprepared for the enjoyment of that pleasure. Thus, the soul is caught between two cravings: toward the lower and the higher, swayed, on the one hand, by its own nature, and, on the other, by lifelong habit. For the one it lacks preparation; for the other, instruments. That is what causes its suffering—an agony greater than any other in the world—greater than flaming fire or terrible freezing cold, and

greater than the slashing of knives and swords, and the biting of snakes and scorpions.[96]

With such a view of the hereafter, a good man cannot be afraid of death. All perfect men, says Norzi, while still alive do their utmost to prepare for themselves refined and pure oil and clean vessels, so that the great light of their soul might shine with brilliance after their death, which is only the inevitable death of the body, and which in truth is good for the perfect. As Scripture has it (*Psalm* 116, 15): "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." Death leads to the spiritual bliss which forms the chief aim of the perfect, namely, to behold the inmost goal of life and to enjoy the radiant glory of those dwelling on high, which no man can see who lives the life of the flesh. It is like the story of the young boy, who was told by his father that he possessed an inheritance in another town, far away, a pleasant house and beautiful garden. Both father and son are very eager to improve their possession, and thus day by day they send much money and generously provide implements of work. When finally the son is bidden to remove to the country where are his large house and fair garden, he is not at all displeased, for he knows of a certainty that there he shall have a place of rest and safety; indeed, he greatly rejoices, for this is what he has longed for, especially when he thinks of the defects of the city in which he has lived hitherto. This is what the sages meant by saying (T. B. *Kethub.* 103b): "If one dies laughing, it is a good sign." The perfect, thinking of how much they have done toward the building of their eternal home, will rejoice when they are transferred to it. They will rejoice to go toward that bright and pure light, before the little light which has shone for them in this world has grown dark.[97]

[96] II p. 37a. Cf. Albo, *op. cit.*, IV chap. 33. The physical punishment which Norzi repudiates is the very kind described in *Reshith Hokhma.* Di Vidas, not content with what he could gather from books, received detailed information on the varieties of punishment prevalent in Hell from a man who, having been dead three months, appeared to him in a dream in the month of Elul 1570 (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 29b).

[97] III p. 7b f.

* * *

Norzi, thus, tried to cover the whole of life. While he laid no claim to originality, his work is noteworthy as a summary of the speculative and ethical thought of a sixteenth century Italian rabbi, and as an illustration of the unending spiritual endeavor of the Jewish Religion. It was Norzi's aim to teach his contemporaries "to draw living waters from the divine fountain, and so attain to spiritual perfection." And this, we might say, has formed the perennial function of Judaism.

A NOTE ON EDITIONS OF NORZI

The Amsterdam edition presents several interesting features. In addition to the Portuguese Dedication, it includes: (a) Approbations by the famous Chief Rabbis, Isaac Hayyim Abendana de Bretto, of the Spanish Congregation, and Saul Löwenstam, of the German Congregation, as well as by the oatger's brother-in-law, Isaac b. Mordecai Ha-Levi of Lemberg, Rabbi of Leszno, who was visiting in Amsterdam; (b) poems in praise of both the editors and the author by the printer, Judah Loeb b. Moses Soesmans; (c) a poem by R. Moses Abraham b. Moses Ovner (Van Oven), and (d)a poem—*Kether Kehunah*—by Abraham Hezekiah Bassan. The title-page has a wood-cut by Jospe b. Meir Smalkalden.

Besides, it contains: (a) Two anonymous sermons—on the Experiences of Adversity and on Providence—printed together under the title *Tokhahath Megulah*, though the second sermon really has a separate title, namely, *D'rush al ha-Hashgaha*. Their author, I think, was Isaac Belinfante, one of the editors, who was an eminent preacher, in both Hebrew and Portuguese, as well as a learned bibliophile; (b) two short chapters on Repentance, compiled by the editors; (c) an interesting introduction by Belinfante—*Haqdamath ha-Maggiha*—closing with an ethical poem in four stanzas, in which the characteristics of Belinfante's style—especially his love of assonance and alliteration—are prominent (helping one to identify him as the writer of the sermons referred to); and (d) *Margenitha d'be Rabh*—an old ethical exhortation which had appeared in *Or Qadmon*, by R. Moses Hagiz (Venice, 1703—cf. Benjacob, *Ozar*, p. 28) and was printed again in *Abhkath Rokhel* by Makir (Sklow, 1795—cf. Benjacob, *ibid.*, p. 6).

The Amsterdam edition came in at least three styles: one on ordinary paper; one on blue paper (a copy of which is in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and was kindly lent me by Prof. Marx); and one on thick rag-paper (a copy of which is in the New York Public Library; cf. also Catal. Lehren, 1899, p. 105 #1817; and Catal. Van Biema, 1904, p. 105 #1816, both of which were shown me by Prof. Marx). Curiously enough,

the supplementary material is distributed differently in the copies of the various styles. The best and most logical arrangement is found in the large paper edition, which, however, does not contain the *Tokhahath Megulah*.

Separate parts of Norzi's work have been reprinted several times. The first part appeared in Zolkiev, 1746. Here the text of *Seah Soleth* is followed by Norzi's own prefatory poem and R. Asher's *Hanhagah* (in abridged form). This, as far as I know, is the only edition extant containing the *Hanhagah*. Zunz (*Z. G. p.* 128) refers to the Venice edition of the *Seah Soleth* as containing it. But, as Steinschneider points out (*Cat. Bodl.* col. 2128), no such edition is known. R. Elisha b. Abraham (*Pi Sh'nayim*, Altona, 1735) also says he saw a copy of *Seah Soleth* containing the *Hanhagah* (cf. Brühl, *op. cit.*, p. 171 note). But while he describes Norzi's book as having originally been done at Venice in 1579, it does not follow that he had the original edition before him.

Another edition of *Seah Soleth* appeared in Lemberg, 1815 (?).

At Zhitomir, 1858, the three parts appeared separately, as well as the *Tokhahath Megulah*, wrongly ascribed to Norzi (cf. Wiener, *Bibl. Friedl.* p. 110 and Fränkel, Lemberg, Catal. No. 56 p. 3.).

The *Seah Soleth* appeared with a Yiddish translation by Israel Meir Wohlmann, Wilna, 1864. A copy was recently picked up Dr. Joshua Bloch, New York Public Library.

The first edition of Norzi is very rare. It was printed at Mantua, 1561, by Meir of Padua and Jacob of Gazolo. A copy is found in the British Museum, where my friend, Mr. Joseph L. Cohen, of the Department of Economics of Cambridge University, was so kind as to secure photographs of the title-pages of the two parts, which are reproduced with this essay.

NOTES ON SEPHARDIC JEWISH HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By JACOB RADER MARCUS, Hebrew Union College.

SOURCE MATERIAL for Jewish history is seldom abundant, and the sixteenth century is in this respect by no means exceptional. Historical notices and works now begin to appear more often, but for the most part they should be studied with great care. The Jew during this later Renaissance and Humanistic period was left untouched by the spirit of scientific approach and study which became so marked in literary and historical research. Notable exceptions in the Jewish field, of course, appear, but they are by no means characteristic. Their scientific method was not imitated, and they themselves were looked at askance by their conservative associates. A rebirth of Jewish historical research was impossible without a removal of Jewish civil and political disabilities.

The insufficiency and the questionable value of Jewish historical material in Jewish writings are happily supplemented by abundant references in the archival publications of the European powers. The sixteenth century saw the fuller development of the modern state with its elaborate diplomatic service nourished by hundreds of spies and special agents who supplied the central offices with news-letters reporting the most significant "occurrents" of the day. These reporters and diplomats were for the most part keen, trained observers. Their statements lack that credulous character so true of the pre-Renaissance man.

The people of that day are marked by an almost morbid interest in the Jew according him an importance far out of proportion to his real place in historic life. This interest finds a parallel in the literary world of today when every publisher must produce a "Jewish" book, and when every reputable

periodical busies itself with a solution of the "Jewish Problem." When the Turks moved forward in Hungary against the Empire in 1566, the Spanish Ambassador to England writes: "Some Catholics think that the heretics are to blame for the enemies attacks, and some even lay it to the Jews, who, they say, have come from Portugal to Antwerp, but I can discover nothing particular....."[1] This statement is quite characteristic of the interest in the Jew, and has an additional value in that it shows the periodic, recurrent character of an accusation that began in the seventh century in Palestine and has reappeared in all crises until the Great World War of 1914.

These notices seldom concern themselves with matters of religion. They offer a healthy counterbalance to the material in Jewish works which are primarily literary or religious. The diplomats of this century—the century of early Capitalism, Mercantilism, and the rising Absolutistic State—were interested in the economic life of the Jew; his influence on national and international relations. They had little curiosity for the religious attitude of the Jew. This material is therefore, of considerable importance to us today who are interested in a sociological presentation of Jewish life.

The student is thankful for all material wherever it is found. It is all grist for his mill. Rich in valuable notices are the publications of the English Public Record Office; in particular the Calendars of State Papers. I have limited myself to the reign of Elizabeth in indicating the value of this archival material, but have by no means exhausted the notices of the Jews. A number of interest for Sephardic Jewish history are here given merely to illustrate the value of these records. The series on which I draw are, the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth; the Calendar of Letters and State Papers preserved in the Spanish Archives; and the Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts of the Archives of Venice. These Elizabethan records are of importance for research in the history of the Sephardic Diaspora, particularly in North Africa, the Spanish Netherlands, and England.

[1] Cal. Spanish, 1558–1567, p. 584.

Graetz made use of the Venetian Despatches as far as they were then available, but the great mass of public documents issued by the European governments appeared long after he published his monumental history, or even after his death. Incidentally much of the material in the English calendars has appeared since the completion of the Jewish Encyclopedia.

The period of Elizabeth witnessed a great expansion in English commercial life, an expansion that brought this power very soon in conflict with the Spanish and Portugese governments. These two Iberian powers had already divided the colonial world between themselves. The Portuguese Ambassador at France resents the inroads of the English merchants into the Portugese sphere of economic influence in Morocco:—

> "A ship which parted from England last September to go to Larache, was freighted openly with oars, lances, tin, and other metals, and secretly with certain armours and weapons offensive, and with 120 great coffers laden with bibles and other books in Hebrew for the Jews dwelling in those countries."[2]

The English at once answered:

> "As concerning the Bibles in Hebrew, she wonders where her subjects should come by so many, seeing that here so few can be found when they are sought for; and yet she knows not but that bibles may be well sold to Jews, Saracens, and all other nations seeing they contain God's true law."[3]

This evasive and sophistical letter of the English brought forth the following from the indignant Portugese Ambassador:

> "The Ambassador (Portugese) has not come here.... to dispute whether it is right for Christians to sell Bibles to Jews, but merely to present the remonstrance he has done....The twenty six chests of bibles and books were brought from Flanders. The King of Portugal can do

[2] Cal. For. 1562, p. 77–78.

[3] Ibid., p. 96.

> no wrong to her subjects by prohibiting them from the same thing that he forbids his own subjects."[4]

A few years later the English Ambassador to Morocco complains that:

> "the English merchants trading in this country are hindered by the owners of sugar-factories, who will not supply them with sugar at the proper time." The Emperor of Morocco then orders "all persons who have received from them clothes or money in payment for sugar, within three years following the date of this to pay the whole in the first sugars that enter, or if they have not got them, to return the money." "Endorsed by Laurence Tomson, the English official and Hebraist, "The English merchants to be paid within three years...for all such sums and clothes as they have bartered to the Jews for sugar, either in sugar or in money."[5]

This prompt action of the Emperor of Morocco compelling the Jews to come to terms evoked this answer from the Queen:

> "We thank you for the good order you have taken in the affairs of the merchants our subjects, trading in your realms, according to the request we made to you; not only facilitating their trade in sugar, by good ordering of the manner in which they are to receive them, thus doing away with the losses received by them in trade, but likewise commanding the Jews, owners of the factories, that they should repay to our subjects within three years, either in money or value, the sum received from them."[6]

Several years later, English merchants, not members of the English company that had the monopoly for trade with Morocco, received special privileges from the Emperor there whereby the

[4] Ibid., p. 107. The books probably came from the Antwerp press of the Christian, Christ.Platinus who published biblical works in the period 1566–1589. One may also infer from the above that the Portugese forbade the import of Hebrew books into Morocco.

[5] Cal. For. 1577–1578, p. 3–4.

[6] Ibid., p. 134–135.

Jews, who controlled the sugar elevators, were compelled to surrender the sugar to the merchants at long term credits, a procedure which soon brought about the bankruptcy of the Jews. The insolvency of the Jewish sugar traders in turn soon caused great losses in England where the merchants probably speculated on the sugar they expected from Morocco. The document follows:

> "The land of Barbary was a 'ryall' trade for 'vent' of the commodities of this land and for their return, until the first shippers of unlawful commodities spoiled it; who obtained such favour of the King, that they obtained his grant to the Jews, renters of the sugar-houses, to give them other men's sugars, long before paid for. By this hard dealing the Jews 'bankerowted,' and thereby her Majesty's subjects lost very near 40,000£.; the circumstances whereof would, be too tedious to trouble you with."[7]

These three documents show that the sugar trade of Morocco was in the hands of the Jews, but that it received a severe blow in 1583 through the arbitrary action of the Emperor of Morocco who forced them to sell to favored English merchants at long term credits, although the Jewish brokers probably paid the planters in cash at once.

The ruler, who so arbitrarily limited the economic freedom of his Jewish subjects was Ahmed IV. He came to the throne of Morocco following the "battle of the three kings", and it is highly probable that were it not for the plucky action of a quick-thinking Jew, he never would have attained the throne, but would have gone under in that famous battle of Al Kasr al Kebir.

The events leading up to this battle and its results are by no means devoid of interest for Jewish history in Spain and Portugal. Sebastian King of Portugal, ascetically inclined, under strong Church influence, determined on a crusade against the Moors. Money and troops were lacking for this enterprise, but through special concessions to the oppressed New Christians he obtained from them an enormous sum with which he attempted

[7] Cal. For. 1583, p. 290.

the expedition.[8] There are two contemporary Jewish accounts of the great battle that followed, August 4, 1578, when the youthful Sebastian aided by the deposed Mulai Ahmed (Muley Mahomet, Mahomet XI) attacked a far superior force of Moors under Abd el Malek. The one by Samuel ben Danon the Second[9] and the other by the Jewish physician of Abd el Malek. Because of its unusual interest I give the letter as found in the Calendar without excerpting it further:

> "The copy of a letter written from the camp of the King of Moroccos, Mullie Molloque (Abd el Malek), by a Jew, physician to the said King; directed to his brother.
>
> After leaving Alkera we went next day from thence to Apizna, because the King received letters from Muley Hamet. (later Ahmed IV.) The third day our camp was settled by the river Tancifet. The King went to Morocco, and we lay there two nights. From Tancifet we marched on till we came to Monvry (?) which is in Tamacena. The King was lodged in the palace, and some of us with him. He showed himself desirous to finish the palace, and settled soldiers and ammunition there, and sent to Morocco for masons and 'bricklers' and carpenters and smiths, Moors and Christians. And as God has ordained things contrary to men's thoughts, the third day after we came there the King ate some fish, and drank much water upon it, and ate some 'millions,' (melons) so that he was in a manner sea-sick, and vomited, and had a little ague and pain in his belly, which continued till next evening. So we were in great trouble with his sickness, and came to Sallee, where he found himself better. Being there three days we departed, and arrived at Mamora; and next day we met Muley Hamet hard by Sallee, and the same day the King rode his horse very gallant. And there met him those who had come from 'Algarvie' with his brother, all very

[8] M. Kayserling, Geschichte der Juden in Portugal, Leipzig, 1867, p. 259ff.

[9] Danon in J. M. Toledano, Ner hama'arabh, Jerusalem, 1911, pp. 93–94

merry, shooting off much ammunition on both sides, and the footmen-calivers saluting the king three times, a thing very fair to be seen. And there assembled the best horsemen that were ever in this realm, and calivermen to the number of 7,000 or thereabouts; and we marched to the place where we pitched our tents. And when we came thither, the King had his ague, and vomited very much by reason of the great heat of the weather, and drinking much water coming on his horse to many places, being so unapt for the same. He took it to be better for him to drink much cold water, and provoke himself to vomit with his fingers; and he would eat no meat. I was weeping and crying before him like a madman, and nothing prevailed. The third day followed a great 'hitchcough' and a trembling in his hands, especially on the right side. His tongue was so 'altered' that he could scarce be understood; and I prognosticated by and by the mishap that would follow. I met with Muley Hamet and told him of the King's sickness, and I told him the truth as it followed. He commanded me to keep it secret and from that hour he began to give order in the business of the realm. And the king was so oppressed with drought that all the rivers in the world were not enough to quench it; so that I and Mr. Giuliani and Capitan 'Alley' had nothing to do but keep him from drinking. So we remained till the 27th day, and did permit (?) that with two 'glishters' which I gave him there followed a certain 'lask' for 24 hours, a thing never seen nor thought. The drought went away and he had an appetite for some meat and opened his eyes and began to speak more plainly, and the trembling was but a little.

Next day, being August 1, we heard that the king of Portugal was marching from Argilla towards us, and so we unpitched our camp and pitched it again by Alcazar. On the 3rd we departed thence, and had news that the King had crossed the bridge over the river called Magazen. And Muley Hamet went before and the King tarried behind; and our camp being pitched, thinking that the enemy 'did present in the battle,' the same evening set his calivers

and ammunition in order, and for the same (God forgive his soul), being almost dead, took his horse against my will and left the horsemen that were with him, and went to settle the calivers. And being in horseback I perceived him to full on a 'sownd', and I came to him and I desired him to go into his horse litter and being in 'her', he could give orders. But he would not, and when he saw some of them follow him, he drew his sword and went upon them 'because they should have' left him alone. After this Muley Hamet sent word that the enemy were pitching their camp, and that his highness might go to his tent and eat a morsel, and the caliver-men might eat something and afterwards he should come and put them in array of war. Then he lighted off his horse and went into his horse litter, and we marched toward the tents, and Muley Hamet remained in the camp hard by the enemy's with only 100 horsemen. And on the other side of the river was Benni Maleque and Sophian and some wild men, called Alarves of the mountains; and our people being all settled, sent the brother of Capitan Habedeno, and Mulli Mansor Lautalie and Sidi Hamet's son Bendade and others, and some 'ronogathes.' Nevertheless that evening the enemy unpitched ready to march; and with the news the King came out of his tent and went into his horse-litter, and we marched out of our tents. And the Christians pitched again, we rested in the camp in the field till evening, and went into our tents. And Muley Hamet watched all night with the soldiers of Algarvie.

Next day, 'being Thursday in the morning, I would have said being Monday in the morning' the 4th of August, the King rose from his bed very well, and before it was daylight asked for his breakfast, and drank a granado and three yolks of new-laid eggs. Muley Hamet came to speak with him concerning the business of the battle, and took his leave very pleasant. At 10 o'clock the King called for his dinner, and we gave him a roast pullet and another sodden, with a little 'black mangie', and he ate a little of everything and at the beginning of his dinner

drank some 'synomond' water. After dinner he had tidings that the Portugals were beginning to march; and he called for his raiment and apparelled himself in cloth of gold, and wrapped upon his head his 'tora', and set on it his 'bruche' with three precious stones and his feather; took his sword also which was very rich, and was sent him from Turkey, and his dagger of the same work garnished with precious stones, 'turquies' and rubies; 'finally' he arrayed himself 'even as if it were Easterday,' with great rings on his fingers full of precious stones, and went a-horseback against my will. And so we came to the camp and found our soldiers in order, and the Christians were marching towards us as much as they could. And Muley Hamet with the horseman of the Algarive was on our right together with 4,000 calivers of Fez; and on the left our Capitans of Morocco and Vlendeta (?) and Rehamina (qy. El Hamira) and many more, 'using their ordinary custom, and made themselves ready for to run away.' Both camps were assembled in a fair field, and I never saw the like, for there was neither stone nor tree. And being 'near to a munition shot' the King commanded that our 'munition' should shoot' being 24 pieces 'very fair'; and so shot twice and did some hurt to the Christians, as appeared afterwards. And they answered, and next the King's banner one man and two horses were killed; and they did not prosper with their 'munition' as we thought.

Meanwhile we had advanced to a caliver shot and began to fight very fiercely, and our horsemen 'which were men of honesty,' with the horstrapers (qy. troopers) of the Christians; and certain squadrons of the Christians came to our left and right so fiercely that our horse and foot retired till they were behind the king's banners. Then followed up the victory where we were, 'and believe me we thought to lose all; but the Lord had appointed other ways.' Returning to our 'purpose' I say that when the King saw his people overcome, and looked every way and saw no horseman behind him, because some had run away for fear of the 'munition' and some went to fight, he was so angry that

he stood up in his stirrups and drew his sword, and a trembling took him and his teeth were fastened, and he lost his senses and his life together. It was indeed a thing marvellous to be seen, and divine permission. I came straight, and perceiving he was dead we took him up and laid him in the horse-litter, saying that he was in a swoon; and I feigned to give him drink. His face was covered that our people might not learn so ill news.

Meanwhile Muley Hamet (whom God did preserve) was on our right, and invaded the Christians so fiercely that he did them great hurt; and he did this two or three times, and pressed them so much with his strong heart that I certify 'your worship' I saw him alone twice with very few men, and at the same time saw our caliver-men discomfited. The capitan 'came to himself' with an ancient of Bessanie who had arrived the same day from Capitan Mahumet Zarcon of Larache, and invaded the Christians so fiercely, and the horsemen too, that they lost their 'munition', and the battle began anew, the horsemen going around the Christians every way. And they did not cease till all the Christians were slain.

The victory was much furthered by the lack of knowledge of the King's death, and we went with him further, with the banners and renegades of his guard, halberd and pikemen and others; and only the son of Mahomet Zarcon, and I, and Mussalya knew of his death, and we went on and I made them believe that the King's pleasure was so, for every foot I would lift from my horse feigning to speak with him. And so our men began to bring with them Christians, men and women, captives, and came where the King was; and we made them believe that he was asleep, and that neither we nor they should wake him. The Christians perceiving they were overcome, made themselves 'repairs' and trenches with their carts, and then fought until all were slain or captives; for of 30.000 souls there escaped only twenty or twenty-five, who went to Arzilla, being knights of Tangier.

When Muley Mahomet perceived his total ruin, he ran away with 10 or 12 horsemen, and among them went Bentoda's children, and Hamow Benhamiza and others, and as they would have gone over the river, Muley Mahomet's horse sank in the mire, and being flowing water, he was drowned; and the horse saved himself. The King of Portugal died of two wounds in his head and another in his arm; and his body is in Alcazar in a chest of lime.

'Great secret was of God' that within an hour died three kings, two of them of great power; and a greater miracle that a dead king overcame the King of Portugal in so short a space, as seems to be enchantment. All the nobility of Portugal, from the Duke of Braganza's son to the squires, are slain and captives; a thing never seen or heard. God miraculously took the Kingdom of Portugal and delivered them to this people. The slaughter, for anything that I have seen, may be 15,000. As for the captives I can give no judgment, because every 'Wildmore' or Alarve has a Christian to his page, every caliverman has pages going after him. The labouring Moors can get no money, because old Fez is so full of them that every handicraftsman has two or three Christian captives, and the citizens also for their gardens. The value of them was from 30 to 100 or 150 ounces—(an ounce is now valued at 2s. sterling)—and some of ransom, 300, 400, and 500 ounces. King Muley Hamet, when he finds any knight or gentleman, takes them for himself. The Alarves and dwellers in the mountains and in the fields of Arzillan, Tetuan, and Ghisuon (?) did not bring their captives into Fez. This country remains so rich in gold, silver, harness of all sorts, 'muiles', horses, and oxen, that there is not a caliver-man that will serve a Moor, nor black Moor 'that was not lest richer, than his' (sic). I cannot express how much it is, and they who have not seen it will not believe it.

The battle being finished Muley Hamet came to the banners, having heard of the King's death, and warned me to tell it none; and so we marched to our lodgings two hours before sunset, and put the King's corpse into the

tents. Capitan Botignia called out openly before everyone and bade me go in to see the King's brother, and see if he were disposed for me to speak with him. I went in and stayed a little and came again and told that the King had eaten his meat and was asleep. About this time Sitha Mahomet Benaisa 'was written' a letter declaring how they chose Muley Hamet to be their King; and when the letter was finished he sent for the gentelman and capitans, and made an oration declaring his brother's death, and how he died like a good captain; and declared also that how they knew very well he had passed all the travail of the wars with their enemy Muley Mahomet, and how they themselves swore him to be their King, and how he now was their King, and how he used them very well. They all with one voice wished him prosperity, and kissed his hand; and he was sworn their king and went a-horseback, and the field crying before him 'God forgive Muley Habiddlemecq (sic) and prosper Muley Hamet.'

Then he went to his lodging and gave order for the burial of his brother; and it was in this order. In the same horse-litter that he was in, his raiment was carried by the high Justice of Fez and Sitha Mahomet Benaisa and the learned men of Fez, and the noblemen; with drums, bagpipes, and his three royal banners; with 100 caliver-men on horseback and the youth of his house. They went the same night to Fez, and he was buried by his brother Muley Mahomet el Haraun, with his horse-litter; and they set his banners beside his head. There was great lamentation for his death, and they esteem him a saint because after his death there was so great slaughter among the Christians.

Muley Hamet came into this city of Fez the 16th August, and is beginning to take order in the matter of this realm. I think he will remain here till Lent. He has sent for Muley Danthey to give him Mequines, and he will let his son remain here in Fez, and I understand that I shall remain with him, Capitan Alibensia Crasia his son. To Capitan Alicanus has been given the castle of old Fez.

To the son of Abdola Benseque was given this fort in keeping. I will send you news of what happens more.

I forgot to say that about the time of the first 'breach' of our soldiers, they of Fez ran away and did not stay till they came to Fez; and 3,000 or 4,000 Alarves went with them, and going by our tents fell to spoil, saying 'we are destroyed'; and with these news the more part of the people ran away to Fez, and some escaped robbed and some were spoiled by all. Muley Nassar, son to Muley Abdola, ran away the night before the battle and went to Arzilla with four horsemen, with tidings of the loss. They would have put them away from Arzilla, demanding of him what he would have had, for there was no other King in Portugal to bring him to death as his brother did. These news were brought to us by Palma, who came the third day after the battle with letters from the Capitan of the navy and from Arzilla, to know who were dead; and he went back with this answer, and took with him one 'corisiador' of the Court who was captive, and was sent by these gentlemen captive duke, earls, and the nobility of Portugal. And it is a pity to see the fathers, the children, the brothers of the dead and of the captives. 'These be Portugal's sins, and surely they are paid.'"[10]

The action of the Jewish physician is somewhat confirmed by the statement of Danon who says: "We do not know the cause of his (Abd el Malek) death, but some of his servants kept the news of his death secret and said that he was still living."[11] This very interesting document shows how a Jewish physician was instrumental in defeating a Portugese crusade which in turn had been financed by monies extorted from Jews. It also throws light on the nature of the duties of a Jewish physician at the court of a Mohammedan despot and deserves to be counted with the Maimuni letter as a document of importance for social studies.

[10] Cal. For. 1578–1579. p. 164ff.

[11] Toledano, ibid.

Sebastian was practically the last of his house. There were many aspirants for the throne, but really only two chief contenders;—Philip II of Spain and Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, a bastard scion of the late reigning house by a Jewish mother.[12] Don Antonio may well be termed a King of the New Christians. His whole life and struggle for the throne was bound up with these people. For the most part they supported him loyally, although, at times, some of his Jewish intimates, too, were ready to betray him.

Between the narrow-minded, intolerant Philip and the struggling Pretender there was but one choice for the New Christians. They knew what they had to expect should Philip add Portugal to his already enormous possessions. The Venetian Ambassador at Toledo tells us:

> "A fortnight ago last Sunday, an act was performed at Murcia which is called at Toledo an act of Inquisition whereat twenty-nine individuals were burnt as Jews and amongst them were some chief personages, so that the confiscation of their property will yield the King upwards of 400,000 ducats. I have already informed your Serenity that a Jew, whilst a prisoner in that city, corrupted a great part of the population, and how the plot was discovered; so punishment of the culprits has not yet ended. The twenty-nine persons who were burnt lately, were all impenitent, but if they had recanted, and demanded mercy even at the last, their lives would have been spared, though with loss of their property and freedom, by virtue of a privilege to this effect which is enjoyed by the Kingdoms of Murcia, Granada, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, but which is not conceded to those of Castile, where, unless recantation be made within a certain period, the individual who omits to make it is necessarily put to death."[13]

That the New Christians who worked against Philip in Portugal were a power to be reckoned with is seen in the report of an English envoy to the Spanish court who declares among the:

[12] Kayserling, p. 276.

[13] Cal. Venetian. 1558–1580, p. 259.

> "Things which may hinder the King of Spain...is...The great fear which the 'New Christians', who in Portugal are no small party, have of being subject to the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, which is much more severe than in Portugal."[14]

The same writer lists among:

> "The things which are to hinder Don Antonio....the following. He has many bastards by base women, most of them by 'New Christians'.[15]

One is inclined to infer from this last statement that the inferior social and civil status occupied by these secret Jewesses robbed them of their moral dignity and led some of them into a life of shame.

Don Antonio finally fled to England where he was sheltered and introduced at court by the Portugese Jews. Many of these were in thorough sympathy with his aspirations and this sympathy probably explains their attitude toward one of Philip's ambassadors in England concerning whom gossip was rife:

> "These discourses are aided....by the bad offices of the naturalized Portugese Jews here, who were friendly with Castillo at first and now are spies on his actions."[16]

Antonio had been sponsored at Court by Dr. Ruy Lopez, a born Jew, but now a nominal Christian.[17] Lopez was the Queen's personal physician and possessed great influence with her. The bitter opponent of Antonio at the English court, naturally, was the Spanish Ambassador, Bernardino De Mendoza, a distinguished soldier and statesman. There seems to be hardly the shadow of a doubt that he was a devout and pious Catholic devoted to Philip, yet it is rather interesting to note that as he landed in England to take up his mission to the Court of England he:

[14] Cal. For. 1579–1580, p. 46.

[15] Ibid., p. 45.

[16] Cal. Spanish. 1580–1586, p. 113.

[17] Ibid., p. 138.

> "met with Pappart, the Flemish merchants' post who reviled him and called him 'marano'".[18]

The negotiations of Don Antonio in England with his secret supporters in Portugal were carried on by these Anglo-Portugese Jews, for the most part relatives of Dr. Lopez. They were particularly active in financing the purchase of supplies for his campaign of invasion.

> "Jacob Anes is the son of the man, who has acted for Don Antonio here, and a brother-in-law of Dr. Lopez. Through him were purchased all the stores and ships, and he and his kinsmen were sureties for all of Don Antonio's transactions here. I am told by his own relatives that, even before Don Antonio left Portugal, jewels and letters were sent and received through Anes. I have already reported that Don Antonio was sending a brother of this Jacob Anes to Portugal with letters."[19]

The conquest of Portugal was attempted by Don Antonio in 1589 with the help of the English under Drake and Norris; at first with some degree of success. The Pretender in camp near Lisbon, at once received in audience his friends, the Portugese Jews:

> "Don Antonio lodged in the Apostolic College or the Theatines, where he received many visits from Portugese Jews and other low folk."[20]

This enterprise, like all others of the unfortunate man, was doomed because he was betrayed on all sides, and no less than others by one of his chief supporters in England: Dr. Lopez. Lopez was in the pay of Philip of Spain and even thought of poisoning the Pretender. His attitude, however, of friendship toward Spain was exceptional among the Portugese Jews in England. Almost to a man they were enemies of the Spanish and devoted to the English, although there were others, too, who could not stomach Don Antonio. A prisoner in Lisbon:

[18] Cal. For. 1577–1578, p. 539.

[19] Cal. Spanish, 1580–1586, p. 183. Cf. also p. 146.

[20] Cal. Venetian, 1581–1591, p. 454.

"gives an account of the Portugese Jews, etc., then living in London, who, the deponent says, were all in favour of England, and carried on correspondence with persons in Portugal, Flanders, and elsewhere to the injury of Spain. Among those whom he accuses of this are, Dr. Hector Nuñez, the Queen's physician, Alvaro de Lima, Geronimo Pardo, Hernan Alvarez, Francisco de Tapia, and Antonio, a servant, all of whom lived in the same lodging. Other names mentioned are Richard May and his son-in-law, Master Venables (Note the Anglicized names!), Master William Anes (?), the son of Benjamen George, Master Brown, Master Brook, Bernaldo Luis, and Francisco Valverde."[21]

Lopez, of course, is best known for his alleged attempt to poison the Queen for which he suffered the extreme penalty. That he was a scoundrel, albeit a suave and courteous one, cannot be questioned, but the latest evidence seems to bear out the contention of Major M. A. S. Hume that he was the victim of party politics. He was an agent of the Cecils in their struggle against Essex and fell a victim to the Essex party in an unfortunate moment. The Cecils fought for him until the last moment, but then turned against him.[22]

Another Jewish physician and diplomat who achieved more than Lopez was Salamo Aschkenasi, the foreign adviser and agent of the Turkish Empire in the last three decades of the sixteenth century. Graetz attributes it to Salamo's intervention with the Venetian authorities that these on July 19, 1573 revoked a decree of expulsion that was to take effect that same year.[23] That this decree was revoked for more substantial reasons is shown by the following letter of an English agent to Lord Burghley, the greatest of the Cecil family:

[21] Cal. Spanish, 1587–1603, p. 326. Bernaldo Luis, here mentioned, in a deposition made while a prisoner in Lisbon the same year said Nuñez refused the position of physician to the Queen as "he liked to be free." Cf. note, p. 326.

[22] Cal. Spanish, ibid. p. LIII.

[23] Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, 4th ed. Vol. IX, p. 373, Leipzig. 1907.

> "The Venetians have ordered all Jews to quit their territory within 15 days; but some of the richest of that people have promised to give the Senate annually 60,000 gold crowns, and not to receive more than 5 per cent. interest instead of 12 and more, as they have been doing." (July 7, 1573. Augsburg).[24]

A despatch of 1583 shows "Rabi Salamon" still active in service attempting to adjust a petty difference between the Venetian and English Ambassadors of whom he was an "intimate".[25]

Aschkenasi was a secret agent of Venice and as far as it was possible seems to have carried on his work with a sense of loyalty and decency. Other Jews engaged in this sort of activity were not as scrupulous. Saul Cohen, mentioned in the following despatch attempted to serve two masters at the same time, Venice and Spain, and betrayed both, much after the fashion of Lopez who at the same time played fast and loose with Spain, Don Antonio, and the Spanish Party in the English Privy Council:

> "He (Spanish official) then asked me (Venetian Ambassador in Spain) what was thought of a Jew, of the black bonnet, who some months ago, was in close correspondence with your Serenity (Doge); endeavoring at the same time to make me understand that he was a bad character. I replied that I knew nothing about him, nor where he was; but I perceived quite well that he was alluding to that scoundrel who called himself Saul Cohen, and that they have been informed here of all our negotiations, as indeed they are of everything else."[26]

[24] Cal. For. 1572–1574, p. 386.

[25] Cal. Venetian 1581–1591, p. 572.

[26] Ibid., p. 200.

SONG AND SINGERS OF THE SYNAGOGUE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

With special reference to
THE BIRNBAUM COLLECTION
of the Hebrew Union College Library

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THE CREATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS of the Synagogal music of the past century, root in the efforts of the Synagogue singers of the century preceding; and the reform movement in Jewish sacred song, which took shape at the beginning of the nineteenth century, grows out of the valiant attempts made in the eighteenth and even already in the seventeenth century. That period of the planting and germination of the seeds of much in the subsequent history of Synagogue song is entirely neglected and forgotten; but is none the less of high historical, musical, and Jewish cultural value. It is important not only for the history of Jewish song, but for the general history of music as well. It was a period in which there was enacted the determined struggle of the Synagogal singers, חזנים, to introduce European means of muscial expression into the ancient traditional Jewish-Oriental modes and songs. It was a hard and long fight between the cantors, intoxicated with their newly acquired introduction to the art of music, and the conservative minded rabbis of that time. Beginning with the end of the seventeenth century, we see a long line of Jewish singers and cantors, who, despite great difficulties, tried to acquire some musical knowledge; and, in the face of still greater obstacles, struggled to utilize their achievements for what they counted the beautification of the service. No account of those pioneers and their work has been written; and the scraps of information concerning them that we find in print, must be extracted from the strong and not always high-minded opposition of the rabbis, in

their responsa or in their super-scrupulous ethical works, wherein those singers of the religion were excoriated as blasphemers and outcasts. Aside from these indirect reports, the only historical material by which we can identify them and establish the dates of their lives, is the occasional tomb-stone inscription in Hebrew square letters, found only in the Jewish cemeteries of the old communities of Central Europe. They share the same lot as most of the Jewish poets of the Synagogue, in regard to the data of their life-record; but, while the poets frequently incorporated their names in acrostics, the musicians had no such tool, and therefore their names were forgotten while their songs delighted the souls of thousands and thousands. It is only sheer accident that their creations were preserved in writing and (still more extraodinary!) in their own handwriting. There remains yet to be acquired a considerable quantity of fairly rich material in the vaulable manuscripts of those Jewish singers and musicians who first started using European means to express their musical thoughts.

Indeed it demanded great energy and patience and endurance and devotion on the part of that person who would gather those remainders of yellow music sheets of the eighteenth century, poorly written, scattered throughout the world in obscure corners, with the rubbish of dusty archives of the old communities in Central Europe, or in the hands of the descendants of old chazzanic families who had not the slightest idea of their historical value. And such a person—indeed a personality—the Synagogue song found in the late Edward Birnbaum (1855–1920), cantor of Königsberg Germany—a man who devoted forty-five years of his life, until his death, to that tedious task—a man who collected singlehanded more material than an entire institution with a staff of employees would have gathered. Due to his unique devotion to and love for his ideal, *The History of Jewish Music*, the Jewish people is now in possession of a collection of its songs. And due to the bibliographical foresight of Mr. A. Oko, librarian of the Hebrew Union College Library, who sensed the far-reaching import of the unique collection, we are able to become acquainted with the distinctive Jewish song of the eighteenth century.

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It required more than seven hundred years for the creation and development of the traditional Synagogue songs of the Central European Jews, the so-called Ashkenazim. The end of the period in which fresh material was added to the body of traditional song, we can set at about the middle of the seventeenth century. That traditional song consisted (1) of the ancient Biblical modes and their derivatives, the prayer-modes, in the fluid form of recitative chant, which the Jews inherited from their ancestors, the exiles of Palestine; further (2) of the tunes for the Synagogal poetry, partly brought over from Babylon and Palestine, and partly created in Southern Germany; and finally (3) of those tunes called *Misinai*, which were created out of the Biblical modes. The songs of those three classes, with very few exceptions, can be considered real Jewish tunes—in their tonality, in their melodic structure, in their motive-development. In their character, they were folksong, rendered either responsively or in unison, with variations for solo parts. When we read through the rich *responsa* of the period between the tenth and the seventeenth centuries, we hear the echo of a long continuous battle in regard to the tunes, their appropriateness and Jewishness. By reason of Jewish instinct, only those tunes were retained which suited Jewish sentiments and ideas, for ideas as well as sentiments demand distinctive tonal expression. A determining factor in the Synagogal song of that period, and a cause for its Jewishness and its folk character, I consider the active participation of the rabbis in creating the tunes as well as in rendering them. We know that many prominent rabbis served at the same time as chazzanim, not only as composers of piyutim, but also as singers. We know, for example, that Rashi,[1] his grandson Shlomo,[2] Rabbi Maier of Rothenberg,[3] and above all the famous Maharil,[4] were prominent שליחי צבור.

[1] B. Ziemlich, Berlin 1886 מחזור נירנברג p. 67.
כך שמעתי מפי רבינו שלמה ב"ר יצחק שהיה מתפלל בראש השנה.

[2] Brother of Rabbenu Tam מחזור ויטרי p. 243.

[3] ב"י on או"ח par. קכ"ח: וכך היה נוהג הר"ם מרוטנברג כשהיה הוא ש"ץ.

[4] Maharil, Sabionetta 1556 folio 61.

The persecutions in Germany did not permit of sufficiently close approach of Jew and gentile, to invite appropriation of their neighbors' melodies by the Jews, as was habitual in Mohammedan countries; although it happened[5] from time to time, that Catholic priests borrowed Jewish tunes for the Church, and that Jews took over some gentile tunes for the Synagogue—a fact which caused the issuance of a protest against such promiscuous interchange of melodies. Synagogue music had to feed pretty much on itself. The precentor, being at the same time, occupied with other communal functions, was bound to the spot and lacked leisure to develop his artistic abilities. True, we do occasionally find, as exceptions, famous chazzanim who drew the attention of even the court.[6]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new spirit penetrated into the Ghetto, and aroused the artistic temperament of the chazzanim. It seems that that new flame of life—the Renaissance, coming from Italy and spreading slowly Northward —threw its sparks into the dark corners of the Ghetto. We find an echo of the movement of that time in the Cabbalistic rabbi and cantor in Frankfort am Main, Rabbi Herz Treves, who bitterly complains against the new movement and the strange attitude that the chazzanim took toward their holy function: "They have ceased to be writers of Torah, Tefillin, Megillahs;

[5] ספר חסידים, A. Freiman's ed. Frankfort a/M 1924, p. 85
ואחד ספר לסדתי ספר נלחים וכשהוא בין הגוים אומר מזמורים בלשונם לקיים (קהלת ז' י"ב) והחכמה תחיה בעליה. אמר החכם עליכם נאמר; (יחזקאל כי כד) חקים לא טובים ומשפטים לא יחיו בהם. לא ילמר אדם לנלח אותיות ולא ינגן לפניו זמר נעים פן ינגן הנלח באותו ניגון לפני ע"ז. וכל ניגון שכנגנים לפני ע"ז לא יעשה יהודי אוחו נגון שבח להקב"ה.
p. 332. אם יש גלח שרוצה לעשות פיוט לע"ז או גוי לעשות זמר לעבירה והוא אומר ליהודי: אמור לי ניגון נעים שאתם משבחים לאלהיכם, אל יאמר לו, שלא יהא על ידו.

[6] A Epstein: Die Wormser Minhagbücher, reprint from Kaufmann's Gedenkbuch, Breslau 1900, p. XXIV. "Reinhard Noltz erzählt in seinem Tagebuche zu 1495: Item uf diese Zit ginge der pfalzgraf Philips churfürst mit seinem son herzog Ludwigen in die Judenschule und hörten sie singen, und gebot der pfalzgraf seinen edlen und Dienern züchtig zu sin und die Juden ungeirret zu lassen. Zu 1496 berichtet Noltz wieder: Item an s. Margarethen tag (13 Juli. Es war ein Wochentag.) gienge die Königin in die Judengasz in die schul und höret sie singen.....Auch aus dem Volke strömten andächtige Zuhörer in die Synagoge, um dem Gesange zu lauschen, wie uns Liwa zum Jahre 1603 mittheilt."

nor do they care for the correct grammatical reading nor for the meaning of the prayers—only for their songs, without regard for the real sense of the words. They neglect the traditional tunes of their ancestors".[7] Gradually there arose the interesting phenomenon that the chazzanim devoted themselves more and more to music, and began to consider all other communal functions as burdens. Hence their effort to release themselves from these tasks! From Italy, travelling singers and musicians overran Northern Europe, spreading their new art. Italian music came to be the synonym for music in general.[8] Under the spell of these minstrels, the chazzanim too abandoned all their other functions, devoted themselves to music, and started travelling from community to community to perform their concert-services. The משורר or chorister is the product of and largely the creation of those Renaissance chazzanim. Its first influence, the Renaissance naturally exerted upon the Italian Jews, as evidenced by the effort of the famous Jewish composer Solomon Rossi of Mantua and of Rabbi Yehudah Leon de Modena, to arrange regular choral music in the Synagogue in Venice, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is well known that the episode had no enduring results. A strong conservative opposition destroyed that reform without leaving any trace,[9] unless it be negatively in the aroused stubbornness that so strongly upheld everything traditional, that ninety years thereafter, a prominent rabbi[10] who was a כהן was severly punished and his life endangered because he attempted to change the tune of the Priestly Benediction, from the Sephardic to the Ashkenazic tradition. In Germany, despite all the orthodox attitude, we find that the

[7] V. his commentary to the Prayerbook מלאה הארץ דעה, Thiengen, 1560: Preface to the Kaddish.

[8] H. Rieman: Handbuch der Musikgeschichte II. 1., Leipzig 1920, Introduction; Ibid II. 2. p. 329 ff.

[9] De Modena's Introduction to Salomon Rossi's work, 1st. ed., Venice 1623; Naumbourg's ed. Paris, 1876.

V. The controversy between the Rabbis who admitted "music" and those who were opposed, in a pamphlet printed in Vienna in quarto form without date, headed פסק.

[10] Rabbi Nehemiah Cohen of Ferrara in his apology מציץ ומליץ, Mantua 1715.

opposition to that Renaissance influence on the Synagogue music, was much less pronounced; and some communities were even rather more favorably disposed than those in Italy itself. While Venice saw the fight between Yehudah Leon de Modena and the majority of the rabbis over the introducing of *Music* into the Synagogue, Prague equipped its new Synagogue (built in 1592 by the famous Mordecai Meisel) with an organ and a special orchestra organized to play and to accompany different songs including לכה דודי on Friday evening, which number was elaborated into a concert of more than an hour's length.[11] The same concerts were held in almost all the nine Synagogues of Prague, including the Alt-neu-schul in which a new organ, built by a Jewish organbuilder, Rabbi Meier Mahler,[12] was installed in 1716. There is report of instrumental music in the Synagogues, around the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the communities of Nikolsburg, Offenbach, Furth, etc.[13]

Despite the antagonism toward the *ars nova* introduced by the chazzanim in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the opposition to the choir which it created and required, the latter innovation became an established organization in almost every congregation or community. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find from Prague to Amsterdam, community or *Kahal* singers consisting of a bass and a *discant* or *singer*, that is a soprano or falsetto. These men were sustained by the congregations, and together with the chazzanim received the nickname כלי ח'מ'ת (סינגר, משורר, חזן,) or ז'ב'ח' רשעים (חזן, באס, זינגר,). In Amsterdam,[14] choir singing was introduced in 1700, and at the same time, also in Hamburg.[15] In Frankfort[16] about 1714, the institution of a choir was considered a long

[11] Shlomo Singer wrote poems to be sung before Friday evening, in that Synagogue. v. end of שפתי ישנים by Sabbatai Bass, Amsterdam 1680.

[12] V. בקורי העתים, תקפ"ד, p. 257.

[13] Reisebeschreibung by Abraham Levy, 1719–1724. V. Israelitische Letterbode, Amsterdam 1884 ff.

[14] V. Sluys: De Oudste Synagogen der Hoogduitsch-joodsche Gemeente Te Amsterdam (1635–1671), Amsterdam 1921, p. 27.

[15] V. Jahrbuch der Jüdischen-literatur Gesellschaft VI. p. 18 ff. concerning the minutes of the Portuguese community of the year 1652.

[16] V. Schudt: Merkwürdichkeiten der Juden, 1714, part IV

established one. In Prague, every Synagogue had its choral society of volunteers,[17] aside from the employed singers. Among the first institutions of the newly established community in Berlin in 1671, we find that of community singers, for whose admission the Jewish community had to obtain special permits from the government. It seems that a permit for the bass only was procurable, so that the other singers' residence in Berlin was illegal.[18] Even in small communities the people were enthusiastic over having a choir. One such example is Prosnitz[19] Moravia,

[17] The custom of singing ברוך שאמר was an old one. V. Tur או"ח par. 51. V. also מחזור מעגלי צדק, Venice 1568, vol.I, Introduction. Already Rabbi Samson ben Eleazar the Scribe was called ברוך שאמר, and that same name he gave his book , Schklow 1805. He lived in the fourteenth century. In his introduction, he tells that, as a boy of eight, he was brought from Saxony to Prague, where he lost his parents, and remained, an orphan. There, every morning in the Synagogue, he used to sing ברוך שאמר with a loud and sweet voice. Every Synagogue in Prague had a special society called מזמרי ב"ש= ברוך שאמר. On the tombstones of the members of those choral societies, פו marked ממזמרי ב"ש; v. Hock: Epitaphs of Prague, ed. D. Kaufmann, Presburg 1892. There were also orchestral societies which played in the Synagogues before the beginning of the Friday evening service. On the tombstones of the members of these, is inscribed מכת כלי זמרים המקדימים לבוא לקבלת שבת; and they were called כ"ז כלי זמר. Abraham Levy, in his Reisebeschreibung, speaks of Prague thus: "In Prague are famous chazzanim. Among them I found one who is a great artist and famous throughout Europe. His name is Yokele Chazzan. The chazzanim use *singers* and also flutes and organs and violins and cymbals and various instruments of percussion for every Friday to receive the Sabbath. With the help of those instruments, they sing not only לכה דודי; but after they finish that poem, they continue to sing several sweet tunes for about an hour's time." Of the famous chazzan, Lipmann Poppers (d. 1656), it is reported in the Necrologue of Hirschle Tausig Weinschenk, which was printed in the introduction to Sota, Wagenseil 1674 p. 83 ff.: "Von Schnitzen un Mahlen will ich schweigen still, dazu alle Seitenspiel Schalmeien un Trometen".

כבוד חכמים (Venice 1700, F. 15) ולכן קבלת שבת הוא בשמחה גדולה ובשירים נעימים ובכמה קהלות מקבלים השבת בבית הכנסת בכלי זמר עם המנגנים ומשוררים יחד. נ אסר לנו העצבות בשבת."

[18] V. L. Geiger: "Geschichte der Juden in Berlin", Berlin 1870, notes p. 45.

[19] Michael of Kempen was appointed chazzan in Prosnitz 1764. His agreement (Chazzanuthbrief) is still preserved in the archive of that community. Therein it is stated that the bachelor Samuel was appointed bass, on the salary of one half dollar per week, the community to supply Sabbath meals, while the chazzan was to provide his food for the week days. V. Oest. Ung. Cant. Zeit. 1894 #26

which became a centre for Jewish singers and song, in the first half of the eighteenth century, and from which prominent Jewish composers came forth, as we shall see later. A similar attitude, we find in Hildesheim[20] in Western Germany, which like Prosnitz served as the cradle of a considerable number of Jewish musicians. In other communities that innovation was barely tolerated, so that any severe calamity in the form of persecutions or restrictions, brought among the first orders for repentance laid upon the community by the spiritual leaders, the prohibition of "*Synagogue Singing*" which meant the *ars nova* of the chazzanim. We meet such orders of repentance in different countries at the same time, as for example in Selz and Brisk,[21] both in Lithuania, and in Worms,[22] and Hamburg.[23]

Concerning the origins, uses, and abuses of the new style of song introduced by the chazzanim, we have two sources of information: on the one hand, the caricature drawn by rabbis of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; on the other hand, the music manuscripts of the chazzanim themselves. "The custom of the chazzanim in our generation is to discover tunes out of their minds, and to transfer tunes from the secular to the sacred. They know not how to read the Torah because the congregations prefer to have chazzanim to show off with sweet

[20] V. note #46.

[21] VI. האס ף, p. 172: בועד ת"י בסעלץ אחרי הרדיפות והצרות תקנו שלא ישמע בביה ישראל כלי זמר כ"א בליל חפה... בועד תט"ו שם חדשו התקנה להתאבל על החרבן הגדול שנעשה בסדינתנו שלא ישמע בביה ישראל שום כ"ז כלי־זמר שנה אחת מהיום, אפילו במזמוטי חתן וכלה.'

בועד שפ"ג בברישק..... גזירה וחוק כי שום חזן לא ירבה לשורר בשבת יותר מנ' ניגונים ובשר"ח וד' פרשיות או חהונה ושבת שיש בו ב"ט ושבת חנוכה רשות לו לנגן ד' ניגונים לא יותר ולא קודם ק"ש.

[22] חקנות ווירמיישא משנת 1641, Blätter für Jüd. Gesch. u. Lit., Mainz, 1903. #10. ל"נ...וחזן הקבוע לא ינגן שום ניגון בשבת אא"כ בשבחות הטובות הותר רק ניגון אחד מקדיש על הס"ת, ולא ינגן נקדש ונעריצך כלל.

ל"א, קיין אורח ואיש נכרי זאל מן לאזן מתפלל זיין לפני התבה כ"א ע"פ הסכמת רוב הפרנסים ולא ע"פ פרנס החדש בלבד.

[23] M. Grunwald, Mitteilungen etc. 1923, p. 231, Luxusverbot der drei Gemeinden Hamburg-Altona-Wandsbek of the year 1715, Par. 40: Kein fremder Vorbeter darf mit Sängeren in der Synagoge oder bei einem Festmahl singen oder einen מי שברך machen auser den Vorbeter der Synagoge zu welcher der Gastgeber gehört, sonst hat der Wirt zwei Tahler Strafe zu zahlen.

voices and fine singing. Every Saturday the number of new tunes increases—tunes which we knew not before."[24] In the same vein, write two chazzanim, Yehudah Leb ben Moses[25] in his pamphlet שירי יהודה, and Solomon Lifshitz[26] cantor in Metz. Both testify that the chazzanim used to take tunes from the theatre or the dance hall and use them for the service. Other chazzanim were accused of taking tunes from the Catholic church. Peculiarly enough, to the question of borrowed melodies Joel Sirkas responded[27] that there was no objection whatever so long as the tunes had not been used for the Christian service, by which judgement he pronounced unJewish tunes permissable. Of the same opinion was Menahem de Lonzano,[28] while Rabbi Yehudah Hechasid and Joseph Hahn opposed strongly.[29] A serious complaint was that the chazzzanim introduced their own or borrowed compositions for those prayers which never before had been sung, and that they neglected both the traditional tunes and the principle parts of the ritual. "The chazzanim run through the main prayers with such rapidity that even the swiftest horse could not follow them; while on the Kaddish or Psalm tunes, they spend so much effort and time that the annoyed congregants begin to converse."[30]

[24] ראשית בכורים by חנוך ב"ר אברהם Frankfort a/M, 1708. F. 29 ff.

[25] Cantor in Obterode Minden in Western Germany, and finally in Altona and Hamburg, but originally from Poland. שירי יהודה, Amsterdam 1697, Preface; folio XIV.

[26] In his book on the conduct of the chazzanim תעודת שלמה, Offenbach 1718, Preface; folio 20.

[27] שאלות ותשובות הב"ח הישנות, סימן קכ"ז, פראנקפורט דמיין, תנ"ז.

[28] שתי ידות (Venice 1618 F. 142): להלל לה' אלה' ישראל בקול נדול למעלה. (דה"י ב' כ') ואת היתה לי סבה נורמת לחבר רוב שירי על נגוני הישמעאלים לפי שהם מגביהים קולם בשיריהם יותר מזולתם.... וראיתי קצת חכמים כמתאונגים רע על המחברים שירים ושבחות לש"י על נגונים אשר לא מבני ישראל המה ואין הדין עמם, כי אין בכך כלום."

[29] ספר חסידים (מקיצי נרדמים (Berlin, Par. 768—ed. יזהר מי שיש לו קול נעים שלא יומר ניגונים נכרים כי עבירה היא."

יוסף אמץ (Frankfort a/M, 1627, F. 73) אין לעשות ניגונים בליל שבת ויום טוב בניגוני זמרי הנכרים כמו כל מקדש וכו' וכל שכן שלא יעשו ניגונים אלו בבית הכנסת ולא כמתחכמים למצוא להם היתר, באמרם שכל ניגוניהם גנובים הם אתם מאתנו מזמן שבית המקדש היה קיים... יש למחות לנקבות המשוררות אפילו זמרות נכרים. v. also משאת בנימין Par. 6.

[30] V. ראשית בכורים as in Note 24.

Considering the fact that some of the traditional tunes such as that for the כל נדרי, the והכהנים, or the ברכו were also very long-drawn, and that nevertheless no protests were uttered against these by the rabbis, we must conclude that the reason for the complaints was not only the prolongation of the service, but the introducing of the new tunes for prayers the especial emphasis of which was not sanctioned by the necessities of the ritual. It was for a ceremonial need, for instance, that the tune of כל נדרי was produced. The chazzan was ordered to prolong the singing of כל נדרי for two reasons: first, since it was not permissable to annul vows on Sabbaths and holidays, he would have to begin כל נדרי by daylight, and then fill the time till sunset; secondly, to enable also the late-comers among the congregants to hear the כל נדרי he would have to repeat it.[31] Still in the time of the Maharil, there was no set tune for כל נדרי and he himself used to embroider the text with different tunes,[32] while Mordecai Jaffe of Prague, at the end of the sixteenth century, speaks of all the chazzanim's using a certain set tune which, because of its connection with the text, was a stumbling block to any change of that text.[33] While they did not hesitate to spend over an hour in singing נשמת or ברוך שאמר,[34] since to that usage they ascribed a cabbalistic or mystic connotation, they opposed violently the new tunes of the chazzanim, which had no other purpose than a musical one.

Chazzanuth in Central Europe seems to have gone through the same development in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

[31] Machzor Vitri p. 388; ראב"ן Prague 1620 F. 70; Maharil הלכות יו"כ; Machzor München (quoted in B. Ziemlich, Berlin 1886 p. 50) written in 1331, states that in Bohemia—in Hebrew כנען ארץ—, it was the custom already to recite כל נדרי three times, each time raising the voice higher than the preceding time; while in Worms, it was habitual to recite it only twice.

[32] Maharil, Sabionetta, 1556, F. 59.

[33] לבוש (Prague 1701, Par. 619) כל לשון כל נדרי שמנגנים בו עכשיו החזנים אינו מדוקדק וטעות הוא.... ואין לו שום פירוש אלא הנגון בלבד.... ואם איישר חילי אתקנה, וכמה פעמים רציתי לחקנו וללמדו לחזנים כהונן ולא היו יכולים לשנות בעת תפלתם מפני הרגל הנגון שבפיהם.

[34] V. note #17. For the description of the responsive singing of ברוך שאמר and נשמת at the Talmudic Academies in Babylonia, by Nathan Bavli, v. יוחסין Amsterdam 1732, p. 92 ff.

turies, as had the Synagogue song in the Orient in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—in that period when the piyut's flourishing was at its height. Here as well as there we see the inclination of the chazzanim to neglect traditional folksong and to elevate the Synagogue music to the realm of art; and here as well as there, the result was either a reaction or a complete failure. First the artistic flavor caused the people to cease to understand the song, although they favored it as a novelty and as art; and secondly, inasmuch as the art demanded professional singers to devote themselves to it, it excluded laymen entirely. Hence the traditional occupancy of the position of precentor by rabbis and prominent men, was, by reason of the new art, impossible. Therefore gradually precentorship became a matter of sweet voices rather than of religious spirits. The best account in caricature has been preserved in a pamphlet of the beginning of the seventeenth century, named שלשה צועקים ואינם נענין.[35]

If, until the seventeenth century, Germany had been the supplier to Eastern Europe of rabbis and chazzanim, the one transplanting thither Ashkenazic Jewish learning, and the other Ashkenazic Jewish traditional songs and customs, that role was no longer hers, after the persecutions of Chmelnitzki (1648–1660) which caused the Polish and Ukrainian Jews to leave their dwelling place, and to migrate Westward. In the course of a very short time, a Polish influx colored the character of many a Central European congregation; or, in some instances, separate Polish congregations were established. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Rabbi Zelig Margolis of Kalish complains bitterly against those rabbis, religious teachers, and chazzanim, who, for the sake of material returns, left their native places and migrated to the rich German communities. Not approving of such action, he travelled instead to the Holy Land.[36] In fact we find, around the same time in Germany, Holland, and even Italy, many rabbis and cantors of Polish origin. Especially a famous chazzan Jokele of Rzeszow of Poland made a furor

[35] First in MS. at the end of כלי יקר by Ephraim Lenschitz, written about 1602, in Lublin, first published in Amsterdam as a placard. V. Heb. Bibl. II. p. 155–158.

[36] חבורי ליקוטים, Venice 1715, Introd.

through his tremendous voice and wonderful singing. We find him now in Prague[37] as chazzan; now in Amsterdam, where he was painted by a famous Dutch artist; and, in 1715, in Metz where, while he was officiating on the feast of Shabuoth, a terrible calamity occurred at the Synagogue, fatal to many worshippers.[38] A great many of the Ashkenazic chazzanim in Amsterdam were from Poland, as for example Michael ben Nathan of Lublin (1700–1712) who, as the first to introduce choral singing of bass and *singer* into the Amsterdam Synagogue, caused heated contention in the Synagogue over this innovation.[39] There was also Rabbi Leb ben Eliakim of Horochow Volin, 1730, and Baer of Glogow in 1745, and Abraham Sigal of Hollishah, etc.[40] We find similar examples in many other communities such as in Fürth[41] and Hamburg. Those Eastern European chazzanim introduced the Polish style of singing into Central European Synagogues, until their type of song became so much a part of chazzanuth that even the German chazzanim were obliged to give it to their congregations.

The eighteenth century manuscripts of Synagogue song betray a striking monotony of style and texts. The Jewish singers adopted that peculiar rococo style which flourished so widely in the eighteenth century. Altogether neglecting the fluid Oriental recitative chanting, they developed the rhythmical, metrical, melodic form, utilizing the minuette, andante, allegretto, aria, rondo, polonaise, preludio, adagio, Siciliano, and Waldhorn. The texts selected to be intoned were of hymn or laudation character, such as לכה דודי, Psalm 95, קדיש, אל ההודאות, אל אדון,

[37] V. above-mentioned Reisebeschreibung by A. Levy in Letterbode, Amsterdam.

[38] In the Memoirs of Glickl von Hammeln, ed. D. Kaufmann, p. 325; Benjamin Kreilsheim in his pamphlet חלקת בנימין, Berlin, 1722.

[39] V. Sluys, loc cit. (Note #14).

[40] Ibid.

[41] המאור הקטן Fürth, 1679, by Meier Tarnopol who was Rabbi in Oettingen, and whose father-in-law, Chayim Zelig, was chazzan in Fürth. The latter was originally chazzan in Lemberg in Poland, and in 1660 was compelled to emigrate by reason of the Chmelnitzki pogroms. The author states also that all the Polish rabbis and their disciples emigrated to Moravia and Southern Germany.

קדושה, מי כמכה, אשרי, הודו and אנא in הלל; on High Festivals much stress was laid upon מכלכל חיים, היום הרת עולם, etc. And we never find an attempt of one of the composers to choose for his musical creations, a text other than those habitually sung. Because of this dull conformity to routine, we find in the manuscripts innumerable tunes for one and the same text.

In form and character, the tunes were rather instrumental than vocal—and this for two reasons. In the first place, the Jewish singers had no opportunity to listen to vocal music since they had no access to Christian society functions or church programs and services, while they did hear the instrumental music played mostly in the open air, by travelling musicians or military bands. In the second place, the vivacious Jewish spirit preferred the more sprightly music, especially of string or wind instruments. Although the tunes are written for the cantor and the two singers (bass and discant) yet we never find harmony in the manuscripts, that is, the three voices do not carry three individual parts, sing simultaneously, and thus provide opportunity to achieve harmonic combinations; but the manuscripts are throughout, of one melodic line, separated alternately for the various voices. We do not know whether this is an abbreviated method of indicating only the melodic lines, while the accompaniments were primitively extemporized; or whether the music was sung merely in one part or in unison. Only in the later manuscripts at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, we meet with the attempt to write three different voices simultaneously, in harmony—naturally in poor harmony.

The education of the chazzan both in Jewish knowledge and in music was the same three hundred years ago as it still is in Eastern Europe. The above-mentioned Solomon Lifshitz (see note 26) leaves us a description of his own education in the second half of the seventeenth century. He studied at the Yeshivah of David Oppenheim in Nikolsburg where he learned Shechitah. Chazzanuth, he acquired from his father, Moses Lifshitz in Fürth (1652–1731). He became chazzan and shochet and religious teacher in a little place. Gradually advancing, he secured a better position where he abandoned the Shechitah and the teaching, and devoted himself to his chaz-

zanuth. In about 1709, he became the official community cantor (הזן דמהא) in Prague. This position he could not retain; resigned; and went to Frankfort. In 1715, he became the cantor in Metz, where he died in 1758. He had been fortunate in having a father a chazzan, with whom he could study, for usually the singers had to serve chazzanim from their childhood, travelling and suffering with them from place to place, without any possibility of having any general education. In the chazzanuth-brief agreement between the community of Hildesheim and the chazzan Yosef aus Bicksheim, made in 1780, paragraph 8 provides that the chazzan must keep one *singer* at his own expense, and that in case the chazzan has another singer called bass, the community would pay the bass one half of his salary, that is one half thaler a week, and the various households would supply him with food.[42] This sort of condition continued at least in Eastern Europe till late in the nineteenth century. In his memoirs, Elkan Cohen (born in Hungary, 1806) son of Lipman Bass, writes that in his twelfth year, he was stolen by a chazzan, and brought to the chazzan Yisroel in Prosnitz, who travelled over Moravia, Bohemia, Galicia, and Prussia. On his travels, he came to Budapast where the famous chazzan of that time, Dovidl Brod (1783–1848), who had been newly appointed, accepted him as a *singer*, under these conditions: "I know that you are a *drong* (a special chazzanic term meaning *log*, applied to those with an unmusical wooden voice); but yet if one wants to sing he should not be frightened. You can remain with me. I will supply you with *days* (the privilege of eating regularly with one family on each of the seven days of the week, throughout the year). Wages, I do not give; but at weddings and festal meals (סעודות), you can have a collection plate, the proceeds of which you will have to divide with the discant (falsetto singer). On Chanukah and Purim, you may go from house to house with the bass, and share with him what you thus gather. Erev Yom Kippur when it is customary for the Meshorerim to be posted in the Schul, you will receive many donations."[43] The essential requirement for a *singer* was not only a good voice, but foremost

[42] Copied by Birnbaum; classified under catagory כתבי יד.

[43] V. Memoirs, Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung. Jhrg. 3, #6–8.

a good memory, since the chazzanim for the most part could not read music, or—if they could—then only with great difficulty. Hence they were dependent upon the memory of the singers for the retaining of their tunes or the obtaining of new ones. For this reason, a *singer* with a great repertoire in his head, was very desirable and much sought after. And for the same reason a *singer* could not long remain with the same cantor, because after handing over the entire treasury of tunes obtained from some other chazzan, he was a useless and emptly shell, and was compelled to go further, and start anew with the dissemination of his treasures. With the growth of musical knowledge, it rested with the singers to compose or to copy tunes, and to present them to the chazzanim. We possess many manuscripts of those *singers*, some of them inscribed with dedications to chazzanim.[44] Toward the end of the eighteenth century, we find even *singers* who supplied chazzanim with compositions for remuneration.[45] After a long period of travelling from one community to the other, *singers* (משוררים) might succeed in obtaining the position of chazzan. Their title was usually המשורר הגדול "the great singer". Some of them always retained the title *bass*; while many of them, never succeeding in obtaining a cantor position, remained *singers* all their lives. The previously quoted Solomon Lifshitz traces the muscial knowledge of the cantors in Prague in the seventeenth century, from some of their epitaphs, e. g.

> 1668 JACOB THE SON OF PERETZ *in the wisdom of music, he was the chief of all singers;*
>
> LIPMAN POPPERS 1656, who was *a virtuoso on all string and wind instruments* (On him, a poem was written in Yiddish, and printed by Wagenseil in his book Sota, 1674 pg. 83.);
>
> DAVID SON OF JACOB FUTRALMACHER 1724 *who could play on different instruments, was a singer, and one of the music scholars.*[46]

[44] V. later under Yekel Singer.

[45] V. below under Abraham Alexander.

[46] דוד היה מנגן מכל מיני שירים ובקול, גם היה אחד מחכמי המוסיקה אשר לא היה כמותו בדורנו. ולכן על פטירתו דאבה נפשנו.

The following are the composers and singers of the Synagogue in the eighteenth century, whose products are preserved in our library:

Aaron Baer was born in Bamberg Bavaria in 1738. He became chazzan for a short while in Padeborn, and was appointed first chazzan in Berlin in 1765. Through his fine tenor voice and attractive singing, he gained fame in Berlin; and his picture is still preserved in the art museum there. He was one of the first chazzanim who obtained some musical knowledge. As a result, he was able to write music and even to compose.

During the long period of his activity (died 1821) he gathered compositions of all his contemporaries in a large collection of over twelve hundred numbers, marked with the dates of the compositions, and, in most cases, with the names of the composers. He included also traditional songs. Of chief interest in the volume, we find the oldest form of כל נדרי dated 1720, and another variation of it marked 1783; אבות for the High Festivals, הודו ,על הראשונים ,אמנם כן ,עלינו לשבח for Succoth, קדיש for נעילה, and וכך היה אומר using the tune of והכהנים. All those traditional songs show no difference from their present form. So we are sure that traditional songs were already fixed in the seventeenth century. There is a קדיש for נעילה and for the last day of פסח, by Rabbi Michael Chosid,[47] who was rabbi in Berlin 1714–1728.

A second MS. Aaron Baer prepared in 16/0 size, probably for his own use at services. In our library, it is #75. It is in his own hand, neatly written, and bound in leather, with an illuminated title page in Hebrew. Written in 1791, it includes 447 numbers, arranged for the entire cycle of the year—for fifty-three Sabbaths, for each day of the festivals and semi-festivals. On the title page, Baer gives a preface significant for the conditions in the Synagogue song of the eighteenth century. There he states, for instance, that the reason for his arrangement of special songs for every Saturday and fast day of the year, was to prevent the members of the congregation from grasping the tunes; and thus to make it impossible for them to sing with the cantor. His intention was that a tune

[47] V. Landshut תולדות אנשי השם Berlin 1884, p. 11.

FACSIMILE I. TITLE PAGE OF SECOND AARON BAER MS.

be sung once a year only, for "if a person hear a tune but once a year, it will be impossible for him to sing with the cantor during the service, and therefore he will not be able to confuse the chazzan. It has become a plague to the chazzanim to have the members of the congregation join the song."[48] The tunes throughout the book are all single voice, sometimes marked *singer* or *bass*. The names of the prayers are given above the tunes, but there is no indication of the apportionment of the text to the phrases and notes of the melody. The texts used are, for Saturday: מכלכל חיים, מלכותך, ואהבתך, התעוררי, לכה דודי, אל ההודאות, קדיש; for holidays: אנא, הודו, תתברך צורנו, המלך המרומם, אקדמות for Shabuoth, אור פניך for Sabbath Shekolim, a Shir Hashirim Kaddish, and a Ruth Kaddish. Some traditional tunes are utilized, as e. g. קינות לכה דודי, ספירה לכה דודי,[49] אקדמות for Friday evening before

[48] ב ס ' ד = ב ס י י ע ת א ד ש מ י א אתחיל לכתב ניגונים של כל השנה ע"פ שנת העיבור שכל הפרשיות נפרדי' ובשנה פשוטה כשכ' שלא יחסר כל בו והניגונים של ג' רגלים וי"נ וחנוכה ופורים כל אחד תמצאנו במקומו מדי חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו ומועד במועדו. וסדרתי אותם לספק על שנה תמימה ויותר מהמה יש לי באמתחתי אמנם לואת נתכונתי לספק לכל שבת ורגל ניגונים אחרים, כי השומע ניגון פעם א' בשנה א"א לזמר עם הש"ץ בעת תפלתו ולא יוכל לבלבל להמחפלל לפני התיבה, ובפרטות כי נגע צרעת(?) הוא לכל החנים אם הב'ב מנגנים עמהם כי מרי קלא לא משתמי (?) ובטהרת הנגע יהי תפלתו זך וצלולה בלי שום טעות ומכשול ובלבול החושים ח'ו ותערב תפלתו כעבודת אהרן כעולה וכקרבן. כן נזכה לשורר בשמחת בנין בהמ"ק שיבנה במהרה בימינו, שנת ת'רם ק'רן מ'שיח ב'ן ד'וד ג'ואלנו ב'מהרה א'נסו.

[49] The traditional tune of the so-called ספירה לכה דודי is claimed to be an imitation of an aria in Mozart's "The Wedding of Figaro" (#3). In reality the לכה דודי has also very much similarity to a German folksong of Padeborn of the year 1765 (v. W. Bäumker, Das Katolische-Deutsche Kirchenlied, Vol. III, #124). The basis seems to be an older German folk-song, utilized both by Mozart in the aria mentioned, and by some chazzanim. That the chazzanim did not take the tune from Mozart is evident from the fact that Mozart composed his Figaro in 1785, while the לכה דודי tune was well known a long time before that, as proved by the manuscripts.

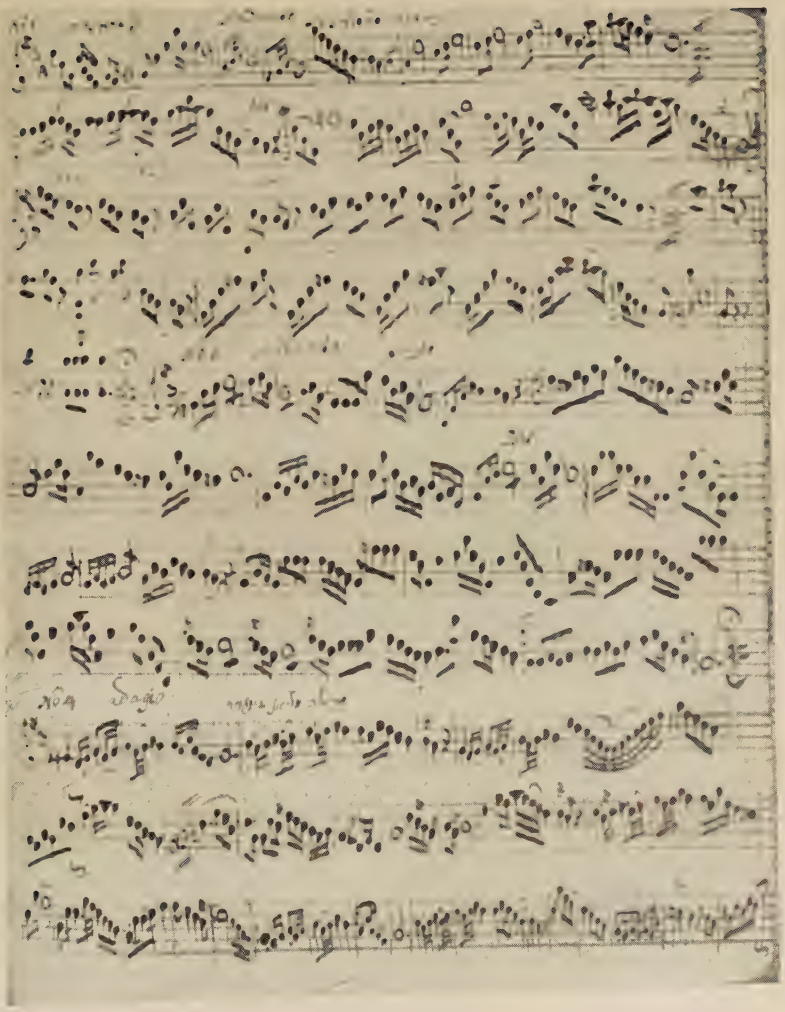
With respect to imitations in general, we may regard it as a rule that chazzanim seldom consciously took over foreign songs. Adoption was mostly due to unconscious influence. It is very interesting to note that we frequently find motives of old traditional Synagogue tunes in works of the great classics, as for example, a passage of והכהנים in the finale of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. It is nevertheless certain that the והכהנים tune was established long before Beethoven was born. Likewise, we find many Slavic motives in Shubert's music. A casual hearing of a tune may have a great influence

אב הרחמים and in the same tune, תשעה באב for the Saturday before תשעה באב. For Rosh Hashana, there are אבינו מלך עלינו, היה עם פיפיות, ויאתיו, עשה למען שמך, סלוק קדושה, אדר והד, מלכנו, יעלה, היום הרת עולם, Psalm 150, היום תאמצנו; for Yom Kippur: אמיצי שחקים, אמרו לאלהים, מורה חטאים, ועל חטאים, כי אנו עמך, ודוי אשרי עין, וכך היה מנהג, וכך היה אומר, האוחז, ואבית תהלה, אשא דעי. This constitutes the complete list of texts for which so large a variety (447 numbers) of tunes was composed. The songs are for cantor and singers, and do not include recitatives and traditional tunes.

As mentioned above, this collection incorporates material of many other composers, whose music either was well known or found special grace in the eyes of Baer. Due to this use by Baer, some names of Jewish composers with their creations, were preserved. So we make the acquaintance of a certain MOSHE PAN to whom Baer always gives the title Rabbi, and from whom he incorporated 144 selections in the last named collection. Pan's compositions show considerable musical talent and originality, and it seems that many other composers—also Baer himself—imitated him. Up to the present time, it has been virtually impossible to identify this Pan with any degree of certainty. However by tracing his daughter who was married to the chazzan Meier Coblentz in Offenbach near Frankfort, who died in 1814, and on whose tombstone the father is named המשורר הגדול רבי משה פאן without the addition of the usual זל, we can assume that he was still alive at that time. The name *Pan* is the Jewish pronunciation of the place *Peine* near Hildesheim. In the archive of Hildesheim, several Moshe Peines are named as citizens. In Hanover, there was a chazzan by the name of Moshe Bass who died in 1814. If the word כאן on his tombstone should be read פאן, this may be the same man.[50] It might thus be deduced that the Pan in question was chazzan or *singer* in Hanover. On Facsimile II. of MS. Baer there is an item marked (רבי משה, פאן) ר'מ'ף'.

on a composer. The motives nestle deep in his sentiments, and come forth as apparently new blossoms at the creative moment.

[50] S. Gronemann, Geneologische Studien. Berlin 1913, p. 157.



FACSIMILE II. PAGE FROM AARON BAER MS.

Ten numbers are marked מהשץ בברלין, probably referring to the predecessor of Baer, LEB CHAZZAN (1736–1758). One number is by YITZCHOK, Chazzan in Glogow, who was the teacher of Israel Lovy (v. below). Fifteen numbers are marked משב and ריח, both abbreviations which probably mean משאר בשרי רבי יואל חזן.[51]

Twelve numbers are marked LEON SINGER, the composer of the famous *Leoni Yigdal* (v. his composition on the second facsimile).

His real name was Meyer Leon. In 1767 he was appointed *singer* in the newly built Duke's Place Great Synagogue in London, on an annual salary of 40£ sterling. His sweet voice and wonderful singing attracted a great attendance of even gentiles. In 1770 the Reverend Charles Wesley, hymn writer and brother of John Wesley, paid a visit to the Duke's Place Synagogue, which he thus recorded in his journal: "I was desirous to hear Mr. Leoni at the Jewish Synagogue". James Piccioto says in his "Sketches":[52] "Meyer Leon the humble chorister rose to be Leoni the opera singer. He possessed a tuneful head, and he composed light and sacred melody. He adapted some Synagogue airs to church hymns, but he preserved strictly his religion, declining to appear on the stage on Friday nights and Festivals." Nevertheless the Board of the Synagogue did not hesitate in 1772, to reduce his salary to 30£ sterling. Hence he left the Synagogue and became a stage singer. "But his appearance on the Boards was a failure, merely because he had not the slightest conception of the histrionic art." After a time, he turned back to the Synagogue choir. There he composed tunes especially for the High Festivals which "used to be sung in the English Synagogue until the advent of the foreign chazzanim in 1814–1815". "The writer of the hymn

[51] יואל שץ of Leipe wrote an apology for chazzanim in answer to the attacks upon them, and called the book ריח ניחוח (ריח=רב יואל חזן). The book was edited by his son Leb, who was chazzan in Haslach. It was printed in Fürth in 1724. The Library possesses a MS. copy of that print. The book is in satiric style and poetic form, in both Hebrew and Yiddish-German.

[52] James Piccioto, Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History, London 1875, p. 147–8.

which is sung to the tune 'Leoni' was Thomas Olivers, a Welshman who was born in 1725,. . .became a Weslyan minister in 1753 and died in 1799. One day. . .Oliver went to the Synagogue, where he heard a tune which so completely enraptured him that he resolved to have it sung in Christian congregations; and therefore wrote for the purpose a hymn 'The God of Abraham, Praise'. It was published in 1772 and became so popular that eight editions had to be published in less than two years, and it had reached the thirtieth edition in 1779. A writer on hymnology relates how the son of an old minister once said: I remember my father told me, during a conference in Wesley's time, Thomas Olivers, one of the preachers, came down to him, and unfolding a manuscript, said: Look at this. I have rendered it from the Hebrew, giving it so far as I could, a Christian character, and I have called on *Leoni the Jew who has given me a Synagogue melody to suit it; here is the tune and it is to be called 'Leoni'*. I read the composition and it was that now well known grand imitation of ancient Israel's hymns—'The God of Abraham, Praise'."[53] When, in 1787, the Ashkenazic congregation in Kingston Jamaica built a new Synagogue and asked the Ashkenazic congregation in London to recommend to it a reader, Leon took that position and settled in Kingston. A photograph of Leon is preserved in the Solomon collection of the Library.

One number of the Baer MS. is marked Jeremiah Hash חש (Halbestadt). One is marked "by the chazzan of Hanover"; another, by the chazzan of Amsterdam; two by Zadok, chazzan in Hamburg; one by Jacob כז (which means כלי זמר) of Hamburg. Two are marked 'ואלף זינר = מ'ו'ו'ז', a famous composer of that time from Prosnitz. Two are marked 'מ'פ'ב'ץ (abbreviation of ?).

As already said, outstanding in the Synagogue compositions of the eighteenth century were their instrumental character and their rococo style. For the benedictions for the kindling of the Chanukah candles, Baer provides seventeen Waldhorn solos: three for the benedictions of the first evening; and, for the follow-

[53] Jewish Chronicle, 1873: 642.

ing evenings, two each, marked "Siciliana", i. e. to be sung in that tempo.

ABRAHAM ALEXANDER MS. #49 contains four compositions dedicated to S. Friede in Amsterdam, and includes a letter in Judeo-German, written in 1816, in which he tells that he was related to Aaron Baer of Berlin, and that Baer used to sing his compositions. And he adds that he would be reasonable in price.

YEKUSIEL OF HAGUE, MESHORER MS. #51 B: 43—A Year-Kaddish and MS. #17:3—Four compositions for Friday evening.

JUDAH, CHAZZAN IN HARTZFELD MS. #51 E: 47.

I. WOLF LEB MS. #91, small quarto, written 1809 in Berlin, contains 242 numbers, one of which is seventy-two pages. Among them is to be found a לכה דודי by I. Offenbach, cantor in Cologne, and father of the opera composer, Jaques Offenbach. Other compositions are by Israel Lovy (v. below).

ABELE MANNHEIMER MS. #55:5.

YEKEL SINGER of Prague, called also "Yekel Bass" or "J. Lehman". He lived at the end of the eighteenth century. He was a productive composer, and much of his work remains to us in manuscript. His songs became popular with the chazzanim in Germany. He seems to have had little knowledge of Hebrew; e. g. in the MS. #63 A:1, he marked his composition כתוותי באדי בעלמה intending to say: I wrote for myself in general כתבתי בעדי בעלמא=.

MS. #28 A:1 and 2 is inscribed with the following dedication written in Hebrew letters: "Meinen herzlichen Gruss an המשורר הגדול רבי מאיר שץ. Ich werde bald das Vergnügen haben, persönlich aufzuwarten. Dann von allem, so viel Sie wollen. Dieses nur in Eil'. Ihr Freund, Yekel." MS. #28 C:1–2, he dedicates: "Meinem Freund Abele Wachenheimer gewidmet mit der Bitte nicht weiter zu geben. Yekel Singer". This was the way that the *singers* used to introduce themselves to the chazzanim, presenting them with their compositions to show their abilities. From the same Yekel, compositions are included in MS. #55 B:43, 36, 56.

SHLOMO SONDHEIMER of Mannheim MS. #55 B:12 marked "zu gebrauchen fur פסח, מנינא, und חנוכא, מניאנאו (instead of

מענינא). MS. #63 E:5 has the mark: קדיש לימים נוראים מן שלמה זונטהיים איברגומען מן השץ רב אברהם מהאג.

Abraham Singer of Prosnitz, father of the famous John Braham. (The latter's name was formed by the dropping of the A of Abraham. This son was co-editor with Nathan in the collection of Hebrew Melodies under their joint names, 1815) MS. #18—three numbers. Singer lived in London, where he died about 1780.

Osher Bass MS. #44 A.

Nathan Baer of Karlsruhe MS. #43 A.

Eleazar Voorzanger, chazzan in Amsterdam 1788–1838. He was a descendant of an old chazzanic family which officiated in Amsterdam[54] from 1639. The first was Eleazar the son of Elijah Kottenheim of Frankfort, who officiated sixty-one years, and died in 1700, at the age of eighty-five. Eleazar's grandson, Leb ben Wolf officiated from 1747 to 1802. Ms. #17:1.

Jonah Voorzanger MS. #27:1–6

Joshua Singer MS. #28 B:2 marked: פוליש איברבראכט מן ישועה זאנגר

David Bass MS. #29 with two part harmony.

Meyer Koblentz, probably the son-in-law of Moshe Pan. MS. #30.

Judah Shatz MS. #50 with the remark: זעהר שעהן. זינד ממני קומפאניהרט אונד האבין גראסן בייפאל לכל השומעים אבער מוס פארטא אונד פיאנא אין אבאכט נעגאמעגן וועדרען composed in 1813.

Meyer Metz MS. #65 G.

Nathan, cantor in London. MS. #76. Neatly written in 16/0, with an illuminated title page (v. Facsimile III.), containing the ritual and melodies for the wedding ceremony, with the later additions by a chazzan in Copenhagen, written in 1814.

Judah Stettenheim, *singer* in Coblenz. MS. #33 A:1–15.

Wolf Bass (mentioned above) of Prosnitz. MS. #31:1–4.

Wolf Itzig, son of Wolf Königsberg. MS. #55 B:14.

Salmon Hague MS. #64 F:22–23.

The oldest MS. is by Abraham Caceres (אברהם די קאסירים) MS. #92, written in 1739 for the Portuguese Synagogue in Am-

[54] V. Sluys Ibid.

FACSIMILE III. TITLE PAGE OF MS. OF NATHAN, CANTOR IN LONDON.

sterdam, on a poem לאל אלים; a duet for Soprano I. and II., to be sung on Simchath Torah. It is in correct harmony, and built in a succession of six divisions.

Another MS. #196 by L. M. MAYER, chazzan in Aarhus Denmark, written around 1825, has a tune for כל נדרי (#25) which is entirely different from the usual כל נדרי, being based on the mode of the Psalm recitative according to Ashkenazic tradition.

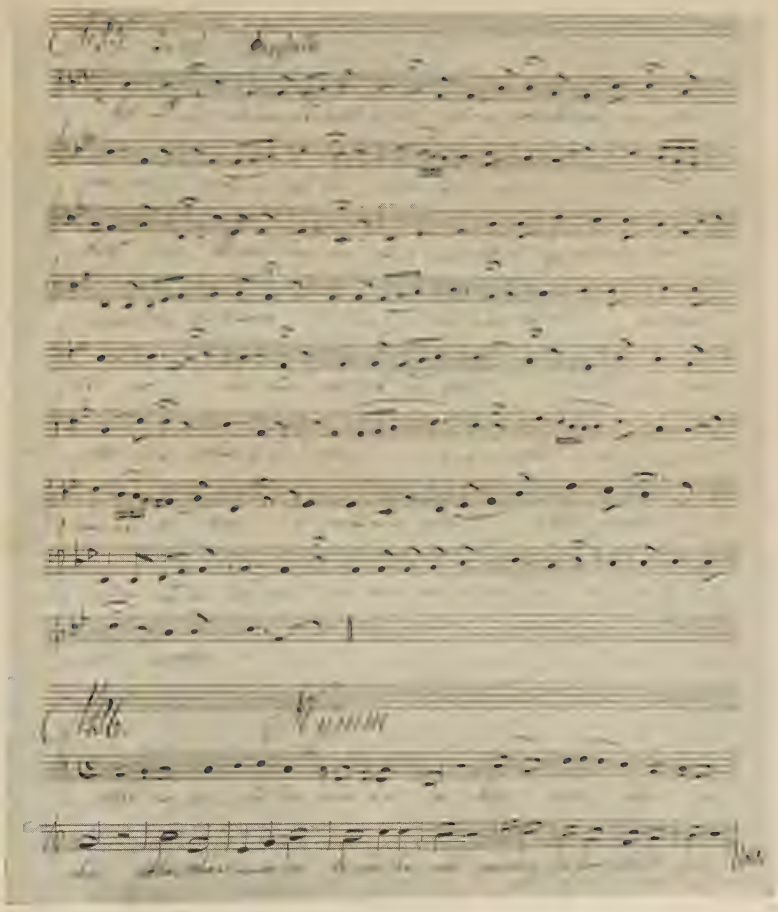
One of the outstanding Synagogue singers toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, was ISRAEL LEVY—born in Schotland near Danzig. His parents came from Poland. While he was still in his childhood, his parents settled in Glogow, where he became Meshorer to Yitzchok Glogow (whose composition is included in the Aaron Baer MS.—v. above). Equipped with unusual voice and musical talent as well as intelligence, the young Israel Levy became very popular. In accord with the custom of that time, he organized a group of singers, with which to start a tour throughout Central Europe, giving Synagogal concerts.

In 1798 he came, in the course of his tour, to Fürth, in which community the post of chazzan was vacant. He made a deep impression with his singing, and was elected chazzan there. (His predecessor was Isaac of Prosnitz, 1782–1795.) In the eighteenth century, that community was one of the most prosperous in Germany, and very fond of music. Already in the beginning of the eighteenth century, it had maintained a choir of four singers; and, on special occasions, had increased it to ten. Because of their pleasure in being entertained by music, the Jews of Fürth secured permits for a troup of Jewish musicians, making them legal "community officials". Chanukah and Purim as well as weddings were celebrated with great pomp. Indeed the head of the community found it necessary to issue a prohibition against the engaging of more than three musicians for entertainments. In Fürth, the first[55] Jewish Songster with

[55] We here leave out of consideration, the Seder tunes: כי לו נאה, אדיר הוא, חד גדיא, printed as an appendix to the זבח פסח, published by Friedrich Albrecht Christian "Judeo-Converso" 1677, whose Jewish name was Baruch ben Moshe from Prosnitz. He was Christianized in Bruchsaal in 1624, became lector in

musical scores, was published under the name of שמחת הנפש, composed by Rabbi Elkanan Henle Kirchhain, containing fifteen songs in Yiddish for Sabbaths and festal days. It was printed by a Jewish press. In Fürth, Levy continued his education and studied with eagerness, piano, violin, and violincello, as well as the classic music of Mozart and Haydn. At the same time he attained facility in the Italian and French languages, the latter of which became and remained his vernacular to the end of his days. (Here he began to call himself Lowy). He achieved a mastery of Hebrew literature. However his outstanding strength was his phenomenal voice. He soon became a singer, especially of Haydn's and Mozart's compositions; and was invited by the Duke (later king) of Bavaria, Maximillian Joseph, to sing the tenor part in Haydn's "Creation" at a court concert. Lowy also received special permission (for the first time in the history of Germany) to give public concerts in Nürnberg, a place where Jews were not allowed to stay over night, and were permitted to enter only when accompanied by a Christian woman (!). In 1799, Lowy, accompanied by two singers, gave a concert in Nürnberg, after which the local paper Friedens-und Kriegs Courier Nr. 67 vom 20 März 1799, carried the announcement: "The three singers, especially Mr. Lowy, who gave the *musical academy* on the seventeenth, in the Bitterholz, thanks the public for the great applause and kindly reception; and herewith make acknowledgement of the courtesy extended them." That concert he repeated annually for six years until he left Fürth in 1806. Among the chazzanim, he became famous as Israel Glogow and later as Reb Yisroel Fürth. The Library possesses in MS. #65, a collection of fifty-six items by Lowy from his Fürth period. In those tunes, he shows no originality, but walks rather on the path of his colleagues, in the style of the eighteenth century. Although he was accounted well acquainted with the vocal music of Haydn and Mozart, this knowledge had no influence upon his chazzanic creations. They were throughout, instrumental in character,

Leipzig; but fled from there; and returned to Judaism at the end of his days. (V. Fürst I: 178 Bibl. Jud.) According to Birnbaum, he was a chazzan in Bruchsaal. Both rare prints are in the Library.



FACSIMILE IV. KOL NIDRE FROM L. M. MAYER MS.

and required considerable technique not only for a singer but even for an instrumentalist.

In 1806 Lowy left Fürth with the intention of going to the metropolis of the Europe of that time—to Paris. However, since he progressed by the old method of concert-touring, he was kept in Metz as chazzan for three years, and in Strassburg for eight. Finally in 1816 he succeeded in reaching the goal of his travel, Paris, where he gave concerts of secular music, and soon became famous in musical circles as a great singer. Attempts were made to inveigle him into stage appearances. We do not know what it was; but something held him back from that step. At that time the Jewish community in Paris, which had received official recognition in 1791, attempted to complete its organization; and to that end, planned the building of a great Synagogue, and introduced some reforms in the service. Therefore in 1818, the community engaged Lowy as cantor and regenerator of the Synagogue service. In 1822 the Synagogue on Rue Notre Dame de Nazarite was dedicated. There Lowy organized a choir of four parts, for which he composed a service for the entire year. Thus he was really the first to have introduced a modern four part choir; Sulzer having organized his, in the newly built Temple in Vienna in 1826; München instituting its choir in 1832; Königsberg, through Weintraub, in 1839; Breslau, Berlin, Dresden, in 1840; London, in 1841; while the Reform Temple in Hamburg, until 1880, had no regular choir in four parts,[56] but only boys singing in two parts.

Lowy here became Lovy, in conformity with French pronunciation.

Lovy's voice was baritone-bass from lower F, while in the high range it had tenor timbre, and reached the highest notes.

He died in 1832. After his death, all his reform endeavors melted away. However many of his tunes became popular not only in Paris, but also as far as Poland; and one of them was adopted by Goldfaden in his opera, Sulamith. Some of them were published by Naumbourg in his Synagogal work; and a selection of them, with his biography, was printed by his family under

[56] M. Henle, Der gottesdienstliche Gesang im Israelitischen Tempel zu Hamburg, Tempel-akte, p. 82.

the name "Chants Religieux", Paris 1862. To the chazzanim in Germany, he was know as *Israel Glogow*, *Israel Fürth*, *Israel Metz*, and *Israel Strassburg*; and they used to sing his songs written in those cities—all of which were composed in the old style of the eighteenth century. But after he settled in Paris, he disappeared from the chazzanic world. His reform attempts made no impression on the chazzanim, as they left no trace upon the course of modernization of the Synagogue song in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although he was endowed with all the gifts required for a reformer, this role was accorded not to him, but to Sulzer in Vienna, to Naumbourg in Paris, and to Lewandowski in Berlin. The explanation may be found in the fact that Lovy was an extremist, as we see from his compositions, whose effort was to break with the past and tradition, and to introduce entirely new tunes—an effort in line with the general attempt to do away with the Jewish life of the past, and create an entirely new Jew and Judaism.

Another prominent chazzan belongs to the eighteenth century, although his activity lasted to the middle of the nineteenth century. He is Sholom Friede, chazzan in Amsterdam, originally from Hamburg. He officiated for some time in Utrecht. In 1809 he was appointed first chazzan in Amsterdam. Concerning the pompous ceremony of his installation (interesting because indicative of the important position that the chazzan occupied at that time), the archive of the Ashkenazic community there, provides a detailed description. He had a fine taste for music. His numerous collections are to be found in MSS. #17, 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 69.—containing in all about two hundred numbers, in the style of the eighteenth century. He had a love for Polish-Jewish songs; and due to that fact, we are in possession of the early Polish chazzanuth, and of tunes in Chassidic style previous to the development of Chassidism. He died in 1854.

Joseph S. Goldstein-Bass of Oberlauringen bei Schweinfurth am Main, wrote a collection of Synagogal songs (probably toward the end of the eighteenth century), consisting of tunes in the usual style; and, in addition, several recitatives for High Festivals, in the traditional modes. This is the first and only

written music of that particular style, and demonstrates that the recitative of the eighteenth century is in no way different from the recitative of Eastern European chazzanuth, for Goldstein—by his own testimony—was of German origin. In 1813 he became the bass of Moshe Raff, chazzan in Jebenhausen in Bavaria, to whom he presented his collection, and whom "he taught the tunes by playing them on the violin", according to the statement of the son of Raff (providing us another sidelight on the relationship of bass, *singer*, and chazzan of those days). A photographed copy of that manuscript, the Library possesses under the number 230.

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From a glance over the entire material quoted, one should not infer that the chazzanim entirely abolished the traditional tunes and recitatives. On the contrary, parallel to the new and free Synagogue compositions, the traditional modes were preserved—and usually very carefully, as we see in the traditional chazzanuth of Southern Germany, copied by S. Naumbourg in 1839, according to the singing of the Chazzan of München, Loew Sänger (1781–1843). Those recitatives, inasmuch as they had certainly been in tradition for many generations, give us a grasp of the state of the recitative of earlier centuries. They have not the elaborate chazzanic flavor of the recitatives of the above-mentioned Goldstein, for they are much simpler. The chazzanim of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Israel Lovy, did not make any effort to reform the recitative. Their only innovation was the introduction of measured melodies–tunes in the classic style of the eighteenth century, thus paving the path for the Synagogue composers of the nineteenth century, in their Europeanization of the Synagogue song. The attitude toward the free recitative, on the part of the early nineteenth century modernizers of the Synagogue service, was different from that of their eighteenth century predecessors. Israel Jacobson abolished the recitative entirely;[57] and, instead, in-

[57] V. S. Bernfeld, History of Reform (in Hebrew), second ed. 1923, pp. 76, 77, 84.

troduced *reading* without musical intonations, in the style of the Protestant Church. Hence he abolished also the cantillation of the Pentateuch reading.[58] While Sulzer retained the recitative he remodelled it according to the style of the oratorio.

Not only in Central Europe did these singers and composers of the eighteenth century, exert influence, but also on the Eastern European chazzanim whose creations, in the first half of the nineteenth century, are almost imitations of those of the eighteenth century Central European chazzanim. A large number of their manuscripts is in possession of the Library. Of significant historical import, as pioneers and blazers of new paths, are these Synagogue composers of the eighteenth century. Moreover they have left in the compositions, many tunes of genuine musical value which await utilization, as themes, for our modern services.

[58] Ibid.

EARLY REFORM IN CONTEMPORANEOUS RESPONSA.

By ISRAEL BETTAN, Hebrew Union College.

WHILE IT MAY BE contrary to the spirit of historic truth to set off a period in which a movement arose, flourished and declined, because human progress is slow, gradual and often hardly traceable in its evolution, it is nevertheless certain that the Reform Movement in Judaism began to make itself felt in the religious life of the Jew, evoking the bitter opposition of its antagonists, not sooner than the second decade of the Nineteenth Century. When Reform principles had been applied to existing religious institutions and tansformed them, when the advocates of Reform had introduced innovations in the Synagogue and effected changes in its liturgy, the exponents of Orthodoxy, perceiving danger in the movement, began to denounce the innovations and even to fling missiles at the innovators. Prior to that period, individuals expressing radical ideas and advocating revolutionary changes in religious observance were, it is true, wherever possible, effectually silenced. Their works were denounced and suppressed. Often the anathema was invoked. But such opposition was directed against them as heretics, as unbelievers, presuming to rebel against God and His law, not as innovators, not as pioneers of a new era in religious thought. They had sinned; they received their just punishment. There was but one law, one interpretation of Judaism. The acceptance of that interpretation placed one within the fold of Judaism—rejection meant desertion, puting one's self מאחורי הפרגוד. Not until the early part of the last century could there be discerned a definite, positive cleavage within the ranks of Judaism, a division into clearly defined factions, each claiming to possess and to interpret aright the heritage of the fathers. It was then that Reform became a movement in Judaism, an active, agressive, invading force, threatening to wrest the ancient territory

from its older claimant. It was then that Orthodoxy became conscious of the enemy's presence and began to cast about for means of staving off the attack, of arresting the progress of the conquering army. It was then that Orthodoxy and Reform became distinct terms, describing two distinct philosophies, epitomizing the religious views and aspirations of two conflicting groups struggling for supremacy. Orthodoxy and Reform pitted against each other—this is the striking spectacle confronting our gaze in the early days of the past century. And in the following pages it will be our purpose to picture this struggle as carried on by the strongest Orthodox contingent, the imperial guard of Orthodoxy, the men of erudition and recognized authority, the leading Rabbis of the day.

I

As we rise from a perusal of the contemporaneous responsa, we cannot but be struck with the painful truth so often expressed but so seldom felt that the Torah is a veritable yoke, a yoke under which one must labor unceasingly and joyfully if he is to enjoy the ripened fruit of the kingdom. Nowhere are we made to realize so poignantly the inexorable demands made upon the Jew by tradition; nowhere can we see so distinctly the wide, unbridgeable gulf that forever lies yawning between life and Law. The Torah is not a thing that restoreth the soul and rejoiceth the heart; it is an exacting, cruel taskmaster, firm and unyielding in its demands, pitiless in its exactions. Life passes before its sullen gaze—it is chilled into numbness; its radiant joy and exuberant vitality ebb away—life's corpse stalks before us in hideous self-contempt. The Torah and life—they are not at war with each other; life shrivels up and is stricken with dumb imbecility before the field of battle is reached. Such is the fierce, overwhelming power, the fatal presence, of the Law.

The statement is often made that the function of the interpreter of the law lies in the just application of law to life. But this statement involves a false assumption. It seems to concede to life a certain independence, a position of superiority. It makes life the master whose servant is the law. It fondly sup-

poses that the peculiar circumstances of a case will on occasion cajole the law into docile obedience and calm submission. It implies the definite conviction that the law will somehow find a way of adapting itself to given conditions. But the fact of the matter is that the law cannot and will not change. It is as immutable as natural law. It cannot be made to fit life; life must be made to fit the law. It must accomodate itself to the limits of the law, must assume its proportions and adopt its rigors. The law is the undisputed master; life is its sworn bondsman.

This principle must be fully understood and for the time being even accepted before we can hope to enter and move about sympathetically in the intellectual domain of the authors of those responsa. This is the pivot around which all their thoughts revolve. Law, the careful study of it and the immaculate exactitude in its observance, is the dominant passion of their soul. To them Jewish law is not the creation of man but the divine instrument of God. Hence, there can be no line of demarcation drawn between the written and the oral law. Both alike come from God and must be equally observed; and even though the Rabbis should declare right to be left and left to be right, we cannot choose but believe and follow their dicta.[1] Abraham in his readiness to offer his only son as a sacrifice because God willed it, evinced a determination to obey the written law; while Isaac in his willingness to be sacrificed because of God's will as transmitted to him by his father, proved his conception of the binding power of the oral law.[2] The early interpreters of the law they therefore invest with an insight and authority almost divine. Not a mystery but what they had been initiated into.[3] Their opinions are infallible, their judgments true and final. There are those who seek to belittle those supreme masters. Would that they might devote their time and effort to the task of striving to penetrate the depth of their meaning instead of endeavoring to find fault and discover errors.[4] What

[1] Moses Sofer, פתוחי חותם, ח"מ
[2] Ibid.
[3] Akiba Eger, 20, I שו"ת.
[4] Ibid, I, 55.

are our minds compared with theirs, our views beside their views?—insignificant indeed and of little moment[5]. At times it may seem as if their ground were uncertain and their reasonings not altogether convincing, hard to follow, but who is qualified to dispute their words, to question their logic?[6] No law, therefore, prescribed by our ancient teachers, preserved and practiced by preceding generations, can be violated with impunity.

On the whole, the principle involved resolves itself into a question of mental attitude. Our attitude to the law should not be one of mere placid conformity. The law is not something to be dreaded or tolerated. If dread we must, let us dread the dire punishments that will be meted out to us in consequence of our violation or non-fulfillment of the law. Not that we should be creating new laws and severer restrictions. Such are neither necessary nor desirable.[7] Excessive fondness for severity in matters of law is not a commendable quality.[8] A new law that has no foundation in rabbinic legislation, that is only the invention of an individual, has no validity whatever. Occasionally, it may strike the fancy of some ingenious rabbi to institute, for example, a special blessing for a newly-married woman who lights the Sabbath candles for the first time. But such a requirement is unwarranted by rabbinic law, and, therefore, no heed should be paid to it.[9] Another rabbi may be so zealous as to forbid what the law permits. He may go beyond the law and require, for instance, that the water kept in a house where there is a dead body be prohibited from use even when the death occurred on the Sabbath, making in this matter no distinction between the Sabbath and any week-day. But this restriction is unfounded and unnecessary. Then why should we strive to create new laws? Are not those given in the Talmud and other authoritative works amply sufficient?[10] But while there is no need for new laws

[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid, I, 29.
[7] Eleazar Fleckeles, 329, III שו"ת.
[8] Ibid, 325.
[9] Ibid, 329.
[10] Ibid, 339, 408.

those we have must be zealously guarded and strictly enforced. They must be rigidly interpreted and implicitly obeyed. A broad construction, a lenient attitude—we should have none of it.[11] At a time when the number of those who disregard the voice of authority and are struggling to free themselves from its power is growing ever larger and larger, it is our bounden duty not to relax but to tighten the grip of the law, not to be mild and temperate but strict and rigorous in its application.[12]

In all things that come under their observation, their thinking is dominated, first and last, by the legal aspects of the situation. On the Sabbath, a man is seen to pour water through the open window of the house. The wind, gently blowing, scatters the drops to all sides. Does not this act involve the principle of sowing, and is not the man guilty of violating the Sabbath?[13] For simple as the law is, it is not void of delicate shades of meaning from which many a subtle analogy might be deduced. We may look in vain in the works of the early authorities for an express statement permitting or prohibiting the use of an umbrella on the Sabbath, and yet it is not difficult to find a clear and definite decision in rabbinic law. To erect a tent on the Sabbath is specifically forbidden by law, and wherein, pray, does the act of opening an umbrella differ from constructing a tent?[14] Many, likewise, may wonder how the act of winding a clock on the Sabbath may be regarded as a violation of the law. But what of the express prohibition of any act calculated to produce a loud sound? It is clear, therefore, that a watch, which only indicates the time of day, may be wound on the Sabbath, but not a clock, which in addition to showing the time also strikes the hour.[15] It is by a similar process of reasoning that we are enabled to determine whether certain innovations and inventions are subversive of established legal principles. Is the crossing of a river by ferryboat permitted on the Sabbath? While a ship may be considered a home afloat, a moving house, a ferry

[11] Ibid, I, 125.
[12] Ibid, II, 243.
[13] Akiba Eger, 20, I שו"ת.
[14] Eleazar Fleckeles, 315, 243, II שו"ת.
[15] Ibid, 243, 308.

can serve no other purpose than that of simply crossing a river.[16] The fact that our modern inventions are of recent birth, that they had been unknown to our teachers in the past and that, therefore, they could not be legislated against, is no guarantee or proof that their use today is not proscribed by law. It is quite true that printing, a late invention, is only another, greatly improved, method of writing, unknown to the ancients. There are those, therefore, who seem to think that the Torah need not now of necessity be written by hand, that it may well be printed and still be regarded as written. But they fail to see that printing and writing are nevertheless two different methods, and that when the law prescribes the one it cannot be substituted by the other. For one thing, in printing the entire order of composition is reversed, as anyone acquainted with type-setting can well testify. The very letters are forced to assume a most unnatural position. Besides, were we to draw no distinction between the two, ignoring all such and similar contentions, how, one may ask, how could the printer compose the name of God only to take it apart after it had served its purpose, without being guilty of effacing God's name?[17]

The law is independent of outward circumstances. Time and so-called changed conditions play no part in matters pertaining to law. All practical issues when brought into conflict with the mandates of the law must yield unconditionally. A pious father detecting artistic abilities in his son may wish to send him to an academy to learn the art of sculpture. But he is confronted by the prohibitory scriptural law as it is traditionally interpreted. For how can one make an image in clay or bronze without at the same time violating the second commandment? Under no circumstances should his sculptured image be complete and perfect. An imperfection or blemish in one of its most prominent features, such as an undeveloped eye or incomplete nose, must mar his work.[18]

A young girl is afflicted with epilepsy. The parents, residing in a Turkish province, can find no other way of alleviating

[16] Akiba Eger, 13, I שו"ת.

[17] Eleazar Fleckeles, 391, III שו"ת.

[18] Moses Sofer, 128, יו"ד ח"ם.

her suffering than by committing her to a Mahommedan hospital where such diseases are treated and often cured. But there she will be virtually forced to live on prohibited food. She may even learn foreign customs and manners, adopt them perhaps, and thus ultimately be led to give up Judaism. Then, it it is far better for her to remain at home and die in the faith of her fathers! But the parents are poor, unable to give her the needed care? Then let her be sent away from home, out in the open world—there will always be found among her own people some kind-hearted persons who will look after her needs.[19]

Or, to cite one more example, the parents of an idiot-boy, made miserable by the unseemly manifestations of his affliction, desire to send him to a Christian asylum for idiots. But here, too, the food question is the chief obstacle. Of course, being under thirteen, he might remain there until he has reached the age of religious responsibility. But the eating of prohibited food during the period of childhood would, according to the claim of some rabbinic authorities, have a deleterious effect on his later moral character. Then it is better that he remain an idiot all his life.[20]

The authority of the law must be ever respected. Nothing should be tolerated that goes counter to its mandates. A Christian woman in the employ of a Jew, though contemplating conversion, must not be allowed to abstain from work on the Sabbath. Such conduct would be a violation of the law. She must either adopt Judaism or be made to work on that day.[21] A Christian contractor is in charge of building a house for a Jew. He employs only non-Jews to do the work. There seems to be no specific law governing the strict observance of the Sabbath that would restrain the owner of the house from letting the work continue on the Sabbath day. But a law of great importance is involved in this question, none the less, namely, the law that guards even against the creation of a wrong impression on the public mind. In this case, people unaware of the circumstances might assume that these employees were day-laborers, hired each day,

[19] Ibid, 76.
[20] Ibid, 83, חו"מ.
[21] Akiba Eger, 121, I, שו"ת.

the Sabbath included, by the owner himself. But were we even to suppose that every person in the community was fully acquainted with all the facts in the case, there would still be left the possibility of a stranger arriving who, unfamiliar with actual conditions, would carry away a false impression. But the complete cessation of work on that day, it is proved, would entail considerable financial loss; the owner of the house could ill afford to sustain it! Loss or no loss, the law must be upheld. If financial considerations were admitted into questions of law, it would not be long ere the entire Law would be abolished.[22]

But Judaism is more than a system of conduct solely based on definitely formulated legal statutes. It has a long history, a rich tradition in which practices and usages of numerous generations are recorded with absolute accuracy. These customs and precedents form the fertile upper strata of the rich soil of Judaism, in which our own life must be planted if it is to grow to strength and fruitfulness. For these practices, having been accepted and adhered to by the great mass of our people through the centuries, possess the validity and force of law and are not subject to any change or modification whatsoever.[23] Not being the product of a single generation, they cannot lose their sanctity with the passage of time. Once introduced and accepted, they are binding not only on those who pledged themselves directly to uphold them but also on the myriads of generations following them to the very end of time.[24] The customs of the fathers have a fatal claim on us today and on those who shall come after us. It matters little whether the use of butter bought of a non-Jew is legally prohibited or not; the usage of centuries has stamped its diapproval on its use, and, regardless of the reason of its origin, the practice shall remain unchanged.[25] When men arise who seek by the aid of the law to permit the meat of a certain fowl, the question for us to decide is not altogether whether the law sanctions its use or not, but have our fathers included it in their diet or have they barred it from use?

[22] Eleazar Fleckeles, 238 II, שו"ת.
[23] Eleazar Fleckeles, 243 II, שו"ת.
[24] Ibid, 320 III, שו"ת.
[25] Mordecai Benet, 11, הר המור.

If the latter be the case, then their example must be followed. We cannot at this late date add any new fowl to the traditional list.[26] Similarly, when a man like Israel Jacobson secures the signature of three rabbis to a document permitting the use of peas on the Feast of Passover, he must be told once and for all that for him and his court of three to pass a contrary judgment on a verdict which has been confirmed by the custom of centuries is simply absurd.[27] No recognized custom is subject to change.[28] The caviare-yielding sturgeon, therefore, must forever remain unfit for consumption, for the custom of centuries has made it so.[29] Judaism which is a religion essentially built on tradition cannot maintain a permanent existence if it be subject to the whims and caprices which time and place may engender in the popular mind. To change a custom or law because of the demands of necessity or mere convenience means to destroy the same together with a good many others the abolition of which new conditions may necessitate at some future time.[30] For the same reason, a daughter should not be permitted to recite in public the Kaddish in memory of her departed parents. Strictly speaking, the law nowhere forbids the practice. Of course, it is highly improper for a woman, minor or adult, to enter a Synagogue where men congregate for worship. Authorities object to such practices.[31] But the chief obstacle is not to be found in the express mandate of the law but in the simple fact that

[26] Eleazar Fleckeles, 328, 82, III שו"ת.

[27] Ibid, 259, II שו"ת; Mordecai Benet, 21, פרשת מרדכי יו"ד.

[28] Benet, 35, 42, פרשת מרדכי אה"ע.

[29] M. Benet, 4, פ"מ יו"ד; 12 ה"ה.

The heated controversy which this question created, in which leading rabbis of the time participated, may be regarded as the first real clash between the two opposing forces, in which the comparative strength of the combatants received its first test. Benet attacked Chorin, the leader of the opposition, with great vigor, though later he seemed to recognize the utter futility of such controversies (Ibid).

[30] Eleazar Fleckeles, 259, II שו"ת; Moses Sofer, 191, ח"מ ח"ס; Mordecai Benet, 42, פר"מ אה"ע.

[31] Elezzar Fleckeles, 229, II שו"ת.

it has never been the custom for a woman to recite the Kaddish in public, and how can we, or dare we, change an established custom? Would not the force that custom has with us today be completely undermined were we to institute such and similar innovations?[32]

To forestall such disastrous consequences, Judaism must be made to rise above the exigencies of life and submit to no change or modification whatsoever. Our predecessors who made Judaism what it is were our superiors in intellect and in the knowledge of God. Our duty is to know ourselves, to realize our limitations, and to live our life in the consciousness of our utter insignificance when compared with those of former days.[33] The questioning of authority is arrogant self-conceit, and the introduction of opportunism in religion is vile hypocrisy. Such subversive forces must gain no entrance into the domain of Judaism.[34]

II

When, in 1818, the Hamburg Temple, the practical embodiment of the spirit of innovation, was dedicated, these custodians of the law and uncompromising champions of tradition naturally raised their voice in severest condemnation. Hopelessly battling against the impetuous tide which with the gathered momentum of the centuries was powerfully sweeping over the life of the modern Jew, they inevitably failed to carry the combat to a successful issue. But valor and not triumph marks the hero on the battlefield; and, whatever the outcome, these champions of Orthodoxy proved the indomitable strength of their convictions. They believed strongly and fought bravely. Their methods and tactics may not have been of the best, for they were poor generals. They spurned concerted action and declined an open engagement. They preferred guerilla warfare to a decisive battle.[35] They seemed to believe that Reform represented a temporary aberration, a sporadic phenomenon, soon to disappear from the horizon of Jewish life, and, therefore,

[32] Ibid.
[33] Moses Sofer, 4, ח"ס ח"ו.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Moses Sofer, 85 ח"ס ח"ו.

they did not think it wise or necessary to transmit to future ages a knowledge of this modern form of backsliding.[36]

The heat of the controversy centred around the Temple service. The Temple was closed on week-days and open only on the Sabbath and the Festivals. The traditional prayers were abridged by the omission of some unedifying passages and the total elimination of those portions bearing reference to the belief in a personal Messiah or to the hope of the restoration to its former glory of Jerusalem with its sacrificial altars. Most of the prayers, moreover, were translated into German, and in place of the Haphtarah a sermon was preached in the vernacular. In addition, the singing of hymns and the playing of the organ formed an integral part of the service. To the official spokesman and valiant defenders of the old, such innovations, representing radical deviations from the trodden path, seemed to sound the death-knell of traditional Judaism, their dearest possession on earth.

As the Temple was open for worship only on the Sabbath and other special occasions, the daily prayers were thus tacitly abolished. This implied either that communal worship, in the opinion of the leaders of the Temple, was not an absolute necessiy, private worship being just as efficacious, which opinion goes counter to the law, or that prayer in their opinion was not the substitute for the daily sacrificial offerings as the traditional view would have it. But whatever their reasoning in this instance, the retention of both sections of the old ritual, the שחרית and the מוסף, the former in place of the קרבן תמיד and the latter of the קרבן מוסף, as the explanatory note makes clear, represents an inconsistency that defies all logic. If the daily prayers are done away with, what sense is there in retaining the מוסף prayer in substitution of the קרבן מוסף, denoting by its very name an additional sacrifice to the daily תמיד,—if there is nothing to add to, how can additions be made?[37] Moreover, in this Temple ritual, the order of the service is rearranged and the form of some of the prayers is changed. But the prayers as preserved in the Synagogue can be traced all through the ages up to Moses,

[36] Ibid.

[37] Moses Sofer, 84, ח"ס ח"ו.

and who dare tamper with their order or modify their form?[38] These prayers are not of our own invention. They have been transmitted to us by the numerous generations that have gone before us. And it is this tradition, which links one generation to the other, that is the true basis of faith. It is the faith of the fathers handed down to the children. Were we permitted to meddle with this precious chain, to loosen any of its links, in time the whole chain would break and fall apart into dissevered links. But faith as embodied in tradition is essential to the permanency of religion and to the safety and stability of political institutions. And any innovation which is calculated to undermine this faith must in the end seal the fate of religion and spell the destruction of all established government.[39]

The omission of certain prayers from the Temple ritual, in which the belief in a personal Messiah and the hope of Israel's restoration on Palestinian soil are fervently voiced, constitutes an act of bold defiance of authority which must not be tolerated. The belief in Israel's redemption through the advent of a personal Messiah may not be a fundamental principle in Judaism; yet they who reject this belief question the authority and repudiate the absolute truth of the Torah. They must be ranked among the out-and-out infidels.[40] For even were Hillel's dictum to be taken literally, the ground for disbelief would gain thereby little strength. For one thing, the majority of our ancient teachers did not concur with him in this opinion, and in questions of belief, as in all other matters of moment the voice of the majority is final.[41] Besides, Hillel's rejection of the personal Messiah does not include the belief in the restoration of Jerusalem and the holy Temple,[42] and the elimination of those prayers which con-

[38] Akiba Eger, page 27, אד"ה.

[39] Jacob Lissa, pp. 79–80, אד"ה.

One cannot fail to discern in this passage an insidious appeal for political intervention, intimating that were such a petition addressed to the government it could not very well refuse to act promptly, its own welfare being endangered.

[40] Moses Sofer, 386, יו"ד ח"ס.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Sofer, 192, ח"ס ח"ס.

cern themselves with this belief cannot but be viewed as an unwarranted and most vicious proceeding. The claim that these prayers betray a want of loyalty and patriotic devotion to the country in which we live, offers a feeble justification for such a bold step. Patriotism, no doubt, is a great virtue and a supreme duty. It is incumbent upon the Jewish leader, especially, to exhort the people to abide by the laws of the country and to be faithful and obedient to the King[43]. But hoping and praying for the restoration of Palestine in no way interferes with the patriotic love we should have for our native country. For we are not praying for a political autonomy or for improved economic conditions elsewhere; we are praying for the restoration of Israel's spiritual kingdom, in which the pure worship of God may be re-enthroned, and the sacrificial altars re-established.[44] To us, Palestine is not a political home, it is a religious institution. We pray, therefore, for the privilege of being enabled to fulfil the many laws indigenous to the soil of that land.[45]

These deliberate omissions will inflict incalculable harm on coming generations. For whatever our present affiliations and obligations may be, we are fully persuaded of the inevitability of the ultimate restoration of Jerusalem and its Temple. We believe also in the coming of the Messiah to redeem us. These prayers keep that belief alive in us and will implant it in the hearts of our children. With these prayers purged from our liturgy, the very belief will in time be forgotten, and when the Messiah does come, as come he must, he will find a generation to whom the thought of Restoration will appear strange and totally incomprehensible, a generation that will thus find itself tragically cut off from the larger body of Israel.[46]

Any innovation contrary to wonted practice and established usage must, therefore, be strenuously opposed. The prayers as they have come down to us must remain intact. No community has been vested with the right or power to introduce

[43] Akiba Eger, 41, I שו"ת.
[44] Eger, p. 27, אד"ה.
[45] M. Benet, p. 13 אד"ה.
[46] Mordecai Benet, p. 13, אד"ה.

changes in the order, much less in the content, of the ritual. Of course, some object to the piyutim, especially to those of Eleazar Kalir. The claim is put forth that they are garbled in language and style and often unintelligible in meaning. Ibn Ezra is the father of this unjust and indefensible criticism, and as great an authority as Maimonides speaks in high praise of Ibn Ezra. It is hardly likely, though, that Maimuni had this attack of Ibn Ezra on Kalir in mind when he lavished his praise upon him. He merely meant to express admiration of the undoubted merits of his grammatical works. That Ibn Ezra was a very able man cannot and need not be denied, but that he only too often used his brilliant powers in impious attacks on the Talmudists and that not seldom he played the role of the scoffer, is plainly evident. We are not bound to accept the biased judgments of Ibn Ezra. Kalir's piyutim are not the empty bubbles Ibn Ezra takes them to be. They are fraught with weighty meaning and suggestiveness. The early authorities took abundant delight in these piyutim. It matters little who Kalir was, whether he lived in the Tannaitic period, as most believe, or in the Gaonic period, as is the belief of some. Opinions are divided on this question. But whoever he was and whenever he lived, it is admitted by all our teachers that he was one of the early masters. His piyutim and those of like calibre have been the common property of our people for many generations. They are thus invested with a sacredness of which we dare not strip them. None of these piyutim can be discarded with impunity.[47]

The reasons why Hebrew and only Hebrew should be the language of our prayers, not to be substituted by the vernacular, are many and sufficient. In the first place, the fact that Hebrew is not a spoken language renders it a most fit medium for the soul's expression in prayer. The mental effort required for

[47] Eleazar Fleckeles, 1, I שו"ת.

But while defending piyutim in general, he severely condemns recent additions to the Machzor in which certain angels are invoked in prayer. He also finds that some Machzorim contain piyutim introduced no doubt by the followers of that "cursed dog" Sabbatai Zebi.

obtaining an intelligent understanding of the meaning of these prayers, is conducive to such intense concentration as prayer demands. Translated into the vernacular, the prayers are apt to be recited with little or no attention to their spiritual meaning on the part of the worshipper. In the second place, many of our prayers are derived from the Bible. Numerous interpretations have been given to these Biblical passages, and no translator is so divinely endowed as to be able to select the right one. The original, however, comprises and expresses them all. In the third place, the Hebrew names of God are descriptive of the different divine attributes—in translation the full significance of those words will be completely lost[48]. Moreover, the exclusive employment of Hebrew in the ritual serves a very practical purpose: it makes it imperative that we acquire a knowledge of the sacred tongue. Unused in the synagogue, the Hebrew language would in time be wholly forgotten. For of what use would it then be to us? To study the Talmud and its commentaries?—these have already been relegated to the limbo of the forgotten. To study the Bible?—is not there already a German translation to take its place?[49]

But aside from all such reasoning, tradition has singled out and ordained Hebrew to be the language of our prayers, and in that tongue we must, therefore, pray to the end of time.[50] It may readily be granted that any language is an appropriate vehicle for the adoration of God in prayer, but the Great Assembly in instituting the prayers in Hebrew decided once for all that Hebrew was the most fit language for that lofty purpose, and to whom shall we appeal from their decision?[51] It may be true that Hebrew is no longer understood by the masses, but the identical condition prevailed in those days, when Aramaic was the language of the people, and nevertheless the Great Assembly did not for that reason hesitate to choose Hebrew as the only language in which our spirit could best commune with the divine.[52]

[48] Mordecai Benet, p. 15, אד״ה.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Jacob Lissa, 79–81, אד״ה.
[51] Moses Sofer, 192, ח״ס ח״מ.
[52] Moses Sofer, 84, ח״ס ח״ו.

If Hebrew is not adequately understood, the more sensible solution to the difficulty is not to follow the path of least resistance and banish its use from the synagogue altogether but rather to make the people know it in the same way as they are taught to understand the vernacular.[53] Shall we by withdrawing Hebrew from the synagogue, its last citadel, encourage and perpetuate popular ignorance of the sacred tongue, or shall we endeavor to spread the knowledge of Hebrew among the people? Every nation speaks its own language, loves it heartily, shall we ignominiously abandon ours entirely? Is it a mark of widsom to teach our children Latin and French, but not Hebrew, and then complain of our woeful ignorance?[54]

Hebrew is the language in which God created heaven and earth. It is the language in which He communicated His will to patriarch and prophet. It is the language in which the Torah was written, and no other language can take its place. To translate the Torah into a foreign tongue is to deny or disregard this important truth. Moses Mendelssohn in translating the Pentateuch into German has been guilty of an unpardonable sin. His motive is clear. He wanted to display his literary skill before an admiring world. He was bitten with the incurable fever of fame. But in the attempt to reach his goal he has not only violated the sanctity of the Hebrew tongue but also mangled the traditional interpretation of the Torah. He has ignored the wisdom of the ancient teachers of the law.[55] He and others like him seem to regard the Bible as an independent product, sufficient in itself and understood apart from rabbinic interpretation; viewing it not as the foundation-rock of all our subsequent legislation, but as a literary product, a specimen of Jewish culture. Yet the Bible is the foundation and not the completed structure of Judaism. For it is not theBible but the interpretation given to it by the immortal expounders of the Law that must engage our attention and absorb our interest.[56] This fundamental truth is overlooked by those self-constituted authorities who

[53] Ibid, 86, ח"ס ח"ו.
[54] Akiba Eger, 27–28, אד"ה.
[55] Eleazar Fleckeles, 12, 14, II עולח חדש.
[56] Ibid, p. 56, זכרון אלעזר.

are zealous in their advocacy of Reform but whose chief stock in trade is a knowledge of the Bible.[57] They forget that what is needed most to speak authoritatively on questions of Jewish law is not wisdom or culture but a thorough and profound knowledge of the Law as it grew and developed through the ages.[58]

No changes should be made in the liturgy and no innovations introduced in the service which are not sanctioned by rabbinic law—חלילה לשנות שום דבר.[59] That the use of the organ or any other musical instrument in a Jewish house of worship is forbidden by law and goes counter to the dictates of our own reason, is a matter that requires but few arguments to prove. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, the joy of all instrumental music is denied us, for "how shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"[60] Its use has been permitted only at wedding ceremonies, and to argue from this the extension of its use to the synagogue is to reason perversely. A wedding is an occasion for joy enjoined by law, and instrumental music that increases the good cheer of all present is therefore permitted by law. But we are nowhere told that prayer is an expression of joy! On the contrary, most of our prayers are petitions for the remission of sin, which must be accompanied by a deep consciousness of guilt. How then, in this penitent mood, can we approach the Maker of all with our heartfelt entreaties to the accompaniment of joyful music without impairing the spirit and effectiveness of such prayers and without provoking the anger, instead of winning the favor, of God?[61] The use of the organ should be barred from the synagogue even on week-days, let alone on the Sabbath when the very act constitutes a violation of the law.[62] Moreover, it is a well known fact that while various musical instruments are employed in public and private concerts to charm and thrill the lover of music, the organ is never included among them, despite the per-

[57] Ibid, III הקדמה שו"ת.
[58] Ibid, III פתיחה שו"ת.
[59] Jacob Lissa, p. 77. אד"ה.
[60] Moses Sofer, 192, ח"ס ח"ט.
[61] Jacob Lissa, pp. 78–79 אד"ה.
[62] Ibid.

fect purity and sweetness of its tones. And the reason for this singular exclusion is most cogent, once its true import is fully grasped. For of all musical instruments the Christian Church has appropriated the organ for its own exclusive use, with which to intone its prayers and songs and to awaken within its worshippers the solemn thoughts and feelings of Christian piety. A tender delicacy of feeling, perhaps only a general sense of propriety, makes the non-Jew shrink from secularizing an instrument exclusively dedicated to the sacred uses of religion. Shall we, by introducing the organ into our synagogues, lay ourselves open to the charge that we are seeking to imitate the Church, to Christianize our Jewish service?[63] Besides, is it conceivable that a non-Jew, who is comparatively speaking the ruling power of the community, would condescend to hire himself, to a Jewish congregation to play the organ in its house of worship? And granting that he would be willing thus to demean himself, what would be the attitude of the Christian world at large toward such a transaction? Would not many Christians be only too ready to fix their accusation upon the Jew, that his chief object in doing this is to mock at Christianity and humiliate its adherents?[64]

The Reformers have set themselves in opposition to God and His Law, and he who has the fear of God in his heart will not walk in their ways.[65] He who believes that he is laboring to fulfil God's purposes in the world, who is neither desirous of winning the good graces of his Christian neighbors nor anxious to lose his identity by imitating their ways, will refuse to subscribe to their teachings and follow their innovations.[66]

In the religious views and struggles of these contemporaries of the early advocates of Reform, we witness the everlasting conflict between the old and the new, which at this very moment is still disturbing the tranquility of our religious life. For at bottom this conflict was not one of persons or even of principles but of two different civilizations battling for supremacy. The men engaged in the struggle were not, strictly speaking, men

[63] Abraham Loewenstamm, pp. 6–7, קול השיר, שו"ת צרור החיים.

[64] Moses Sofer, 84, ח"ס ח"ו.

[65] Akiba Eger, pp. 27–28, אר"ה.

[66] Ibid, Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Geselschaft, III 77.

who merely differed in their religious views. They were products and representatives of two different types of human culture. To the student of our history, therefore, the views of the best products and truest exponents of a Jewish culture which, though not wholly past, is fast receding from the horizon of Jewish life, cannot but prove interesting and even stimulating.

NEGATIVE TENDENCIES IN MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE

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I

THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH and the beginning of the twentieth century marked an important turning-point in the history and development of modern Hebrew literature: for the first time since its nascence in the days of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707–1747)[1] the modern Hebrew muse threw off the cloak of modest originality and diffident self-complacency and began to adorn herself in the rich vestments and multi-colored plumage of greatly developed and over-ripe European literatures. All of a sudden, as if by magic, were swept away into utter oblivion the puerilites and inanities of the Romantic movement, the tumidities and bombastic excrescences of the Haskalah period, the nebulosities and pomposities of theoretical Zionism, and in their stead began to germinate and sprout forth a natural and realistic literature, highly esthetic though artificial, polished though not genuine, unencumbered by the tangled and filigreed Meliṣah style of former days but also free from true situations and original plots, in a word a bizarre and exotic growth which formed a striking contrast to the hitherto established canons of Hebrew composition.

This sudden transformation, which the most ardent wishes of some writers of the previous generation could not bring about,

[1] The course of development of modern Hebrew literature up to the end of the nineteenth century is well outlined in the following works: Nahum Slouschz, *La Renaissance de la Littérature Hébraique*, Paris 1903 (an English translation was published by the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1909); Abraham Solomon Waldstein, *The Evolution of Modern Hebrew Literature*, New York 1916; Joseph Klausner, תולדות הספרות העברית החדשה, Jerusalem 1920.

was due to a number of internal and external causes which fortuitously combined to bring it about. In the first place, owing to the spirit of the time, the *fin de siècle* spirit with its anticipation of emancipation in every domain of human endeavor, the walls of the ghetto had begun to crumble of themselves, admitting a flood of foreign ideas and European ideals of life and art. The well-known fable of the sun and the wind in their rivalry to divest man of his apparel became verified once more: what the categorical imperatives and repeated fiats of superior authorities and government agencies (e. g. under Nicholas I and Alexander II in Russia) failed to accomplish, was brought about by some warming rays of an approaching sun and a few tepid breezes wafted from smiling though distant fields.[2]

Side by side with this liberalizing and humanizing spirit from the outside went the unrelented activity of the Jewish youth within the Ghetto, the ambitious and care-free youth whose chief aim in life had always been to smash the boundaries separating them from western European life and culture. This Jewish youth was now occupying a more formidable and strategical terrain than in former days, and hence their demands became more cogent and imperious. In the struggle between fathers and sons[3] the latter, as is usually the case, had come out victorious, and, cutting themselves loose for the nonce from the anchor of their spiritual heritage and centuries-old tradition, they drifted toward the educational centres of their native land where they could expect to pick up crumbs of culture and civilization to slake their thirst for knowledge. But this noble effort, owing to restrictions imposed by the government upon Jews in educational institutions, was foredoomed to disappointment and failure; and after vain attempts to overcome the

[2] Cp. S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, tr. I. Friedlaender, Vol. III: From the Accession of Nicholas II. until the Present Day, Philadelphia 1920. See also Jacob S. Raisin, *The Haskalah Movement in Russia*, Philadelphia 1913.

[3] Depicted very vividly by S. J. Abramowitz (Mendeli Mocher Sefarim) in his early story האבות והבנים (published first in 1868, but issued in a revised and improved edition in the third volume of כל כתבי מנדלי מוכר ספרים, Odessa 1912, pp. 235 ff.), a title borrowed no doubt from Turgenieff's famous novel *Fathers and Children*.

numerus clausus in their native land they started an exodus to liberal foreign countries where education is free and accessible to everybody who wants to enjoy it. Thus the flower of Jewish youth, the sensitized brains from the Yeshibah and Beth Hamidrash, drifted to the highly artistic and intensely cultured sites of western Europe, where they became imbued with foreign ideas of art and literature, and in their devotion to the Jewish milieu and the national Hebrew literature they endeavored to transplant them thither with the zeal of neophytes and fresh converts.[4] These young men and women, whether they stayed abroad and remained outsiders to the Ghetto or returned to their native heath as spiritual guides and instructors of the younger generation, became the apostles of a new era, the literary agents who effected an interchange of ideas between the crepuscular and shut-in Ghetto and the scintillating and distantly charming West.

Another potent cause for the sudden transformation of modern Hebrew literature was the appearance of political Zionism and its phenomenal growth among the youth under the guidance of Theodor Herzl.[5] There is this distinction between the older (Ḥibbat Zion) and the newer Zionist movement, that the former was limited and confined to the Ghetto, and hence did not stir any undue hopes, while the latter became a world movement, unlimited and unstinted in its scope, and hence stirring vast hopes and unsurmised expectations. At one stroke political Zionism did away with many barriers: In its national aspect it removed the very offensive antipathies beween Eastern and Western Jews, opening up a wider horizon between Jews themselves; and in its international aspect it made incumbent upon the Jew to study the political and cultural situation of other nations who might become involved in

[4] It was this abnormal and unnatural phenomenon that called forth Max Nordau's severe and partly undeserved castigation of the *Bettelstudent* (a derogatory appellation given to the poor Russian and Galician students in Germany) which stirred a hue and cry in the Jewish press some twenty years ago.

[5] Cp. Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, I, 263 ff.; also Richard Gottheil, *Zionism*, Philadelphia 1914.

the solution of the Jewish question, thus disclosing infinite vistas for interesting observation. It is not insignificant that some of the leaders of the new movement, as Herzl, Nordau, and Zangwill, were themselves representatives of the leading European literatures, where they had attained more than ordinary vogue and renown. Herzl was the accredited feuilletonist of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna and, in addition, a no mean dramatist; Zangwill had already attained great fame as the author of *The Children of the Ghetto* and *Ghetto Tragedies*; while Nordau was known the world over as a free lance and caustic critic of the great moral ills of the century and his *Conventional Lies* and *Degeneration* had been translated into all the European languages. The latter's trenchant and rapier-like criticism particularly, which manifested itself very gloriously in his great philippics at the Zionist Congresses in Basel, could not fail to stimulate an intesne desire to form an acquaintance with European literatures. No one who had not been an inhabitant of the Ghetto during those fateful days of suspension between slavery and freedom and expectation of redemption can have the least idea of the fire and excitement which had seized the Jewish youth at the sudden appearance of the vigorous younger movement. Ghetto barriers were smashed, and nothing appeared foreign any more to the student folk. European literatures were devoured with great gusto and unexampled relish, and young folks were vying with each other as to their fount of general and universal information. From total seclusion and utter abstention from things foreign they now drifted to the other extreme, becoming absorbed altogether in worldy interests. The new Russian literature had been studied heretofore, though not with a view to borrow therefrom ideas and plots for the poor Hebrew literature, but now for the first time the Jewish youth took up seriously the study of German, French and English, in order to be able to read the new literary productions in these leading European tongues and come in direct touch with the artistic currents in modern European letters.

The result of such an excessive and abnormal absorption in foreign letters is quite obvious and natural: as in the case of the weaker Russian coming first in contact with the stronger

French and German literatures it gave rise to a desire for imitation and ape-like modelling after the leading literatures of the world, preferably the Russian, German and the French. Instead of following the unbeaten path of genuine inspiration and original research Hebrew writers for the most part set out to transplant "the glittering beauties of Japheth unto the tents of Shem", to introduce foreign characters and doubtful motives into Hebrew fiction and Judaize them by giving them a Hebrew dress. In this way our literary poverty has not been mitigated: instead of a genuine Jewish content in a pompous and nebulous style we now had an exotic and foreign content in an artistic and polished style. The following is an unbiassed judgment of a critical observer: "The Hebrew novelists of our generation stand outside the life of the people, although they came forth from the people and dwell among the people... They confine themselves to a narrow milieu and depict—sometimes with extraordinary talent—the life of men who stand outside of life".[6]

Now, what were the leading motives of European literature at the threshold of the twentieth century? After the marvelous and unequalled productivity of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European literature became, as it were, enervated and exhausted and drifted into a period of debility and decadence. After the universal and kaleidoscopic genius of a Goethe and a Hugo, the all embracing analytical intellect of a Balzac and a Turgenieff, it seemed vain and futile to attempt anything permanent and enduring along the well established Classic and Romantic lines. Literary form was made well-nigh perfect, in poetry through Heine and Hugo, in prose through Flaubert and Turgenieff. As to content, practically the whole gamut of human passions and emotions had been struck by the deft touches of Hugo and Balzac, Dostoyevsky and Turgenieff. It looked as if nothing could be accomplished any more, and indeed the opening of the present century witnesses the twilight, if not the eclipse, of the gods on Parnassus. For the lack of a better the new writers, in their ambition to be original and epoch-

[6] כנסת, edited by Bialik, Odessa 1918, p. 322, col. 1. Cp. also צרור מכתבים ע"ד עניני הספרות in the periodical האשכול, III (1900), 153 ff., and IV (1902), 87 ff.

making, set out to assault and shatter the well established and centuries-old canons of literary composition: Instead of aesthetic form they devised promiscuous and distorted frames for their works, using cacophonous or vapid language and points instead of words; while as to content, the sane and legitimate, studied minutely from all sides and all angles, gave way to the vulgar and shocking, the bizarre and exotic, the extraordinary and unnatural, the capricious and whimsical, the atrabilian and splenetic, the nebulous and mystic, the neuropathic and pathological. Like the new art, which, for lack of new avenues of attack within the accepted canons of esthetics, deviated from the trodden path and ultimately deteriorated into fanciful and grotesque representations, such as may be witnessed in the schools of impressionism, cubism, and dadaism, so also the new literature sought new modes of expression, new forms in prose and poetry, new situations in the furtherance of the plot, and, above all, new motives underlying these situations, which often constituted a complete reversal of generally accepted moral values. This search for something new and fundamentally different gave rise to the individualism or superman motive of Nietzsche, the scepticism and pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann, the mysticism and symbolism of Mallarmé and Maeterlinck, the sensuousness and eroticism of Maupassant and D'Annunzio, and the realism and naturalism of Zola and Artzibasheff.[7]

II

These negative movements, striking by their sheer negation, gradually make their appearance also in Hebrew literature.

[7] For a vivid exposition of negative and decadent currents in world literature cp. Max Nordau, *Degeneration*, Second Edition, London 1895. For greater detail and objective treatment the following should be consulted: George Pellissier, *The Literary Movement in France during the Nineteenth Century*, New York 1897; Benjamin W. Wells, *A Century of French Fiction*, New York 1912; Winifred Stephens, *French Novelists of To-Day*, London 1914-15; Jethro Bithell, *Contemporary Belgian Literature*, New York 1916; Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, *Essays on Scandinavian Literature*, New York 1911; John Firman Coar, *Studies in German Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, New York 1903. See also note 17 below.

The first prophet of the new era is Micah Joseph Berditshevsky (1865–1921), who, having passed from a Russian Yeshibah to a German University and from pilpulistic hair-splitting to philosophic speculation, became impressed by the dominant and heroic chord of Nietzsche to such an extent that he immediately set to preaching the idea of the superman and a transvaluation of all values in Hebrew. In a series of articles, collected later into booklets and published in Warsaw in 1900,[8] he attacked the traditional spiritualism and weakened backbone of the Jews and advocated a strong individualism and a complete break with our past. His slogan was the characteristic phrase of Nietzsche: "In order to build a sanctuary one must tear down a sanctuary", an iconoclasm which naturally flattered the younger generation but raised a hue and cry among the older guardians of Hebrew culture. A polemic soon ensued between him and Ahad Haam,[9] the inspired protagonist of Hebrew spiritualism and the Jewish past, in which Jewish values of the past as well as the prime needs and essential requisites of the present were aired satisfactorily and duly. Ahad Haam, the abstract philosopher and champion of reason, placed the needs of Judaism above those of the Jews, while Berditshevsky, who glorified the heart and the senses, maintained that Jews were prior to Judaism and their material needs more cogent than their spiritual desiderata. "Give the flesh its due" and "Give us humanism" recur frequently in his vehement and acrimonious onslaughts on traditional Judaism. It is characteristic that in this debate Ahad Haam stands for a literature based upon the past spiritual heritage of the Jews, a literature that adheres not only to the rules of aesthetics but also to those of ethics, an art not alone for art's sake,[10] while Berditshevsky advocates new literary creations patterned after

[8] The following are the titles of the most striking of his controversial tracts: שינוי ערכין, נמושות, על הפרק, על אם הדרך.

[9] Asher Ginsberg, editor of the Hebrew monthly השלח, 1897-1903, one of the profoundest Hebrew thinkers and the most representative exponent of Hebrew culture.

[10] Cp. Ahad Haam הלשון וספרותה, in על פרשת דרכים, I, 185 ff.; לשאלת הספרות העברית, ibid., II, 1 ff.; שנוי הערכין, ibid., 66 ff.; מהפכה ספרותית ibid., III, 49 ff. Most of these essays have been rendered into English by Leon Simon under the title *Selected Essays of Ahad Ha-'am*, Philadelphia, 1912.

western European models and bearing no relation whatever to the tortuous Jewish past, an art in which, in the words of Keats, "beauty is truth, truth beauty", and nothing else.

In spite of the perfervid antagonism of Ahad Haam and a few lesser luminaries, Berditshevsky did not lack supporters and sympathizers, especially among the students in Berlin, who gathered around his flag and established a publishing company under the name הוצאת צעירים for the purpose of publishing anti-traditionalistic tracts and pamphlets and disseminating them among the reading public. One of his most important followers was M. Ehrenpreis, who prepared a manifesto explaining the new doctrine and broadcast it in the Jewish press. In this manifesto he calls upon the youth to forget entirely the old past and the hoary tradition and exhorts them to rally around the new apostles of freedom, whom he styles "the first Europeans in Hebrew literature", destined to start a new literature, untrammeled by the shackles of tradition and bearing no reference to the past.[11]

Berditshevsky tried to materialize his theories in a number of sketches and stories, which he penned carelessly and in a hurry but in which he recorded very minutely the innermost struggles of a wounded and lacerated heart. Being in the main his own unhappy experiences, his stories are naturally highly subjective and individualistic and are characterized by undue morbidity and overdrawn psychological analysis. Their chief fault is that they lack form and style, the prime requisites of a literary composition. In them we meet for the first time that accessory of the decadent European writers, heaps of dots and dashes, which are supposed to hide secret thoughts and veiled sentiments but which too often are rather indicative of the helplessness of the author and his limited range of expression. In the latter part of his life when he took to folkloristic stories and mythological etudes, his literary style improved slightly, but not sufficiently. Though his content became more profound and interesting, he could not overcome a natural inaptitude for precise and concise expression. Some of these stories are tedious-

[11] Cp. *Die Welt*, 1897, No. 7.

ly drawn out and are tiring by their mass of unnecessary detail.[12]

Berditshevsky will always occupy an important place in Hebrew literature as a pioneer who, for better or for worse, was instrumental in diverting its stream from its normal historical course. He was by nature stubborn and intransigeant and failed to understand the compromising attitude of the moderate wing of Hebrew writers, but perhaps only through such an intransigeance could he hope to gain anything at all. As a publicist and essayist he was quite effective, his vigorous and repetitive style helping him to force an argument home, though here too the tares lay side by side with the wheat and much of his laboured reasoning could be overcome by an emphatic *non sequitur*; but as a belletrist he was surpassed by many of his contemporaries and most of his followers, who, though lacking his plenitude of ideas and experiences, possessed the preeminent requisite of form and style which he so lamentably lacked.

He was surpassed by M. Z. Feierberg (1874–1899), who, like Ahad Haam and Bialik, was an insider and formed a bulwark of tradition against the vicious onslaught of the assailants from without. Feierberg is perhaps the most tragic figure in modern Hebrew literature: highly strung and supremely gifted he appeared like a sparkling meteor across the poorly-lit firmament of Hebrew literature and suddenly disappeared, leaving a glowing track of matchless beauty behind him. Only during the last three years of his all too brief existence was he a pontiff of the Hebrew muse, but within this brief span of time, though continually tortured and exhausted by an incurable disease, he managed to produce a number of stories and sketches, which in their sweetly melancholy content, full of caressing tenderness and delicate psychology, summarize to perfection the blind striving and surging of the Ghetto youth of his time, the storm and stress of the *fin de siècle*, while both in beauty of form and simplicity of diction they are unequalled and unsurpassed. No one, except perhaps Bialik in his most inspired lyrics, limned the fearful struggle between the old world and the new as did Feierberg in his "לאן" ("Whither?"), wherein

[12] A complete edition of Berditshevsky's works in 20 volumes has just been issued by the Stybel Publishing Co. of Warsaw.

the dualism of the hero, his yearning for the new and his refusal to let go the old, is depicted in masterful and indubitable strokes. Out of the store of his own dire experience Feierberg created that tragic figure, the imaginative Hofni, whose life is one mental struggle between faith and scepticism and whose brooding philosophy and moping melancholy land him finally in a madhouse. It is safe to say that perhaps this character would have exerted as potent an influence on the Jewish youth as Goethe's Werther once had exerted on the German youth, had not the new Zionist movement intervened to buoy up the punctured hopes and flattened aspirations of the new generation.

Feierberg was an adherent of Ahad Haam and his theory of conservation, and in an open letter to Berditshevsky published after his death he took issue with him for his negative and destructive theories, above all his revaluation of all values, claiming in rebuttal that "Judaism has not yet completed its account with the world" and that, despite all the aspersions cast upon the people of the book, "the Hebrew victory is the victory of the book in the world". In an essay on "Hebrew Fiction and its Duties" he discusses the various phases of the question and lays down the following principles to be guided by: "Our writers must incorporate in their works our innermost world as it is revealed to us also from the outside, with all the surgings and strivings, struggles and sensations, that accompany the man in the Jew and the Jew in the man; they must show what our life is and what our world is; what we call suffering and torture and what others call suffering and torture; what our public life is in relation to the public life of others; what is the life of our individual, his aims and duties to his public, in comparison to the individual life of others; what is holy and unholy with us and what is holy and unholy among others; how our society developed until it reached its present dreadful stage, how its legends, manners and customs developed, and their effect upon life. Our literature must not seek a new program, but must follow the course which history had assigned to it; for nobody can deny that if we ever did something for the benefit of mankind it was solely in the field of literature: we have sent forth from our national and social milieu great ideas which

became the inheritance of all mankind. Let our writers now likewise send forth from their national midst and social status great ideas which may become common good in the world literature; let them express in their works the last word of human endeavor, and then our literature will by itself become a universal literature."[13]

But the thin and short-lived voice of Feierberg did not avail to deflect the new secessionistic movement from its course. The seeds sown by the group of outsiders and epigones soon bore foreign and exotic fruit. The meager and scanty Hebrew literature, confined to two publishing houses and a mere handful of periodicals, soon began to teem with the latest shibboleths of the *décadence*, the German *Weltschmerz* and the French spleen and ennui, the Scandinavian *taedium vitae* and world-weariness, Russian fatalism and nihilism, in a word moping melancholy and cerulian pessimism. Hebrew fiction, so modest and chaste in its origin, received a veneer of scepticism and atheism, eroticism and immorality, and all the concomitant negative attributes of an over-ripe and etiolated civilization.

III

Above all virulent scepticism and morbid pessimism. Anyone who surveys the belletristic field in modern Hebrew literature is struck unpleasantly by the purely minor key and sentimental chord that animate it throughout, to the exclusion of everything major and jovial. In entering it we seem to be transported into a gloomy world staggering under the heavy weight of Atlas, where Cassandra pipes her painful prophecies and Pandora lets loose her casket of ills, where Damokles dangles his destructive sword and the Furies stand ready to eviscerate mankind. A terrible world, this, full of gloomy forebodings and sad prognostications, evil spirits and wicked genii, where everything is pell-mell and topsy-turvy and nothing ever reaches a felicitious fruition. It is as if we were standing transmuted in a miasmatic and pestiferous atmosphere, in a kind of Dantean

[13]All Feierberg's works, both belletristic and publicistic, have been collected into one volume, קובץ ספוריו וכתביו, Cracow 1904.

inferno, and our breath suddenly taken away. In vertiginous confusion we ask ourselves in the tone of Virgil: *Tantaene animis terrestribus irae?*

This gruesome picture is not overdrawn. The Hebrew novel, far from amusing and entertaining, is often appalling and horrifying in its inexorable consequences and effects, and its characters very frequently belong to the realm of pathology rather than to that of psychology. It invariably pivots on the irksome theme of fate and its dire consequences, human fate which Euripides apostrophized with his tragic lyre and Job depicted in fiery verbiage pregnant with the breath of Titans, which Leopardi lamented in his moody lyrics and Tshaikovsky sounded to its utmost depth in his immortal symphony. The heroes and heroines are either wounded warblers flapping their wearisome wings against the impenetrable portals of the huge Infinite or else boneless marmots cringing and crouching in helplessness and despair, brooding and moping in their dens over the utter vanity and purposelessness of existence, too paralyzed and exhausted to blow their brains out. The standpoint of some Hebrew writers, like that of Simonides and Schopenhauer, seems to be that life is not a flippant comedy but a real tragedy. With Job they believe that "man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble", and with Euripides that "life is called life, but it is truly pain".

In a way, this pessimistic tendency manifests itself from the very beginning of modern Hebrew literature.[14] Indeed it seems that already at its cradle lachrymose angels stood and

[14]Pessimism is not altogether foreign to Hebraism. Towards the close of the biblical period, when the Jewish state began to crumble to pieces, it forced itself to eloquent expression in the Book of Ecclesiastes, and in post-biblical times the preponderance of Kinoth over odes of joy was very great and marked (cp. G. Salkinowitz, *Pessimistische Strömungen im Judenthum*, Berlin 1907). However, this pessimism was natural and healthy, a physiological process springing from the need of giving vent to one's spleen, while the modern tendency is mostly morbid and pathological, springing from distorted vision and myopia. Moreover, the earlier pessimism had a silver lining of optimism, and an inward luminosity of hope tempered in a way the outer crepuscular tints; but to-day Hebrew writers, like the mythical Cassandra, see nothing but black.

wept. It was during the Haskalah period that its great poet, Judah Loeb Gordon, sang:

"Leave me, not a poet but lamenter am I",

while Moses Loeb Lilienblum sowed the sceptic seed which he endeavored in vain to uproot and efface during the latter part of his sad life. Even Bialik, the greatest luminary on our Mount of Parnassus and a tried rider of the Hebrew Pegasus, found his best and most potent expression in his מגלת האש (Scroll of Fire) and שירי הועם (Songs of Wrath), two mighty cycles comparable to primitive cataracts in their grandeur and stirring within our breast "thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears". And in a poem dealing with the purpose of his poetic mission he characterizes his muse as

"A phial of tears, a phial of fresh tears,
That stir souls and hearts pierce".

On a whole, Hebrew poets, with the possible exception of Tshernichovsky, like to ululate threnodies and intone *Ex Tenebris* and *De Profundis* rather than stately chorales and halleluiahs. But it is the new Hebrew novelists particularly that thread the *via dolorosa* of life and harp continuously on the morbid motive of Ecclesiastes. Whether they deal with the abnormal Ghetto life or the new blooming settlements of Palestine, it is always the mystic and sad traits that attract them and exercise their luring spell over their intellect. As Berditshevsky himself characterizes this younger literature: "When man is young he sings songs, but the latest poetical productions in Hebrew are largely threnodial. Our new poetry is poetry of grief...It is a long time since the Jewish people heard such national affirmations as of late, but side by side with this positivism came also the shadows of negativism and its sadness. The Haskalah period had given us certain negative types, such as Samuel in Braudes' הדת והחיים and Ẓelofḥod bar Ḥushim in Lilienblum's חטאות נעורים and we thought that they had passed never to return, but behold this new negative movement, even noisier than its predecessor, and in altogether different surroundings..."[15]

[15] See נתיבות vol. I, Warsaw 1913, p. 9.

Whence this pessimism? Whence this dreadful despair and hurtful hopelessness? It cannot and should not be accounted for merely by stating that Jewish life, especially in the Ghettoes of eastern Europe, is tragic and depressing: This has been the case uninterruptedly during the last two thousand years, and yet the Jews had not become ascetics and hermits, weaned from joy and closed to mirth. On the contrary, even in time of dire distress and tortuous tribulation the sane and sound need for frothy flightiness and lilting levity asserted itself, and the Jews of all ages poked fun and made merry as much as their Gentile neighbours. Hence such spicy and jovial products as, for instance, Joseph Zabara's *Sefer Shaashuim* and Judah Harizi's *Tahkemoni*. For the Jew by nature is an optimist, free of malodorous malice and rankling rancor, even if these, by dint of persecution, might be justified. The Jew soon forgets his torments, and with them his tormentors. Executing a rapid *volta face* he faces the dawn of a new era and smiles at the piercing rays of a bright sun. The pessimistic strain in modern Hebrew literature is therefore not a true reflection of the actual state of mind of the present-day Jew, rather is it forced and artificial, concocted and manufactured by impressionistic writers under some unhealthy and baneful influence. And, indeed, this influence may be traced above all to the Russian literature of the last few decades, under whose aegis most of the younger Jewish writers have been brought up. This literature, owing to the pessimism and scepticism which are Russia's national characteristics,[16] is probably the saddest and most tragic in the entire range of world literature. The great Russian critic Alexander Herzen characterises it as composed of these three strains: melancholy, scepticism, and irony, the first being predominant. Another critic, a modern Frenchman, summed it up in one striking word "Nitzschevoism", which is the Russian equivalent for Nihilism. It comprises the fate motive of Pushkin, the languid and placid sadness of Turgenieff, the funereal and melancholy gaspings of Dostoyevsky, the destructive criticism of Pisarev and Belinsky, the asceticism and negation of life of Tolstoy, the galling and vitriolic effervescence of Gorky, the

[16] Cp. E. B. Lanin, *Russian Characteristics*, London 1892.

Saninine pessimism of Artzibasheff, and the hopeless scepticism of the modern group of Parnassians and Symbolists who hark back to Baudelaire and Verlaine and the whole constellation of French decadents and impressionists.[17] It gave rise to the philosopher Lev Shestov, the pessimist and scepticist par excellence, whose effusions of doubt and despair exceed in their intensity even those of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer.[18] Moreover, this literature derived additional impetus and strength from the morbidly melancholy strains and plangent harmonies of the splenetic Moussorgsky and the hypochondriac Tschaikovsky and the younger school of Russian music. As a rule art mirrors life more or less, and Russian art was sad and melancholy because Russian life was miserable and unbearable. No wonder Russia coined that awe-inspiring and terror-striking phrase "the heart of man is a dark forest". The intelligent young man in Russia carried an affluence of despair within him, and in his restless trot around the globe disseminated it all over the world. The Jewish intelligentsia, who now were en rapport with things intellectual and artistic in the Russian empire, naturally succumbed to those pessimistic currents and soon made an endeavor to transplant them into the Jewish camp. Hebrew writers began to make a sorry appearance and see black even where there was a ray of light, while poets set to piping poems of Baudelairean spleen and Wildean ennui.

A striking example of Russian influence was J. Domoshewitzky, better known by his nom-de-plume J. Bershadsky (1871–1908), who in the midst of a flood of short-story writers was the only one who managed to write two lengthy novels of Russian-Jewish life, one באין מטרה[19] (Without Aim) and another

[17] Cp. A. Brückner, *A Literary History of Russia*, translated by H. Havelock, New York 1908; also Georg Brandes, *Impressions of Russia*, London 1903, the second part of which deals with modern Russian literature; Serge Persky, *Contemporary Russian Novelists*, Translated from the French by Frederick Eisemann, Boston 1913; Prince Kropotkin, *Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature*, New York 1915; Moissaye J. Olgin, *A Guide to Russian Literature* (1820-1917), New York 1920.

[18] On this remarkable Russian philosopher see Hillel Zeitlin, פתהומות הספק והיאוש, in the periodical התקופה, vols. XX–XXII, Warsaw 1924.

[19] Warsaw 1899.

כנגד הזרם[20] (Against the Current), both surcharged with very minute psychological analysis and hair-splitting arguments concerning the nature of Judaism, the future of the Jews, anti-semitism and pogroms, and, last but not least, Zionism. Bershadsky was a progressive Hebrew teacher, and his characters are therefore taken for the most part from his own social milieu, but one hardly recognises the modern Hebrew teacher in these grotesque and distorted figures which look more like the mental excrescences of a phantastic brain. Both his characters and mode of treatment are not genuine and originally Jewish, but rather copies and imitations of well-known Russian writers who hit the fancy of the Jewish youth at that time. Turgenieff and Dostoyevsky had just begun to be the idols of the Russian youth, and the negative and nihilistic characters of their novels did not fail to make a powerful impression on young revolutionary brains. Bazarov, the hero of *Fathers and Sons*, with his nihilistic tendencies and self-destructive struggles, appealed to the imagination of the young, just as Raskolnikov of *Crime and Punishment*, with his violent theories and murderous acts, his moping melancholy and extreme pessimism, became the supreme hero of the sensitive and impressionistic youth, who looked up to him in unmeasured adulation.[21] Bershadsky, like other contemporary Hebrew novelists, stands under this influence of Turgenieff and Dostoyevsky, and hence all his characters are negative and destructive, and there is hardly a ray of light to pierce the gloom and shadow that surround them. Sapirstein, the hero of כנגד הזרם, is a thorough-going cynic and sceptic who doubts everything, from his own will to enjoy life to the national revival of his people; while Adamowitz, the protagonist of באין מטרה, is a Godless and idealless pessimist, who, out of sheer spleen and ennui, plunges into a life of voluptuousness and debauchery and in the end is even unable to die a decent death. "What is the aim of life?" he asks, and he reaches the conclusion that not only to live properly, but even to die properly, it is impossible "without an aim".

[20] Warsaw 1901.

[21] Cp. J. Middleton Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, A Critical Study, New York 1916.

This pessimistic tendency is evident also in Bershadsky's shorter sketches, which are scattered in various periodicals and journals. In זכרונות תוגה[22] (Sad Memories), for instance, he describes a talmudic scholar who leaves the bench for the market and suddenly plunges into a life of vice and profligacy, after the manner of the *nouveau riche*, from which he does not emerge before being completely ruined financially, and, in addition, a mental and physical wreck; and peculiarly enough, his wife, who never shared his worldly pleasures, is made to comfort him in his distress. The last trait is also characteristically Russian, both Turgenieff and Dostoyevsky harping continually on the superiority of woman over man.

IV

This sceptic and pessimistic tendency reached its climax in a group of writers who dominated Hebrew fiction during the past two decades and stand out conspicuously as high priests of the Hebrew muse, particularly the triad Brenner, Gnessin and Schuffmann, who stood in close connection to one another and specialized in the psychological novel, the novel with neither development, nor climax, nor dénouement, only character analysis and psychological speculation. These three novelists are greatly responsible for the introduction of decadence into Hebrew literature, for the spread of the capricious and the freakish, the bizarre and esoteric, the melancholy and morbid, the weird and mystic, in the Hebrew sketch and novel. Brenner is by far the ablest of them all, a thoroughbred sceptic and pessimist of the crassest hue, who nevertheless, by sheer persistence, advanced himself to the rank of leading novelist of the modern period.

Joseph Chayim Brenner (1881–1921) was born in a small town in Ukrainia, the cradle of the new literary movement. After the customary study in a Cheder and a Yeshibah he was graduated into the Russian army, from which he ultimately fled abroad, spending considerable time in London and in Galicia and finally settling down in Palestine. Like his associates he was of a roaming and roving nature, a victim of restlessness and

[22] Published in השלח, VI, 405-416.

ennui, which drove him ever onwards on the way of gloomy destiny and sad fate. While in London he published and edited with superhuman efforts the periodical המעורר, of which only two volumes had appeared (1906–1907). In Lemberg he continued his Herculean efforts on behalf of Hebrew literature by publishing another periodical רביבים (1908), but this periodical shared an even worse fate than its predecessor, for it died prematurely. Henceforth Brenner devoted himself entirely to belles-lettres, leading a secluded and isolated existence in Palestine, where he met a violent and untimely death at the hands of Arabs.

Brenner published numerous short sketches and the following larger novels: בחורף, מסביב לנקודה, מן המצר, מ' עד א', שכול וכשלון או התחבטות והתלבטות, מכאן ומכאן, מים למים, and a drama מעבר לגבולין. Almost all these novels are novels of ideas and not of action, psychological analyses and minute self-examinations, which often tire the mind and weary the flesh. In fact Brenner is so much absorbed in psychological analysis that he neglects style and sequence, the primary requisites in esthetic creations such as the novel, and the reader is often at a loss to understand the real meaning of the story. His style, especially in his later and maturer works, is often tortuous and labyrinthine, devoid of ornamentation, slipshod and jerky, which may or may not suit the speculative and analytical character of his narratives. Moreover, Brenner had his attention riveted only on the shady side of Jewish life, on helpless and impotent creatures and squalid Ghetto scenery, the flotsam and jetsam of the stormy sea of life, flitting shadows and pallid ghosts in the valley of tears. Brenner deals mostly with mental derelicts and neurasthenics, men, who, like himself, followed the meandering trail along all the highways and by-ways of Europe and America, only to find a drab and aimless existence in Palestine; nibblers and self-tormentors, petty irresolute Hamlets who waver all their life between action and inaction, whose power of will has been atrophied through constant study and brooding in Volozin, Mir, Slobodka, Telz etc.; men who, like the eternal wandering Jew, are weary of life and wish to die, but, by some inscrutable decree of fate, are unable to do so. A

deep and impenetrable gloom hangs over these vague and wavering heroes, these broken and dichotomous souls, at war with themselves and without belief in themselves or their cause. Thus, for instance, Jeremiah Feiermann, the hero of בחורף, says: "If I could follow the voice of my conscience I would not have to live another hour—and yet I live and I shall continue to live. I can not free myself from life. I have not the will for such annihilation, I lack the inner freedom... In my Torah there is this injunction: Behold, there are two ways before thee, one spiteful and one desirable—insanity and suicide, and thou shalt choose death!" On the other hand, Saul Gamzu, a Hebrew teacher in Palestine, the hero of בין מים למים, after his failure in life and love and the consequent destruction of his inner world, retires to a small malaria-stricken and death-ridden colony to brood over the utter futility of existence and at the same time to copy a text-book for children which he had composed in his better days.

In his last novel entitled שכול וכשלון או התחבטות והתלבטות (Bereavement and Stumbling, or Harassment and Vexation, a title to make your flesh creep) Brenner gave such a gloomy outlook upon Palestinian life as to eradicate any desire one might have to visit the Holy Land, let alone settle there. This novel deals with subjects that are more pathological than psychological, more fit for a medico-chirurgical clinic than the mental study of a novelist. In the first place the hero, Ezekiel Hefez, is insane or on the verge of insanity, and his observations, mostly in soliloquy and without coherence, are naturally tinctured in the dye of despair. Then the family to which he is related and with which he comes in contact consists of nothing but broken souls: an aged and disappointed father, afflicted with rheumatism and other ills attendant thereto, and his two daughters, the elder a homely spinster craving for unobtainable love and wasting away in neurotic debility, the younger a pretty and lovable creature expiating her love longing and vague yearning for distant horizons in sudden self-inflicted death...

There is something *macabre* in Brenner's view of life and its galling manifestations. Like the Italian pessimist Leopardi he conceives of the world as bad because his personal life is bad

and with Dostoyevsky he believes that "all the world is not worth the tear of a small child". Like a sour hermit nursing morose fancies and lugubrious phantasmagoria in his study cell Brenner's ears are attuned to Schopenhauer's *memento mori* rather than to Goethe's *memento vivere*, and his drab digits touch the ashen-gray chords of despair and hopelessness. His pen drips gall, and every page of his writings reechoes the funereal gaspings of a weary and agonising age, the melancholy death-rattle of an unjust and impotent world, the final redemption of mankind through utter destruction and annihilation.

Brenner is sometimes styled the Hebrew Dostoyevsky,[23] for like the great Russian novelist he analyses his characters very minutely and exhibits the most secret workings of their morbid minds. And indeed he had a hankering after this epileptic genius, whose *Crime and Punishment* he rendered into Hebrew.[24] Traces of the Russian's influence could be pointed out in every one of Brenner's novels. For one, his psychological nibbling and self-tormenting casuistry reminds strongly of the great Russian. Again, a dim shadow of the tragic figure of Raskolnikov reappears in every one of Brenner's hapless heroes. Moreover, some of his stories are actually modelled after stories of Dostoyevsky, as, for instance, מ' עד מ',[25] which is cut in the style of *Notes from the Dead House*. Yet with all his negativism Dostoyevsky sometimes affirms, while Brenner remains negative throughout and his nebulosities have no silver lining. Dostoyevsky's Raskolnikov has positive traits which finally break through the thick crust of scepticism and lead the hero to light and faith in mankind, while Brenner's heroes remain negative from beginning to end in practically all the stories.[26]

[23] Already Feierberg predicted that "if we had writers like Dostoyevsky they would fill the whole universe with streams of tears in return for the venom which the world poured into our heart" (קובץ ספוריו וכתביו, Cracow 1904, p. 135).

[24] החטא וענשו, Warsaw 1923. This in spite of the fact that Dostoyevsky is known to have been a rabid Judeophobe, cp. Hurwitz, דוסטויבסקי ויחוסו להיהודים, in the periodical החרן edited by Ruben Brainin in New York, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 84 ff.

[25] First published in המעורר vol. I, Nos. 7-8.

[26] A new edition of all the works of Brenner in 4 volumes has just been issued by the Stybel Publishing Co. of Warsaw.

Descended from the same milieu as Brenner, though of a more artistic temperament and a more sensitive soul, Gnessin became the exponent of mystic and esoteric pessimism, the profound yet refined melancholy attendant upon spleen and ennui in the modern man, in imitation of the symbolists and decadents in European literature. Uri Nisan Gnessin (1880–1913), likewise born in Ukrainia, was a gifted short story writer whose none too happy life was cut short at the very blossom of his manhood. During his brief and sad existence he travelled a good deal, being of a roving and restless nature, associated with Brenner in London in 1907, went to Palestine in 1908, expecting to find there a place for settlement, but nowhere could he find rest, and finally he returned home to find a premature grave in Warsaw.

Gnessin first produced some minor sketches and etudes,[27] but his fame rests on four larger stories (בינתים, הצדה, אצל, בטרם) which were published originally in various periodicals and appeared subsequently in one volume.[28] These stories are largely autobiographical, depicting the author in various stages of his life in various roles and under different names. But the structure of the narratives, like their truncated and enigmatic titles, is so vague and formless and the style is so veiled and inflated that one finds great difficulty in trying to disentangle the meaning of the author. There is no proper sequence, no fixed time and space, and many of the facts appear in hints and riddles, as if written for angels or ghosts. The only thing that is evident in an amorphous mass of fine psychological subtleties and minute descriptions of natural phenomena, is the fact that the hero is world-weary and bored to death, trudging through the *via dolorosa* of life in constant pursuit of the *fleur bleue* of the Romanticists, without even a ray of hope of ever finding it. This *taedium vitae*, this purposelessness of life, is the pivot upon which this sensitive author hangs his tender brush and gloomy palette, throwing detached and unarticulated patches of color on his canvas in the manner of the Impressionistic painters. No wonder in his early days he took to translating Baudelaire's

[27] צללי החיים. Warsaw 1904.

[28] כל כתבי א. נ. גנסין, Warsaw 1914.

poems into Hebrew: There is a spiritual affinity between his languorously sad and weirdly melancholy lyre and the sentimental and plangent tones of the French poet. Like an aeolian harp he reproduced the minor chords and esoteric sentiments of the human soul in its blind groping toward the light of revelation and the final solution of the riddle of the universe.

Gnessin is a negative spirit who pictures the sad and senseless side of life, not even the tragic and pathetic. Life to him is neither a comedy nor a tragedy, it is just drab and gray, vapid and insipid, useless and purposeless, without beginning and without end. Man is a victim of spleen and ennui, which fill the world to the brim. Owing to this enervating influence existence weighs heavily on us mortals, but we cannot free ourselves from its boundless coils. All Gnessin's heroes and heroines are entangled in the complicated web of a blind fate, and are unable to extricate themselves therefrom. Whim and chance govern them in their fruitless trotting around the globe, in their vain search after imaginary happiness; and since the latter is unobtainable they often plunge into momentary pleasures of the carnal variety, emerging therefrom even more dissatisfied and empty-headed, splenetic and atribiliar. . . However, and here is some positive trait in Gnessin's art, they do not seek consolation in destruction and self-effacement, but continue their vain attempts in flapping their tired wings at the door of happiness, cherishing perhaps a distant hope that these ponderous portals may open to them after all.

G. Schuffmann, the only one of the group who is active and alive, is perhaps the most characteristic representative of decadence in Hebrew fiction, for he reduced the ideals of this literary movement to an art, not alone an occupation. In the first place he is the Hebrew short story writer par excellence, producing nothing but short sketches and etudes, very minute silhouettes, highly colored arabesques, kaleidoscopic mosaics, in the manner of Guy de Maupassant, Anton Chekhov, and Peter Altenberg, the last of whom he translated into Hebrew.[29]

[29] כתבים נבחרים, New York 1921.

Like these European masters of the sketch and short story he possesses the mastery of depicting scenery in one word, the appearance of a person in one sentence, the tangled inner self in one passage, and the complicated character in one page. More artistic and polished than both Brenner and Gnessin, Schuffmann has elevated the sketch to the place of miniature painting, wherein there is no inflation or turgidity, no verbosity or pomposity, no useless trappings or sentimental twaddle, but a statement of the bare facts and sentiments in their original simplicity and primitive nudity, though leaving something to the imagination to unravel. There is something sinister in his cold-blooded and objective analysis of character or in his matter-of-fact descriptions of nature, accomplished in a slipshod and rough-hewn language and in a rhapsodic and jerky style despoiled of some essential canons of aesthetic expression. Then he deals with common, even vulgar, life at its best, depicting, like Gorky and Chekhov whom he emulates, the very dregs of human society, broken souls and dilapidated bodies, soldiers, thieves, gamblers, strumpets, consumptives, cripples, and neuropaths, all the disinherited and outcasts in their bedraggled and slimy march across the map of life, their dulaistic souls and inner struggles, their little comedies and tragedies, their mixed joys and woes, their tantalizing wishes and desires, their fugitive moods and airy visions, even their flim-flam and tittle-tattle. This preoccupation with doubtful and criminal characters was altogether novel in Hebrew literature, which hitherto had been carefully guarded as a Holy of Holies and dedicated only to very respectable scenes and characters. Moreover, his sketches breathe the fatalism and anxiomania of the decadents, that fear of consequences which paralyzes the power of will and dooms a person to suspension between activity and passivity. His characters are only half human, evincing invariably a weakened backbone, a shattered morale, a spiritual dichotomy, "a house divided against itself". Morbid spleen and ennui, nibbling and self-tormenting, are prime characteristics also of his heroes, who suffer most from doubt and indecision, who seem to have good intentions but are invariably unable to execute them, who live for the most part in clouds and shrink from reality, who yearn

to become active in life yet sink in the viscous mire of blank vegetation in their own small room.[30]

In his latest sketches,[31] dealing with the Gehenna of the world war and its dire consequences, Schuffmann strikes a more sombre and tragic strain, though remaining within his objective and laconic confines. It is evident that the horizon of his experiences has become stretched and widened, for he deals with non-Jews as well as with Jews, but he still harps on one string and intones only one melody: the heart-rending and soul-searing destiny of the man of the steel age, the agent of the machine. There is even a ring of irony at the fate of man, who forges his own chains and rattles them to show that he is free. There is no such thing as happiness in life, and the best way of escape from spleen and ennui is through self-effacement and death.

Schuffmann is unique and original, almost too original: he is bizarre and exotic to a marked degree. With him, as with his confrères, psychological analysis ranks above the mere narrative and plot, and his attention is always focussed upon the most deeply hidden and delicate root fibres of the human heart and mind. Add to this his symbolic-mystic content and nebulous mode of treatment, and you perceive the frequent incomprehensibility of his strained periods and abstracted words. In his objective and detached attitude he reminds strongly of Anton Chekhov, in his descriptive material he recalls Maxim Gorky, the champion of the barefooted vagabonds, and in his crass dejection and sheer desolation he resembles Leonid Andreev.

V

The worst of it is that this scepticism and pessimism, which evidently are products of the Goluth, are being transplanted to Palestinian soil in the wake of the writers themselves. What an incongruity in transferring the negativism of the Diaspora to the country of our national and spiritual revival! What an

[30] Some of Schuffmann's earlier sketches have been published in two volumes: ספורים וציורים, Warsaw 1902, and רשימות, London 1905.

[31] Scattered in various periodicals, chiefly in התקופה.

anomaly in depicting young Haluzim as broken souls and dichotomous minds, addicted to spleen and ennui, doubt and despair, in the midst of their Herculean efforts on behalf of the regeneration of the long-desired land! The hope for the resuscitation of the genuine Hebrew spirit in young Palestine has not materialized yet, probably for the lack of wholesome and positive minds reared in the warm and carressing rays of an Eastern sun. Instead we find here the foreign negative and vacillating spirit, the categorical spirit of nibblers and self-tormentors, which was grafted upon the faithful Jews in the philosophical and atheistic West.

One of the most promising literary productions of the younger Palestinian writers is a drama in three acts, entitled אללה כרים[32] (an Arabic title meaning "God is Merciful"), by L. A. Orloff. Not only is the dramatic structure handled dexterously and the various characters tolerably well limned, but there is also in this play a good deal of local color and characteristic Palestinian atmosphere. It deals mainly with the life of the immigrant workingmen in the newly established colonies and their relation to the native Arab population—a most burning and interesting problem to Jews everywhere. But the customary cloak of melancholy and morbidity envelops the action from beginning to end and palls with its sombre air many of the bright and stimulating points. In the first place, it was hardly just to picture all the four Jewish men as broken souls, deciduous and fugacious, enervated and etiolated: Shemaryahu Vogel, the watchman in one of the gardens, who, though brave and energetic, is intoxicated most of the time; Kalman Weinschenker, the oldest of them all, a boon companion of Vogel, whose good humor and joviality spring from the consideration that he has nothing more to live for; Noah Yonter, a boneless idiot who cuts the figure of a Shlummiel, a future pupil of the Teachers Seminary who seeks an exit from life before he made his entrance therein; and Samson Brunskul, a flatulant and turgid versifier who lays claim to the most secret crannies of feminine nature yet fails to understand the

[32] Published first serially in השלח, vol. XXVII, then published separately, as part of the ספריה עממית, New York 1918.

girl destined as his bride. What a galaxy of pioneers and builders of the future Jewish state! And then the vivacious and flirtatious Naomi Schatz, the real heroine of the drama, is anything but natural and normal: why she should feel disgust towards the Jewish men and gloat over the brawny and muscular Arab Ali, is a puzzle which may be clear to psychoanalysts of the school of Freud but is insolvable to us. Even her declaration towards the end that she is now to live and fight for Palestine, which, by the way, is sudden and unexpected, cannot efface the sad effect of her previous exclamation: "I despise you, you civilised vermin!...From this wild Arab I have learned something. He taught me two charming words: 'Allah Karim!' ...But you...and even Vogel...have taught me nothing, not even one encouraging expression, one thing useful in life!...As for death...not so do heroes die!" This unsympathetic and unnatural relation creates a morbid air around the play, which is intensified by the sad and gloomy utterances of the various characters. Here is a specimen of Kalman's reasoning: "What reason is there to all this? What sense is there in our wallowing in dirt here, in blessed Palestine, suffering hunger and deteriorating from day to day? What reason in that the very capable Shemaryahu wounds Arabs in their feet and does things that make him dualistic and insane? What reason?...Why and for what?" How depressing is Yonter, who longs for a man to give him a cord on which to hang himself. "Oh, my God! Such a heavy burden of yesterday, emptiness and uselesness of to-day and to-morrow!" And again, toward the end: "We are wandering all of us, without a God...Whither are we wending our way? I ask you: whither?...Pray, tell me!...we, the forerunners of coming generations, of reflecting and indecisive mankind". An then Naomi's awakening and realization: "The world is an ocean of sorrow and misery—but I did not know..."

Such pessimism, sometimes even of a crasser hue, is met with in most of the belletristic productions of Palestine. That it is foreign and exotic is seen from the fact that practically all these stories and sketches are the work of immigrant writers who received their training in Russia or Galicia and enlisted under the black banner of Brenner. The jovial and sunny sketches of

M. Smilanski (Hawaga Musa) and A. Guttmann (S. Ben-Zion) are like a rift in an overcast and gloomy sky and only serve to emphasize the sombreness of the picture.

This negative tendency is evident also in Hebrew fiction in America, which is generally modelled after that of European countries and so far has failed to strike out an independent course for itself. An instance is the novel מורים[33] by Joseph Opatoshu (J. Opatovsky) which aims to give a picture of Hebrew teachers in New York. However, this picture is anything but flattering, and is probably based on distorted vision and squinted observation. The author describes the guardians of the Jewish soul as a pack of degenerates and moral cowards: nearly all of them are either hypocrites or sceptics, sybarites or sycophants, lacedemonians or philistines, agnostics or atheists, and all are stamped with the immutable seal of spleen and ennui, despair and hopelessness, steeped in an atmosphere of *vogue la galère*. This is unnecessary villification and a dishonest way of story-telling. To any one who is acquainted with Hebrew teachers in New York this picture is at best one-sided and biassed, and hardly characteristic of Hebrew teachers as a class. After all there are also noble teachers, and it does not require the lamp of Diogenes to find them. But Opatoshu, a faithful pupil of Shalom Ash, prefers to wallow in the gutter and pick his characters from the shady side of life in true decadentesque fashion. In his minor sketches he deals mostly with characters from the underworld: pugilists and profligates, panders and pimps, drunkards and horse-thieves, harlots and strumpets, whom he paints with a realistic brush, reproducing even their flim-flam and tittle-tattle. A much higher level was reached by this author in his quasi-historical novel ביערות פולין,[34] which is both artistic in structure and objective in treatment, though here too some scenes are overdrawn and suffer from blatant realism. With all his indubitable talent Opatoshu makes the impression that he is still groping in the dark and will find himself one day.

[33] New York 1918.

[34] New York 1921.

It is very significant that even when translations are made from European literatures preference is given to the morbid and pessimistic creations of the Slavs and Scandinavians. Thus the periodical יפת,[35] established for the purpose of rendering European masterpieces into Hebrew, specialized in such translations: In volume I is found Goethe's *Werther* and in volume II Dostoyevsky's *Notes from the Dead House*. The Stybel Publishing Company, likewise, has given us an overdose of morbid and decadent European writers: Flaubert (*Salammbo* and *Madame Bovary*), Maupassant (*Une Vie*, *Forte comme la Mort*, and selected short stories), Anatole France (*Thais*), Ibsen, Oscar Wilde, Peter Altenberg, Arthur Schnitzler, and others of the same ilk.

VI

Mysticism is a natural concomitant and logical excrescence of pessimism, and indeed modern Hebrew literature is infested with this festering and rankling growth like a primitive forest with fungi. Both Cabbalism and Hassidism have contributed to its expansion and enormous development. As is customary in such cases, with the extinction of practical Cabbalism and the diminution of Hassidism as a philosophy of life these two symbolistic-mystic movements were seized upon by the littèrateurs (such as Hillel Zeitlin, S. Hurwitz, and Samuel Abba Horodetzki) for a careful study of their philosophic content and by the novelists for the purpose of examining their poetical material and casting it into literary and aesthetic forms.

The first to utilize this fount of mysticism on a large scale in Hebrew fiction (in Yiddish literature it became current at a slightly earlier date, finding artistic expression through J. L. Perez and his satellites) was Berditshevsky, who as a boy had lived the life of a Hassid and therefore was especially adapted to depicting scenes from Hassidic life. Side by side with his stories about the struggling life of the Ghetto student he set to explore the poetic and highly imaginative narrative material from the life and deeds of the wonder-working Rabbis and their unsophisticated followers, which either lay buried in old and

[35] Published in Jaffa during 1911-1912.

moth-eaten books or else was current only in the mouths and memories of a few faithful disciples. His earlier sketches in this field are pithy and quite original, though, like everything else from this writer's pen, they lack artistic finish.[36] His later stories and etudes, published in *Hatekufah* immediately before his decease, are fuller and more comprehensive, but loose and inarticulate, overlapping and redundant, and bear unmistakable traces of hasty workmanship. They seem to be composed of stray and vague notes which the author jotted down at intervals and which he had not time to recast and elaborate into an artistic whole. Moreover, they reek with decadence and morbidity, being replete with blatant obscenities and garish sensuous allusions, of which this author could never sail free. As fanciful tales based on facts of a past generation they are, therefore, more valuable from a folkloristic than from an artistic standpoint, and one can fancy a period when these *disjecta membra*, shorn of their imaginative trappings and phantastic filigree, will serve as material for the reconstruction of the history of the Russian Jews during the Hassidic period.

However, also in the mystic field, Berditshevsky was surpassed by Judah Steinberg (1863–1908), one of the most gifted and most prolific story writers in Hebrew, who was born in a small village in Bessarabia, a hot-bed of Hassidism, where he spent the greater part of his life and therefore had plenty of opportunity to observe the mystic life from within. His stories and sketches teem with mythological and folkloristic data, which make them fairly valuable not alone from the belletristic but also from the anthropological and ethnological standpoint.[37] Steinberg, on the contrary, is an optimist, but his optimism is sugared with a dose of mysticism and symbolism of an original hue. He can hardly be said to have been influenced in any way by European literature, since he never enjoyed a European education, and therefore he stands out in modern Hebrew literature as one of a few original writers, who, though modern in their

[36] Cp. ספר חסידים, Warsaw 1900.

[37] An instance is בימים ההם (In Those Days), rendered into English by George Jeshurun and published by the Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1915.

style and mode of treatment, nevertheless evince a hankering after old-fashioned romanticism and therefore really belong to the older generation of Hebrew writers.[38]

A writer very conspicuous and *sui generis* in the mystic rank is S. J. Agnon, who has the merit of having elevated the mystic tale to a consummate art. Not alone his content, but also his style is symbolic-mystic. With great effort he shaped for himself a mysterious and veiled idiom, a veritable *tour de force* and highly artificial, in the manner of the early Cabbalists and the modern symbolists, which fits the subject like a glove and far surpasses anything in this line accomplished by Berdishevsky in his last years. With the aid of a cloying and agglutinative language and a cryptic and veiled phraseology, elusive like the *ignis fatuus*, he manages to cast a glamor of mystery and distance over his characters and events, like some of the best symbolistic writers (Mallarmé, Maeterlinck, Rémy de Gourmont). He is a symbolist in the sense that he is mysterious and mystical, employing artificial colors for a striking effect and blending the functions of the various senses.

A good example is his tale והיה העקוב למישור,[39] which is highly colored and polished. It may be said that in this tale the author reached his most perfect expression. Mention should be made also of הנדח and בנעריו ובזקניו,[40] both executed artistically and couched in the author's most felicitous style.

VII

An even stranger phenomenon than pessimism and mysticism is morbid eroticism, that unnatural and pestiferous excrescence which cropped up in libidinous and licentious France and subsequently was disseminated throughout European literature. Like a zymotic disease it attacked all the great writers of the modern age, who did not shrink from copying the

[38] There is a complete edition of Steinberg's works, כל כתבי יהורה שטינברג, 3 vols., Cracow 1910-1911.

[39] Published by the Jüdischer Verlag of Berlin in 1919 with woodcut illustrations from the hand of Joseph Budko.

[40] Published in התקופה, vols. IV and VI respectively.

pornographic ebullitions of their Gallic confrères; and since imitation is the disease of our century, it attacked also the new Hebrew writers, most of whom, as pointed out above, had relapsed from the traditional reverence for religion and the austere patriarchal morality which had hitherto prevailed. These writers who, owing to their intense desire for study, settled mostly in the chief centres of European culture, happened to be very near the source of evil and consequently could hardly avoid its attack. From innocent Yeshibah youths who lead a strictly moral and abstemious life they graduated into the turbulent and immoral atmosphere of western Europe with all its iridescent temptations and glittering allurements, and from priests of Minerva they soon turned into slaves of Priapus and Aselgeia. It is a sad fact which should not be overlooked that together with the honey of science the Jewish youth abroad imbibed also the poison of profligacy, which they then proceeded to introduce into modern Hebrew literature. The immoral life they led is often mirrored forth in their stories and sketches, which are largely erotic and lascivious and form a strange contrast to the moral and chaste literature of former generations. Their baneful and corrupting influence on the innocent Ghetto youth, who are inveigled to read them, can hardly be overestimated.

In the first place some of our great poets fell victims to this tendency. Saul Tshernichovsky, who worships Hellenism as opposed to Hebraism and does not refrain even from atheistic effusions, is naturally addicted to classic Greek and Roman naturalism,[41] which differs very little from the modern French movement of that name. Similarly Z. Schneor, a product of western European culture and an adept of German and French mode of thought and sentiments, has penned erotic lyrics in imitation of Baudelaire and Verlaine. Even Anacreontics and Sapphic odes are not unusual and exceptional in modern Hebrew poetry. So far only Bialik sailed clear of this questionable modernism.

But even more than in poetry the erotic motive appears in fiction. It is safe to say that the greater part of the belle-

[41] Besides a mass of original lyrics, Tshernichovsky translated Anacreon's poems into Hebrew, Warsaw 1920.

tristic output in modern Hebrew is partly or wholly governed by this deleterious motive. It may almost be put down apodictically that whatever is not pessimistic or mystic is erotic and naturalistic, and quite often these currents flow together in one and the same production. The point of departure is clearly marked through the passage of the monthly *Hashiloah* from the hands of Ahad Haam, the apostle of purity, whose policy it was to reduce belles-lettres in that eminent periodical to a minimum and to purge that minimum of any indecencies and obscenities, into those of Joseph Klaunser, the exponent of western ideals of literature and an adherent of free expression in poetry and the novel. Since then eroticism assumed a dominant tone in that periodical, where were published some very salacious stories and sketches, tales of fornication and adultery, descriptions of courtesans and hetaeras in brothels, and other such questionable material.[42] Nor does the other outstanding periodical, *Hatekufah*, published by the Stybel Publishing Company in Warsaw, differ in this regard: here too the erotic element is predominant in belles-lettres. Instances may be found in each one of the 22 volumes published so far.[43]

As to individual writers, mention must be made of A. Klatschko, whose book entitled נשים,[44] picturing the Don Juan exploits of a Jewish student in Berlin and Vienna, is eroticism pure and simple, without even an adumbration of any other motive or sentiment. It is modelled after Murger's *Les Bohèmes* and is the first attempt to introduce the Bohemian student life into Hebrew literature. This book, which seems to contain more truth than fiction, may serve as an ample illustration of the lewd and profligate life led by the Ghetto students abroad, which, as pointed out above, is responsible for the introduction of the erotic motive into Hebrew literature. Klatschko, whose

[42] Cp., e. g., בית מול בית by Z. Shneor in vol. XIX (1908); קאריקאטורות by Isaac Katzenelson in vol. XXI (1909); החטא by I. A. Lubetzky in vol. XXII (1910).

[43] Cp., for instance, Ben Abram's לילה in vol. I; Klatschko's להנפש in vol. VI; Kimchi's אחרית in vol. XI; Steinmann's בנכר in vol. XVI; and Isaac Shemi's אב ובנותיו in vol. XX.

[44] Edition Sifruth, Warsaw 1910.

life was brief, has written other novels and sketches of the same sort, but these are scattered in various periodicals and are not easily accessible. All of them are light and frothy, verging on the frivolous and sensuous, though there is evidence in the latest productions that the author was veering towards the serious side of life.

Another apostle of eroticism is Eliezer Steinmann, whose novels and sketches emit hot-house sensuousness and harem voluptuousness and are written primarily for the purpose of exciting the senses. Having begun his literary career with minor Ghetto sketches of some originality, he soon began to ape and imitate the sensational novelists of Russia and Scandinavia, copying from them not only scenes and characters, but also motives and sentiments. Being prolix and verbose, and inclining to hyperbolic and exaggerated expression,[45] he naturally came to write lengthy novels, and he already has several books to his credit. But there is nothing new revealed in his larger works: the false and pretended erotic motive peeps through all of them, even his most ambitious אסתר חיות,[46] which is replete with beautiful scenes and minute psychological analyses and scintillates with apt words and opportune phrases, with what has come to be known as word-coloring. However, after all is said and done, Steinmann's אסתר חיות is not a real picture of Jewish life but a phantastic concoction of an overheated erotic brain which sees marital faithlessness and sexual perversion everywhere, even in the patriarchal family life of the Ghetto Jew. If the Freudians are right that all literary expression is merely a projection of sub-conscious and deeply rooted desires, then this novel of Steinmann's is clear evidence of the sexually diseased mind of the author, which is capable of insinuating in an ordinary provincial Jewish woman, a mother of small children, such a degree of perversity and monstrosity as giving herself body and soul to a notorious criminal, a robber and murderer, hunted by the police. The idea of a Jewish woman leaving her husband and children in a small town for no other

[45] Cp. especially his tediously spun out סחור סחור in the first volumes of התקופה.

[46] Warsaw 1923.

reason except that she is subject to spleen and ennui and seeking licentious and libidinous life with criminals in a large city is too foreign and unnatural in our humdrum and circumscribed life to cry for artistic expression in a book. If it has not been modelled after some naturalistic French novel, then it certainly is a replica of the sensational work of some cheaper Russian author, possibly Michael Artzibasheff of Saninine fame, or Anatol Kamensky, or Simon Yushkewitz, whose novels and plays always deal with such erotic and neurotic characters and often reek with lewdness and lasciviousness. The same abnormal men and women with their enormous appetite for illicit love meet us in the other stories and sketches of Steinmann, all of which exhibit very few real traits and genuine characteristics. Their atmosphere is forced and artificial, and their characters are invariably bizarre and grotesque, as if they had sprung from the phantastic realms of a corrupt and morbid imagination, or else are the mephitic excrescences of an overheated brain. Of his סחור סחור such a well-known critic as Ruben Brainin says that it is nothing but an unsuccessful attempt at imitation, cheap imitation of the morbid and decadent literary production of the West. "On every page, from first to last, I felt that the author is imitating the style and manner of somebody, and at once I recognised that he read Knut Hamsun very diligently and was influenced by him adversely, for he lacks the power, the poetry, the keen sensitiveness and peculiar art of the Norwegian writer."[47]

To the same class of authors belongs A. A. Kabak, who likes to emphasize unduly the erotic element in his narratives, in the manner of the younger Russian novelists. His most ambitious novel entitled דניאל שפרנוב[48] is evidence of this tendency. The hero, Daniel Shapronov, is a cynical and neurotic Lovelace, who divides his time between amorous pursuits and morbid philosophising about the stern fate of the Jews, the burden of Judaism, the departure of the Shekinah, the dualism of the soul, and all the worn and threadbare Shibboleths of the decadent writers. His most erotic tale is נאנו[49] where he pictures in

[47] ההרן, vol. V, No. 20 (August 2, 1918), p. 9, col. 2.

[48] Warsaw 1912.

[49] Published in שלכת, edited by G. Schuffmann, Lemberg 1911.

glaring colors a Greek girl in Constantinople delivering herself body and soul to a Jewish lover and drowning her former Greek lover in the Bosporus.

Erotic allusions are found also in the Palestinian stories and sketches of A. Reubeni, a novelist of some note, whose האניות האחרונות,[50] with all its excellent descriptions of wartime Palestine and its fine local color, is decadent in the sense that its characters are either altogether negative, like the hero Barantschuk, a weak and enervated bachelor who doubts his own ability, or else erotic and dissolute, like Anselm Meier, who indulges his appetite in illicit love and likes to brag about his feminine conquests.

Another writer, Asher Barash, now settled in Palestine and an associate of Steinmann, is likewise addicted to morbid eroticism. His sketches, of which מיטה[51] may serve as an example, are replete with erotic pictures and allusions, in the manner of the French naturalistic school, and form a blight on his other very creditable work, both poetical and critical.

Finally, even the sunny stories and smiling sketches of M. Smilansky (under the pseudonym Ḥawaga Musa) on Arab-Palestinian life are suffused with a glowing sensuousness and an Oriental voluptuousness that often smack of the erotic and licentious, though their exquisite art covers this motive sufficiently and makes it subordinate to the healthy love motive.

VIII

This survey of the main currents in modern Hebrew literature, though brief and rather summary, serves to illustrate the negative tendencies prevalent therein and particularly the course of imitation it has been pursuing since the beginning of the present century. A deviation from this questionable course is both timely and imperative, and literary men of paramount ability and authority are needed to bring about the required aesthetic and moral catharsis. Hebrew literature should be, if not an

[50] Warsaw 1923.

[51] Published in העברי החדש, edited by Jacob Kahan (Warsaw 1912) pp. 82 ff.

exact reproduction, at least a fair reflection of Jewish life in its various ramifications and manifestations. Above everything else it should not ape and imitate foreign literatures which are based on foreign life and exotic experiences. Rather should it express the Hebrew genius in its positive aspect, in its onward striving toward light and faith, in its restless march towards dawn and the millenium. It should visualize to the world the affirmative traits of the Jew, his constructive characteristics and pioneer spirit, his great initiative and organizing ability, his splendid struggle for existence in the face of insuperable difficulties, his dreams for the improvement of mankind and their ultimate realization, his charity and lovingkindness. At the present all these positive traits and innate characteristics are not given due expression, the majority of the writers hankering after the negative and eccentric phenomena in Jewish life. Let them focus their vision on the bright and positive side of the Jewish community and leave the eccentricities and morbidities, if there are such, to psychological and pathological treatment. Let them, for instance, picture the rising tide of our national revival in Palestine, the unmistakable renaissance of Hebraic culture in the Diaspora, the unexampled spirit of solidarity and *esprit de corps* among Jews of all creeds and opinions which forges *disjecta membra* and scattered bones into a new nation, and innumerable other virtues worthy of expression.

It is true, of course, that the greatest literature in the world is the embodiment of the sad experience of man on this planet of ours and that the best books of all times were nothing more nor less than skillful variations on the fate theme of Euripides. Human fate, after all, with all its predetermination and inexorableness, with all its fathomless and insurmountable evil, is the preeminent and overtowering motive in all the greatest literary productions from Homer and Hesiod to the Bible and the Upanishads, from Dante and Shakespeare to Goethe and Ibsen. But, as Lewes puts it, while art enshrines the great sadness of the world, it is not sad itself, and certainly not morbid in its aim and tendency. There is sadness that is healthy and beautiful and forms a preeminently fit subject for art, but such sadness is far from being hypochondriac and pathological.

It is sometimes maintained that fiction should record the rare and exceptional only, but, even admitting for the moment this contention, this exceptional should not be repeated *ad nauseam* and become hackneyed and threadbare, so as to give the false impression of a regular and common occurrence. However, as a matter of fact literature, as a mirror of life, must reflect both the bright and dark sides of our existence, and the greatest literary genius is he who understands this blending of the positive and negative elements to perfection. Witness, for instance, Goethe's Werther, Hermann and Dorothea, and Faust. Similarly, the emotionally torrential and poignantly tragic muse of Victor Hugo is relieved now and then by scintillating tones and coruscating harmonies of allegro moderato. Even the leading pessimist of nineteenth century France, Charles Baudelaire, who constantly gives vent to his spleen and ennui, his *dégoût de la vie*, at times also sings of *extase de la vie*. But with us it is Wertherism all along—*toujours perdrix!*

It is also a truism that the novelist fashions his heroes and chief characters in his own image, and the Hebrew novelist being by nature of a pessimistic turn of mind his characters are necessarily limned in gloomy colors. But it is also true that writers picture their protagonists as they would have liked to be themselves but failed of being by force of incontrovertible circumstances. Personal failure should not enter such an equation, and it is certainly bad taste and a cantankerous state of mind to avenge individual mishaps and disappointments in life by limning repellent reality instead of desiderated ideality. What with the essential and absolutely conditioned imagination of the narrator?

The historians or literary critics of the future will find ample cause to wonder that in an age of comparative hope and material prosperity like ours, the age of political Zionism and its quasi-consummation, Hebrew literature was the mirror of utter dejection and abysmal sadness, of spleen and despair, of scepticism and pessimism, instead of faith and hope, optimism and gladness. Even generally speaking, life is not all sighs and tears, and was it not Coleridge who said that "in nature there is nothing melancholy?" It was a Jewish philosopher, Spinoza, who taught that "the proper study of a wise man is not how to

die but how to live." Tocqueville's characterization of life is probably the most reasonable: "*La vie n'est past un plaisir ni une douleur, mais une affaire grave dont nous sommes chargés, et qu'il faut conduire et terminer à notre honneur*," and as wittily put by Rémy de Gourmont in his *Promenades Philosophiques:* "The fable of Death and the Woodcutter is a fair symbol of humanity's outlook." Optimism is the dominant chord of humanity in its struggle for existence, and Max Nordau is probably right that the pessimistic novelists are mostly men afflicted with strabism, victims of dyspepsia or some other hepatic ill, which prevents them to see the luminous hues and coruscating colors in the variegated rainbow of life; unless we assume that they suffer from the *maladie du siècle*, that mental disease which Taine characterised as "the restlessness of Werther and of Faust, just like that which, at a similar moment, agitated man eighteen hundred years ago . . . that discontent with the present, the vague desire for a higher beauty and ideal happiness, that painful tending towards the infinite."

The best way for Hebrew literature to follow is to start its modern development *de novo*, to go back to S. J. Abramowitz (Mendeli Mocher Sefarim), M. Z. Feierberg, Ch. Bialik, and A. Guttmann (S. Ben-Zion), all of whom are marked not only by great literary ability but also by striking originality and freedom from any foreign influence. At any rate, an opportunity is offered for a new start through the migration of Hebrew writers to Palestine and the gradual concentration of Hebrew letters in the ancestral land of Israel. With the disappearance of the Goluth and its concomitant ills in the life of the Jews, it ought also to disappear in their literature, leaving room for its natural and original development as in the days of old.

THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF PRAYER

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IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES, the profound Jewish significance of the subject under discussion has been taken for granted. Though Judaism, as some of its followers claim, may be much more than a religion, it is, none the less, predominantly a religion. Under Jewish traditional and environmental influences, praying has, for ages, been the most conspicuous of the acts performed. In this essay, the attempt will be made to show that the meaning of prayer and the justification of prayer are to be found in its social implications.

Our subject being not the structure or the contents or the history of prayer, it follows that all special scrutiny of Jewish prayers will have to be eschewed. The words in which prayers are couched will possess little consequence for our inquiry as our problem concerns itself with inner motives rather than outer form. The fact, for instance, that the Eighteen Benedictions as well as other prominent liturgic pieces (like similar constructions among Christians, Mohammedans and others) employ the plural wherever the first person is used is of meager social import. Not grammatical structure but originating impulse, not phrases but underlying purposes are the issue. Because, therefore, Hebrew citations or because such expressions as "Jew," "Jewish," "Judaism" will be dispensed with in the following pages, the inference is by no means warranted that the findings are of little Jewish concern. The psychological factors which we shall be obliged to consider may be broadly human. Yet, inasmuch as prayer is the focus of these considerations, the outstanding interest that most Jews have in their Judaism is that which this study will treat.

Introductory to our consideration of the social implications of prayer, it may be well to borrow from the writings of a lead-

ing sociologist a discrimination of the several senses in which the word "social" is employed. Prof. Charles Horton Cooley points out that:

"the word 'social' appears to be used in at least three fairly distinct senses. . . .
"In its largest sense, it denotes that which pertains to the collective aspect of humanity, to society in its widest and vaguest meaning. . . . . .
"Again 'social' may mean what pertains to immediate intercourse, to the life of conversation and face-to-face sympathy—sociable, in short.
"In the third sense the word means 'conducive to the collective welfare,' and thus becomes nearly equivalent to 'moral' as when we say that crime or sensuality is unsocial or anti-social."[1]

It will be pertinent, a propos our special study of prayer, to observe that these three meanings have an interrelation which is much more than verbal. "Collective welfare" presupposes a "collective aspect" in connection with which the welfare is sought; while the persons between whom "conversation and face-to-face sympathy" occur necessarily belong to the human collection as parts belong to the whole. It follows that the implications of prayer in one sense of the word "social" may, at the same time, be counted among the social implications in the other senses of the word.

Having now these several senses of the word "social" in mind, let us proceed to view our subject under the following three aspects:

1. The Factors of Prayer.
2. The Effectiveness of Prayer.
3. The Moral Value of Prayer.

While the first two of Cooley's definitions will apply in all three of these aspects of our subject, the third sense of the word "social" will be utilized only when we reach the third aspect.

I

The factors of prayer are the same as the factors of any other mode of conversation and have the same social implications. These factors are:

[1] Charles Horton Cooley *Human Nature and the Social Order*, 1902, pp 3,4 .

a. One interlocutor. (In prayer, the worshiper).
b. Another interlocutor. (In prayer, the deity).
c. Objects mentioned.
d. Persons mentioned.

A mere glance at these factors suffices to indicate the operation of the social in Cooley's first and second sense. Persons, particularly absent persons, mentioned in the prayer would obviously involve the social in Cooley's first sense. The prayer itself, being a conversation between factor a and factor b would be social in Cooley's second sense. Prayer is additionaly social in this second sense when factor a is not one person but a congregation of persons such as customarily assembles for worship.

These are the prima facie social implications. But there are more recondite social implications. Thus, take factor a, the worshiper. The worshiper is a person, or, as the philosophers say "a self," and selfhood is a phenomenon highly social in character. "The mind of the individual" says Prof. Ames, "is a social affair through and through."[2] Another writer employs these words:

"Along with the individuation of society, there takes place a corresponding socialization of consciousness in the self. His mind mirrors the spiritual values of his social environment, as his brain maps the progressive elaboration of sensory and motor adjustments on the periphery of his organism. It follows that no self is impervious to other selves. Society is a vast plexus of interweaving personalities. We are members one of another, as the various parts of an organism co-operate in the common life process. The individual is not an impenetrable atomic unit, but the social whole coming to consciousness at a specific point. Personality and consciousness are not so bound up with any individual organism that other persons cannot share them, but are a social synthesis which, indeed, had no existence apart from individual persons, yet expresses relationships which go beyond this. Consciousness is the center of social osmosis, developed in the individual at the point of attrition with other individuals, through which the social values find their way from self to self. It is impossible for a human being to get away from this social aspect of his consciousness. No man is alone even when he is by himself."[3]

[2] Edward Scribner Ames The Social Consciousness and its Object in "*The Psychological Bulletin*, Dec. 15, 1911, p. 411.

[3] H. Heath Bawden—*The Principles of Pragmatism*, 1910, pp. 68, 69. Also Cooley op. cit. p. 3. Also Josiah Royce, *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*,

Just as any given color exists only by virtue of its contrasts with other colors, so does each personality exist only through its relations with other persons. It takes the "you" and the "he" to delimit the "I". I am what I am because of the other people with whom I interact. "Lord, have mercy on me" says the suppliant. That "me" is nothing aside from its functioning in a social system, using social, of course, in Cooley's first sense.

This same writer goes so far as to say that "prayer is an essential aspect of the higher life" and that "aspiration takes, more or less distinctly, the form of intercourse with an ideal being "because *thought, and especially vivid thought, is interlocutory in its very nature.*"[4] On this interlocutory, that is, social nature of all thought and the bearing of that fact upon the special kind of thought which occurs in prayer another writer on the psychology of religion has this to urge:

"Our minds are fashioned in a social medium and our intellectual operations are conversations from first to last. In scientific thinking, the process becomes highly abbreviated and schematic but never wholly escapes the interlocutory form. In moral reflections, where a course of action is sought, the process is often quite simply that of a discussion between the various selves involved and not without the sense of an Ideal Self serving as an umpire or judge. In the experiences characteristic of religion, this practical personal attitude is dominant. One enters into immediate and vital relations with the Divine Personality, communes with Him, prays to Him, depends upon Him."[5]

But this is not all. Even factor c, the objects mentioned, is deeply permeated with social implications. Through recent developments in Psychology the social, in Cooley's first sense, has received an emphasis akin to that of the Kantian "categories of the understanding."[6] Objective reality has been

1902, p. 208. Also Felix Adler, *An Ethical Philosophy of Life*, 1918, p. 138. In this book, the entire of Chapter V is devoted to this theme.

[4] Cooley op. cit. p. 357. See also the passage pp. 61, 62 beginning, "Thought and intercourse may be regarded as merely aspects of the same thing."

[5] Ames op. cit. p. 415. The same writer says in his *Psychology of Religious Experience*, 1910 p. 300 "Prayer.....is a natural expression of the social character of all consciousness."

[6] See Hocking *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, 1912 p. 276, as well as the entire of Chapter XIX.

analyzed into the socially concordant. The outwardness of an object as distinguished from the subjective illusion or hallucination has been found to consist in the social extensiveness of the experiences attaching to the object. Let us permit the authorities to speak upon this point:

"This acknowledgement of something outside of ourselves" we read in a standard work on Psychology

"usually described as the consciousness of external things, has long been admitted as the essential distinction of perception from imagination. It implies, in the first place, that our perceiving consciousness is, or may be, shared by other people than ourselves. At this moment, for instance, I perceive lowering heavens, pouring rain, bare trees and drenched sparrows, but I imagine wide horizons, brilliant sky, blossoming apple trees and nesting orioles. The main difference is this: in the one case, I assume that my experience is shared by other people, and that everybody who looks out sees the same dreary landscape; but my imagination of the sunny orchard I regard as my private and unshared experience.

"It thus appears that even perception, the consciousness as we call it, of outer things, is a consciousness of other selves as sharing our experience, a relatively altruistic, not an exclusively egoistic, mode of consciousness. This is the reason why we usually speak of sight and hearing and smell as higher senses—and in the order named—than taste and the dermal sense-experiences. Vision is the experience most readily shared by any number of selves..... Pressure and warmth, on the other hand, are less valued because they are less often actually shared and, therefore, less easily verified and less frequently described."[7]

So much for the relation of factor c, the objects mentioned in prayer, to the social in Cooley's first sense. Before we reach the end of this paper, we may have to notice their relation to the social in Cooley's third sense.

II

Next we consider the effectiveness of prayer. A threefold discrimination is necessary here. The question of the effectiveness of prayer must be kept distinct from that of:

a. The effects of prayer.

[7] Mary Whiton Calkins *An Introduction to Psychology*, 1908 p. 170. The late Josiah Royce was an illustrious protagonist of the doctrine regarding the social character of objectivity. See his *Studies in Good and Evil*, Chap. VIII; also his *The World and the Individual.*

b. The efficacy of prayer.
c. The moral value of prayer.

Anything whatsoever that results from praying would be an effect of prayer. Changes in respiration and pulsation, in bodily posture, in association of ideas, or even the monetary outlay ensuing upon an act of prayer could be, scientifically speaking, enumerated among the effects of prayer. Prayer is characterized by *effectiveness* only when it has effects that correspond somehow with the suppliant's own wishes. For instance, when prayer brings peace of mind, it has not merely effects but also effectiveness.

Prayer is *efficacious* only when it has a certain kind of effectiveness, namely when it is effective in the particular manner that the suppliant has in view. Thus a public prayer for the recovery of a sick person may not result in that recovery but it may result in enhanced cordiality of relations with the patient or with the patient's kindred. The prayer was effective but not efficacious. In order to have been efficacious, it would have had to be effective for the particular result intended.[8]

Efficacy implies, moreover, certain theological suppositions to which effectiveness is not committed. Anyone can admit the effectiveness of prayer regardless of his theological beliefs or disbeliefs. To admit the *efficacy* of prayer, the suppliant's theological tenets must receive one's approval.

Again, effectiveness must be distinguished from moral quality. Prayers can be effective though morally bad. They can express and intensity bitter group animosities. They can foster stupidity, superstition and obscurantism. They can be curses as well as blessings.[9]

We leave to later paragraphs the consideration of efficacy and of moral quality. At present our concern is with effectiveness and the social implications of effectiveness.

[8] Religious experience makes much of prayers which are effective although inefficacious. "God withheld from me what I asked but, in the fullness of time I received better than I asked."

[9] See e.g. James Bisset Pratt *The Religious Consciousness*, New York 1920, p. 322.

There are seven ways in which prayer can be effective:

1. It can serve as a symbol of group loyalty or conformity.

Herein lies the effectiveness of prayers that have, from time immemorial, been condemned as "lip service," "dead forms" etc. Herein is also the effectiveness and usually the admitted purpose of non-vernacular prayers or of vernacular prayers that have become rote or that embody thoughts and words beyond the comprehension of the worshippers. The value of such prayer, as Herbert Spencer would have said, is not intrinsic but extrinsic. Its value is that of a flag or a salute—unimportant in itself yet tremendously important as an indication of group loyalty. It is one of those expedients of group control over the individual on which many chapters of Sociology have been written.[10]

2. Prayer can release snarled energies in the mind of the worshiper. It can effect the "resolving of painful conflicts," conscious or unconscious, as the New Psychology tells us. For prayer is an interview with God and "in this relation" as Tansley informs us, "God is simply the projection of what we have called.....the ethical self. God then becomes the center of the individual's own struggles toward unification, the repository of his highest hopes, the confidant of his deepest troubles. The more intimate the communion, the more frankly and simply the individual 'casts his burden upon the Lord,' the more useful God is to him and the more real his personal religion."[11] The peace and strength that sometimes come from prayer is due, in other words, to the social nature of the human personality. It requires contact with a *socius* to influence my mind and with a certain kind of *socius* to influence my mind in the way that I desire. God is that *socius*. Prof. Coe goes into detail upon this point. "Prayer" says he

"fulfills this function of self renewal largely by making one's experience consciously social, that is, by producing a realization that even what is private

[10] Pratt op. cit. p. 11. An extensive bibliography and discussion of Social Control is to be found in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago 1921, Chap. XII.

[11] A. G. Tansley *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life*, New York 1923, pp. 155, 160.

to me is shared by another. Burdens are lightened by the thought that they are burdens to another also, through his sympathy with me. This would be a gain even if I were not sure that these friends would remove the burden from my shoulder.....The value of having some friend or helper from whom I reserve no secrets has been rendered more impressive than ever by the Freud-Jung methods of relieving mental disorders through (in part) a sort of mental housecleaning, or bringing into the open the patient's hidden distresses, and even his most intimate and reticent desires.....We may perhaps go so far as to believe that the bottling up of any experience as merely private is morbid. But, however this may be, there are plenty of occasions when the road to poise, freedom, and joy is that of social sharing. Hence the prayer of confession, not only because it helps us to see ourselves as we are, but also because it shares our secrets with another, has great value for organizing the self. In this way we get relief from the misjudgments of others, and also, from the mystery that we are to ourselves; for we lay our case, as it were, before a judge who does not err. Thus prayer has a value in that it develops the essentially social form of personal self-realization."[12]

In discussing religious sentiment, a great deal is said by the New Psychology regarding the "father image." Our peculiar reaction to the idea of God is said to be due to a predisposition generated by our infantile relations to parenthood. The satisfactions vouchsafed by converse with a Heavenly Parent are a reminiscence and an elaboration of those conferred upon our childhood by the earthly parent. "Psychoanalysis" says Sigmund Freud" has taught us the intimate connection between the father complex and belief in God.....In the parental complex, we thus recognize the roots of religious need; the Almighty, just God, and kindly nature appear to us as grand sublimations of father and mother or rather as revivals and restorations of infantile conceptions of both parents. Religiousness is biologically traced to the long period of helplessness and need of help in the little child."[13]

Every one of the psychological writers quoted insists that

[13] From *Leonardo da Vinci* translated by A. A. Brill, New York 1916. See also Everett Dean Martin *The Mystery of Religion*, 1924, p. 128 and p. 148. The entire Chapter IV is devoted to "The Function of the Father Image." Closely akin to these considerations is that of Anna Louise Strong *The Psychology of Prayer*, 1909, p. 92: "It is the giving up of the strain of conscious choice and concentrated action and a reliance on the habitual activities of the organism. This brings with it the needed rest and peace."

these reflections warrant no conclusion one way or the other as regards the reality of the God that is worshiped. Into the bearing of the God "projection," the "father image" etc. upon the reality of the Being referred to, we shall enter at some length in a later part of this paper.

3. The third way in which prayer can be effective has some affinity both with the first and with the second. Through its "father image" prayer acquires an intrinsic effectiveness for social control in addition to its extrinsic effectiveness as a gesture of group allegiance. "This Supreme Being or Object of the social consciousness" says Prof. Ames, "is thus identified with the supreme social values of the group."[14] The peace conferred by the God relation is thus not only the revival of the infantile satisfactions mentioned above but also that of harmony with the group through harmony with its Divine Leader. Accordingly prayer, because of the God idea presupposed and vivified by prayer, can become a highly subtilized expedient of group control. The God idea fostered by prayer is like a gas which penetrates where the crude solids of the law or the liquid of public opinion cannot reach.

4. Then there is the psycho-therapeutic value of prayer. The neurotic character of various physical ailments is a commonplace of modern medicine just as "wonder cures" are a commonplace of religious tradition and rumor. The modes of explaining either the cures or the reports of the cures may be enlightened or superstitious, scientific or unscientific. We should be content to accept the standpoint of scientific Neurology. The important thing for us is that, in so far as the result is connected with the mental composure mentioned in enumeration 2, above, the social implications are obvious.

5. Prayer can have an effect upon external material objects. This type of effectiveness involves nothing of the occult. It is compatible with any theological preference or aversion. It simply means that praying for the success of a venture has

[14] Ames op. cit. p. 414. See also his *Psychology of Religious Experience*, 1910, p. 206: likewise Tansley, op. cit. p. 159.

some connection with the zeal wherewith the worshiper toils for and ultimately approximates or achieves success.[15]

Prayer, be it remembered, is never an isolated occurrence. It always belongs to a larger life context. And that context includes not only the prayer but also the work that precedes and that follows the prayer as well as the zeal which prompts both the work and the prayer. Prayer for success can be related to the success as the violets of April are related to the roses of June; both are the effects of the same underlying cause, with only this difference, that the prayer can augment the zeal out of which it was born, the violets as it were, fertilizing the ground for the roses. The "father image" or the "projection" of a Divine confidant can allay the mental conflicts that interfere with success. They can, in this way, foster the concentration of attention and exertion which produce success.

Again it must be remembered that the ponderable and measurable aspects of objects are not their only aspects. Sentiments likewise attach to objects and may even constitute their dominant aspects. A prayer for rain may not produce the rain but it may produce some important modification in the worshiper's attitude toward the entire problem of rain. Rain that has been prayed for is, after all, not the same as rain that has not been prayed for and this, regardless of whether the rain comes or whether it stays away.

Finally it is to be remembered that events are effected not only by the exertions of the one who prays but also by the exertions of other people. Applicable accordingly, in this connection, will be the fact that

6. One persons's prayer may affect other persons. Like any other form of discourse it may affect them directly. Who can read the prayers of Augustine, of Thomas à Kempis, of

[15] "The simplest rational account of prayer" says Hocking, op. cit. p. 376, "is this: a voluntary recollection of those deepest principles of will, or preference, which the activities of living tend to obscure." Necessarily, so far as it comes up to this description, will prayer be effective. An extremely interesting study of the effectiveness of prayer from the purely psychological standpoint is the article by J. E. Park in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October 1921: "Is There Anything in Prayer?"

Samuel Johnson or, in this age of social awakening, the prayers of Walter Rauschenbusch without being powerfully moved and influenced? The Book of Ezra tells how the prayers of Ezra brought about a social revolution in Palestine.[16] The prayers of the Bible, particularly the Psalms, have swayed the ages.

But there are also indirect effects which are of great moment. It is inevitable that whatever influences one person will influence indirectly all other persons with whom that individual has dealings or under whose observation he falls. This is significant materially as well as spiritually. Thus Stanton Coit, writing from a standpoint which is neither clerical nor ecclesiastical, dwells extensively upon the normal effectiveness of prayer as a stimulant to social processes of beneficence and deliverance. "Human beings, close at hand and powerful to help" he says "still remain in countless numbers round about us.....Some chance onlooker overhears and forthwith assumes the role of Providence. It must never be forgotten that prayers may be not only heard but overheard. When not even overheard in the literal sense by one who can answer, they may be reported to somebody else who can." This Ethical Culturist goes even so far as to aver that "Petition to one's fellow-mortals is not limited to those actually living. All human agencies who have once constituted a part of the living social organism and whose character and purposes have been preserved to us in books or by tradition are potent factors to-day in the lives of human beings."[17] From the Hebrew prophets, we have learnt that social duty is duty to God. Stanton Coit, obviously influenced by Auguste Comte, would add that social help is the help of God.

All of this applies particularly when the prayer is one *in behalf of* another person. The prayer is a demonstration of the worshiper's attitude toward that other person with all the significance for an individual which the attitude of others toward him possesses. Even secret prayer, unknown to the

[16] Chapters 9 and 10.

[17] Stanton Coit *National Idealism and a State Church*, 1907, pp. 241, 246. A more exhaustive inquiry is that of Simon N. Patten, *The Social Basis of Religion*, New York 1912.

person prayed for, can bear this significance. In the "Divine answers" to such prayers, there is nothing distinctively inscrutable. The direct effect of the prayer upon the attitude and the conduct of the suppliant must surely correspond with the indirect effect upon the person in whose behalf the supplication is made.

We have already noticed how, both the prayer and the object of the prayer can be co-ordinate effects of the same underlying cause. Your prayer for another's reformation, conversion, or success may itself be the product of social influences working in the direction of that reformation, conversion or success. Your very desire to pray for another had to be generated somehow. That desire in your mind can be the precipitate of forces at work not only in your mind but also in many other minds. That desire in your mind corresponds to intentions, purposes and wishes in the minds of others including that of the person prayed for and deposited in your mind by the interplay of influences active among many persons in your social milieu. We must repeat: Prayer is not an isolated occurrence. The prayer that a sick friend may recover is part and parcel of what numerous other friends, kindred and well-wishers, including physicians and nurses and the patient himself are thinking and doing. The prayer is woven into a complicated nexus of forces converging in the body and the mind of the patient. And the prayer, as already stated, can be the re-inforcement of the zeal which produced it.[18]

7. Finally one of the most beautiful consequences of prayer is the reaction upon the suppliant's own mind of his petitions in behalf of others. In the very act of asking, the spiritual blessings that we ask for others arise automatically within ourselves. The graces of character which we passionately implore for those we love are in process of unfolding within ourselves in the very moment of supplication. The fact

[18] The story of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa (Ber. V, 5) need not be relegated to the domain of legend. The story presents elements remarkably like those considered in modern Psychology. Fluency of speech has an important connection with the "unconscious" of the psychoanalysts and this "unconscious" in turn participates most intimately in the environmental processes.

is explicable by the familiar psychological laws of mental suggestion. The phenomenon is none the less a strikingly social one, social at least in Cooley's first and second sense.

So thoroughly saturated with social implications are the considerations making for the effectiveness of prayer that, in most instances, the mere statement of any of the above types of effectiveness was also a statement of its social implications. A resumé of these implications is all that is needed before proceeding to our next inquiry:

1. Prayer can be the token of attachment to a given social group.

2. The God of prayer is a confidant, a *socius*, a bearer of the "father image." His significance, in other words, is derivative from the social nature of man.

3. God is the leader of the group, that is the aggregate of *socii*.

4. Prayer is both extrinsically and intrinsically an instrument of social control.

5. Prayer can, through social indirection, influence both the supliant's circumstances and his state of mind.

6. Prayer has a direct influence upon individuals besides the suppliant.

7. Prayer has an indirect influence upon individuals besides the suppliant due to the social consequences of the suppliant's attitude and conduct.

8. Prayer is not only a social cause but also a social effect. It has its psychological antecedents and concommitants in the worshiper's entire milieu.

The word "social" as used here bears Cooley's first and second sense. We have not, thus far, concerned ourselves with the social in Cooley's third sense. This we now proceed to do as we consider the Moral Value of Prayer.

III

That some prayers can be vicious is an opinion as ancient as the prophecies of Amos and Isaiah.[19] Prayer, as we have noticed, is part of a larger process. It is both the expression

[19] Amos V, 21-24. Is. I, 15.

and the intensification of purposes which find additional expression in other thoughts and acts, past, present and coming. Whatever of the anti-social attaches to the entire psychic stream of which the prayer is but an eddy must needs involve the prayer itself.

Certain types of prayer, we must indeed admit, have comported with projects of exploitation, oppression and persecution. Lovers of freedom have, at certain times and places, been haters of prayer and of world views underlying prayer. The modern social revolution has, in many quarters, notably in Russia, entailed revolt against the entire theological and ecclesiastical system in which praying is one of the features.[20] While such radicals have pronounced *all* prayer vicious, the most conservative will probably agree with Amos and Isaiah to the extent of allowing that *some* praying can be vicious.[21]

Especially has scientific progress found itself impeded by the mental tendencies that have clustered around prayer. Prayer has lived in the world of special creations and of miracles, of virgin births and bodily resurrections, of improbable and impossible gods and saints, of dogmas that frown on facts and authority that manacles inquiry. Now the anti-scientific is anti-social in several ways:[22]

1. The scientific and the social are but diverse aspects of one and the same thing, as we shall presently see.

2. A potent motive in all repression of inquiry and utterance is the social domination already mentioned. The conflict between science and theology is a class conflict before it is anything else. It was not the astronomer Galileo in conflict with the astronomer Ptolemy but Galileo in conflict with the contemporary ruling class which clung to the Ptolemaic astron-

[20] On this point, see George Burman Foster *The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence*, Chicago 1909, p. 244.

[21] See Ames *The Psychology of Religious Experience* p. 283.

[22] The position here taken is opposed to that of Charles A. Ellwood in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Nov. 1913 p. 291 where the writer holds that the question of the objective validity of religious propositions is one that need not be raised when the social potencies of religion are under consideration.

omy as the symbol of its own hegemony. It is to-day not Darwin versus Genesis but Darwin versus an ecclesiastical group whose prestige is asserted by opposition to Darwin in the name of Genesis.

3. The gains of science are or can be made socially advantageous. Hence the social disadvantage of opposition to science for any reason.

But is the anti-social characteristic of *all* prayer? Has not the passion for liberty as well as the penchant for oppression found in prayer its voice? Have not the friends of humanity as well as its exploiters had recourse to prayer? Have not words of light and deeds of mercy emanated from the chambers of prayer and not merely words of darkness and deeds of bigotry? Hillel prayed or favored prayer as well as Herod, Savonorola as well as Borgia, Harriet Beecher Stowe, John Woolman and Abraham Lincoln as well as Torquemada and Pobiedonostzov.[23]

Upon psychological analysis, it will probably be found that such experiences as those of Divine comfort, humility, lowliness, self-surrender to God, submission to God, "the peace that passeth understanding" and similar reactions associated with prayer can be reduced to trends which are social in Cooley's third sense. Prayer, according to Prof. Coe, "starts as the assertion of any desire; it ends as the organisation of one's own desires into a system of desires recognized as superior and then made one's own.....self-assertion becomes self-overcoming. Here the function of prayer is that training of men in the attitudes of mind that are fundamental to democratic society."[24] The poet was indeed right when he said:

"He prayeth best who loveth best."[25]

[23] There is a point of view from which it is the non-religious person that is the anti-social one. See Ames *The Psychology of Religious Experience* pp. 356, 369.

[24] Op. cit. pp. 318, 319.

[25] On the relation of love and prayer, see Cooley op. cit. p. 125; Strong, op. cit. p. 67; Harry Emerson Fosdick *The Meaning of Prayer*, New York 1915, p. 182; Hocking op. cit. p. 367. In our own phraseology, love means high organization, extensive harmonization and thus the profoundest possible glimpse into that perfect organisation, that ideal harmonization which is God.

Nor is this insusceptible of explanation. The trends of the individual mind being organically of one piece with the social trends of the enveloping community, it follows that no mental presentation will create inner harmony unless it is also potent for harmony in the surrounding social sphere. But just this is the meaning of righteousness—social harmonisation. Isaiah is literally correct when he says: "The work of righteousness shall be peace and the effect of righteousness shall be quiet and confidence forever."

We have already noticed that God is, according to various authors, the "group leader" and that harmony with God means harmony with the group. The "peace that passeth understanding" is thus the peace of compliance with the social needs of the group. Since most of the disharmonies of our lives are, in one respect or the other, disharmonies of the social type, it follows that, by banishing social disharmony, comfort ensues even in the face of such crushing physical disharmonies as sickness and death. Herein lies the social implication of Augustine's celebrated prayer: "Thou hast made us for Thee, O Lord, and restless is our heart until, in Thee it find its rest."

Striking illustration of these facts may be found in the great prayer experience of God as the refuge from the scorn and the coldness of men. Flight unto God means successful adaptation to that scorn and coldness. It is the alternative to that unsuccessful adaptation represented by resentment, disgruntlement and other strife-provoking attitudes. The unrealised desire for appreciation becomes dissolved in the larger and more realisable desire for a modus vivendi which can dispense with human appreciation, which can reckon with the fact that the human appreciation is not forthcoming and can beneficently reorganize the inner life in accordance with that fact.[26] Humility before God means ultimately adaptation to the ways of men.

We shall have more to say presently about this entire matter of organisation, its relation to the "father image" and the God "projection," as well as its connection with the object-

[26] The unique place of religion as an expedient for organizing the personality is the theme of a large closely thought out volume, *Instinct and Reason*, by Henry Rutgers Marshall, New York 1898.

ively real. Suffice it, for the present, to affirm that the flight unto God need not be a flight away from reality but can be a flight toward reality. It can imply the doing of the things which the social situation requires and the avoiding of the blunders that aggravate the situation.

IV

Still the objection will persist: Even when prayer is not anti-social in the sense of being undemocratic and repressive, is it not anti-social in the sense of being anti-scientific? Does not prayer, after all, involve a flight from reality? At its best, is it not an unwillingness to face facts? Does it not require a certain gullibility, a readiness to believe upon little evidence or no evidence? Is not prayer thus irremediably unscientific or anti-scientific in spirit and therefore socially harmful just in proportion as the scientific spirit proves itself to be socially beneficial?

Our reply to this question is "No." Prayer need not express a shrinking from reality. It can express the utmost devotion to reality.

For what is this reality flight from which is undesirable? We reply: Reality is organisation. Unity, system, order, harmony, adjustment, co-ordination will be found to be meant wherever reality is meant.[27]

The claim that science is an approach to reality rests precisely upon the organising efficiency of science. All facts have to "fit" into a conclusion before science accepts that conclusion. When facts arise which do not fit, the conclusion is doubted and then, if another conclusion is formed which takes better cognizance of all the facts, the first conclusion is rejected and the second conclusion accepted. The first is then branded as "false" and the second commended as "true."[28]

Only in so far as our idea of a thing aids us in the quest

[27] Felix Adler, op. cit., p. 136.

[28] See Bawden op. cit. p. 204: "It (truth) is the organization of *all* factors of the situation, no matter how recalcitrant they may at first appear to be." See also p. 212.

of getting our experience organised, do we say that the thing is real. Neptune is real because Neptune stands for an idea, indeed for an entire system of ideas, that brings order into astronomical experience. Griffin stands for something unreal because the idea "griffin" fails to bring order, rather it brings disorder into our zoological experience. "The griffin fancy" on the other hand, is something real because philological experience must reckon with that fancy as a fact of folk lore—must reckon with it in order to have a harmonious philological system.[29]

To this extent are the Pragmatist philosophers right when they equate the true with the serviceable.[30] Serviceable, however, for what? We reply: Serviceable for the organisation purpose. Hence the significant etymologies: "actual" from "act," "fact" from "facio," "Wirklichkeit" from "wirken." Anything is true if it works, that is if it works as an organising instrument. Matter, motion, force, time, space, personality and the rest are true and real only in the sense that these ideas are indispensable for the organising of experience.[31]

Not only in the theoretical field but in all phases of life is perfect or at least ampler organisation of experience the incessant human quest. "Science, the work of the intellect," says Prof. Felix Adler "and art and ethics, spring from a common root, namely the reality producing functions. The manifolds with which each of the three respectively deals are different, but the root principle, synthesis of the manifold, is identical in all."[32] Ethics is as surely a search for a way of reconciling

[29] The aphorism "seeing is believing" means that the nature of our separate experiences determines the nature of the concept needed to organise these experiences into a unity. One believes in hypnotism when one sees hypnotism performed because, until one has had the experience called "seeing hypontism performed," one has no occasion to invoke the concept "hypnotism" as a means of bringing order, system, organization into the jumble of ones experiences.

[30] See Bawden op. cit. pp. 200, 202, 239.

[31] Hocking op. cit. p. 194: "Matter disappears, on analysis, into activity of energies; and energy seems to disappear into a definition, or formula, regarding what we may expect from experience."

[32] Felix Adler op. cit. p. 132; also F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, Second Edition, New York 1897, p. 552.

conflicting desires as science is a search for a way of reconciling conflicting observations. A unity is sought which will supervene upon diversity; a scheme, a system is sought that will obviate collision. Science with its experiments, proofs, hypotheses, observations, measurements as well as Ethics with its rights, obligations, violations, etc., as well as Politics with its parties, groups, programs, compromises, etc., all exhibit the same fundamental characteristic namely, the intolerability of confusion and discord and the indispensableness of harmony, order, system, adjustment, organisation.[33] The same may be said of art with its harmonies, proportions, symmetries, balance etc. That the difference between pleasure and pain or between health and sickness is similarly a matter of organisation is a familiar biological reflection. Our very bodies are called "organisms;" both in their evolution and in their functioning is the trend toward organisation manifest. The instinct of self-preservation is only a phase of the instinct of organisation.

The good, the beautiful and the true then are all aspects of the same thing; all of them refer to the striving after ampler organisation of experience. Implicit or explicit, conscious or unconscious, the ideal of a perfectly organised, a completely unified experience animates all thinking feeling and acting.

And that supreme ideal is God.

V

At this juncture, some readers may raise two questions:
First: Is that supreme ideal, the ideal of the perfect unity something that can be said actually to exist?
Second: What right have we to apply to the supreme ideal that word "God" whose meanings have evolved during a past unscientifically committed to a viewpoint enormously different from ours?

[33] See Tansley op. cit. p. 157: "It is impossible to over-emphasize the overmastering desire of the human mind for some kind of unification—for having a single consistent or seemingly consistent scheme which appears to include and reconcile contradictory things."

1

The first question is to be answered by pointing out that the question itself is meaningless. The question really amounts to an inquiry whether existence exists. Reality means nothing, existence means nothing except approximation to the ideal unity. Existence is merely the characteristic of any object of thought when the thought itself is such as to further that unification of experience which is the fundamental human purpose.

To deny the reality of the supreme ideal, the perfect unity, is to deny that one is denying. For all denying purports to be a closer approximation to the truth than the corresponding affirmation. But the ampler organisation of experience, that is the organisation of experience more nearly in accord with the ideal unity, is all that truth means. To deny the supreme ideal, the consummate unity, is to divest one's very denial of all truth. It is the *absurdis* of self-contradiction.

When we say that the ideal is unattained, we do not mean that it is something visionary or illusory. We mean that the particular situation to which we are alluding involves conflicts and contradictions, discords and dissatisfactions which, in our very reference to and criticism of the situation, we are, urged by the ideal, applying ourselves to overcome. The very non-attainment of the ideal presupposes the ideal.[34]

2

The second question is: By what right do we call the supreme ideal "God?" Venus and Mithra, Osiris and Bel, Kemosh, Attis and Tammuz are gods. All of them are finite anthropomorphic persons. How can the word "god" be wrenched away from these alleged persons and attached to the supreme ideal?

We reply: What are gods? "The kaleidoscope of the history of religion becomes a picture" says Horace Bridges "only when we define the gods, in Aristotelian fashion, in terms of their function. They are all conceived as centers of power

[34] We admit our indebtedness to Plato, Anselm, Descartes, Hegel and all the rest. Farther recognition of the historical setting of these doctrines would take us too far afield of our study of social implications.

which can be drawn upon, and as sources of such blessings as to their worshipers seem the highest that life can offer."[35] Gods, in other words, are beings identified with the worshiper's most earnest concerns. The essential thing about a god is the seriousness, the earnestness, the importance of the interests with which the god is connected. To say that a person worships money or pleasure or a dear one is to speak not altogether metaphorically. "The meaning of essence is teleological" said Prof. James. He meant that the essence of anything is the purpose which that thing serves. Gods are to be understood only in terms of the human purposes in behalf of which gods are manufactured and utilized.

But what are human purposes? If our previous reflections are tenable, human purpose is a phase of that organisation, systematization, harmonisation of experience which is the ultimate of all discussion and effort. All purposes are but aspects of the one all-inclusive purpose, namely that of making life an orderly affair. The measure of the inclusiveness is indeed the measure of the difference between the purpose that is trivial and the purpose that is profound. The all-embracing purpose, therefore, in other words, the supreme ideal involves in superlative measure that profundity, earnestness, seriousness, importance, which is the essence of godhead. The word "God" is not alone applicable to the supreme ideal but, as we shall presently see, is not properly applicable otherwise.[36]

VI

A number of corollaries follow:

1. God is a person. Whatever senses the word "person" may have, we need mean person in this connection only in that sense in which a Divine person is necessary for the purposes of prayer. A person is simply a factor in social relations.

[35] *The Religion of Experience*, New York 1916, p. 69. See also James H. Leuba in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIX (1913), p. 323 discussing Durkheim. Also in Leuba "Religion, its Impulses and Ends" in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LVIII, 757-769.

[36] See Coe, op. cit. p. 70.

Person does not necessarily imply a physical body. Says Cooley:

"Facial expression, tone of voice, and the like, the sensible nucleus of personal and social ideas, serve as the handle, so to speak, of such ideas, the principal substance of which is drawn from the region of inner imagination and sentiment. The personality of a friend as it lives in my mind and forms there a part of the society in which I live, is simply a group or system of thoughts associated with the symbols that stand for him. To think of him is to revive some part of the system—to have the old feeling along with the familiar symbol, though perhaps in a new connection with other ideas. The real and intimate thing in him is the thought to which he gives life, and the feeling his presence or memory has the power to suggest. . . . . And his presence does not consist in the pressure of his flesh upon a neighboring chair, but in the thought clustering about some symbol of him, whether the latter be his tangible person or something else."[37]

Scrutiny has shown that we do not infer personality from physique but the reverse: we infer physique from personality. In so far as the human body is an objective fact, a social aggregate of persons must be presupposed before body can be recognised.[38] A child discovers social relations much sooner than it discovers its own body; in fact, it is only through social relations that the child makes the discovery.[39]

Again, personality does not have to mean something finite, any more than an electric *current* has to mean something wet, or a steamer which *sails* to-morrow has to mean something propelled by wind or a railroad by which one *ships* freight has to mean something that floats. When we pray we can think "person" without meaning either physical body or limitation. The very concept of limitation is largely a spacial one and is used most frequently in connection with the impersonal, that is, the mechanical aspects of experience.

We may agree with Tansley that the personality of God is a "projection" effected by our own minds. But such "projection," as Tansley himself is careful to intimate, does not necessarily mean untruth. The personality we ascribe to our

[37] Cooley op. cit. p. 81. The entire doctrine is closely connected with what has already been said above, pp. 2 and 3, regarding the social character of the human self. See also Cooley op. cit. p. 90.

[38] Supra pp. 486 and 487.

[39] Hocking, op. cit., Chap. XIX.

fellowmen is equally such a "projection;" speaking metaphysically, our own personality is such a "projection."[40] Since the days of Kant, we have known time, space, causation, matter, force to be "projections."

Once more let us quote our guiding sociologist. "The ideal persons of religion" says Cooley,

"are not fundamentally different psychologically or sociologically, from other persons; they are personal ideas built up in the mind out of the material at its disposal, and serving to appease its need for a sort of intercourse that will give scope to reverence, submission, trust, and self-expanding enthusiasm. So far as they are present to thought and emotion, and so work upon life, they are real.....The fact that they have attached to them no visible or tangible material body, similar to that of other persons, is indeed an important fact, but rather of physiological than of psychological or social interest. Perhaps it is not going too far to say that the idea of God is *specially* mysterious only from the physiological point of view; mentally and socially regarded it is of one sort with other personal ideas, no less a verifiable fact, and no more or less inscrutable. It must be obvious to anyone who reflects upon the matter, I should think, that our conceptions of personality, from the simple and sensuous notions a little child has of those about him, up to the fullest and noblest idea of deity that man can achieve, are one in kind, as being imaginative interpretations of experience, and form a series in which there are no breaks, no gap between human and divine. All is human, and all, if you please, divine."[41]

Any concept is but a mode of handling situations, an attitude, a method of response, a type of reaction. Its validity depends upon its serviceability. This applies to the concept of personality no more and no less than it does to the concepts of matter, force, substance, ether, air vibrations, electric currents, etc.[42] When I say that my cousin or my grocer is a person I mean that I must think of and treat my cousin and my grocer in a certain manner and avoid thinking of them and treating them in a certain other manner. Were I to think of and to treat my cousin or my grocer as other than persons, I would bring into my life disorder and chaos. The grocer's personality

[40] "The highest self" says Cooley, op. cit. p. 211, "is a social self in that it is a product of the constructive imagination working with the material which social experience supplies."

[41] Cooley, op. cit., p. 281.

[42] Bawden, op. cit., p. 267.

is as much a projection or, as Cooley would say, is as imaginary as that of Santa Claus. The distinction is that the idea of the grocer's personality functions as part of a system of ideas which organises experience far more amply than the system within which the idea of the Santa Claus personality functions.[43]

Projection then does not mean illusion. It is only a certain kind of projection that means illusion, namely the disserviceable projection, the projection that fails to organise experience, the projection that entails opinions that are outrivalled by other opinions as a means of making harmony out of life's manifold.

But Tansley's entire discussion is concerned with the serviceability of the God projection, that is, with its usefulness as a means of resolving conflicts, in other words, of organising experience.

Our only alternative to personality is mechanism. But mechanism is *ipso facto* inapplicable to the supreme ideal. For mechanism implies abstraction; it denotes a segregation of certain aspects of experience, chiefly the mathematical away from the rest of experience. Mechanism is the very antithesis of that fullness, that completeness, that adequacy of experience which we mean when we refer to the supreme ideal.[44]

[43] Cooley, op. cit., p. 60, also p. 84.

[44] Hocking, op. cit. p. 335 says: "Personality is a stronger idea than law; and has promise of mutuality and intercourse that law, even if living, cannot afford. I see further that personality *can include law*, as law cannot include personality." Such words as "matter," "mind," "society," indicate certain combinations of mechanism and personality. Where the mechanical element is comparatively large and the personal comparatively small, we speak of "matter." Where the mechanical is less pronounced and the personal more pronounced, we speak of "mind." Where the mechanical dwindles still farther while the personal looms still larger, "society" is our term. At least, such is the "feel" of these words, without prejudice against a more thoroughgoing analysis. Hence the unsatisfactoriness of the Comtian position taken by Stanton Coit in the *International Journal of Ethics*, 1906, p. 424 where the attempt is made to equate "humanity" and "God." To allude to the Supreme Ideal, we need a word conveying the utter maximum of personality and minimum of mechanism. For this purpose, a word like "Eternal," "Supreme," "Infinite" may be ampler than the word "humanity." Humanity connotes too many imperfections and inadequacies to be expressive of the ideal of perfection. It also lacks the indispensable implication of unity.

The mechanical fails to serve us in our dealing with that partial organisation of experience which we call human society. Prof. Ward has pointed out that even such minima of organisation as gravitation with its *pull*, or force with its *push*, or chemical elements with their *affinity*, elicit metaphors drawn from personal life. How supremely inadequate must the mechanical concepts be in dealing with God, the maximum of empirical organisation! How utterly indispensable are the personality projections discussed by Tansley if we would lay hold of life's profoundest possibilities![45]

When we say that organisation is the ultimate of all endeavor and discussion, we mean necessarily that ideas about organisation will further that very work of organisation. This accounts for the helpfulness of the personality idea whether applied to that partial organisation of experience which we call man or to that consummate organisation of experience which we call God.[46] God is a father for precisely the same reason that one's progenitor is a father and God is a friend for precisely the same reason that one's classmate is a friend. The reason is that the personality concept is an organisation concept[47] and that, in a universe where reality is organisation, there is need of employing the personality concept wherever "high degree of organisation" is meant.

The need for a Divine person, like the need for human persons, is thus identical with the need for a perfected organisation of experience. The father image of the psychologists no less than the father relation antedating the image is an expres-

[45] This is the reason, conscious or unconscious, why materialistic philosophies are usually repugnant, repugnant sometimes to their own advocates (as Romanes in *A Candid Examination of Theism*). Materialism involves the intolerable contradiction of handing out the inadequate and labeling it "adequate," of pointing to the part and calling it "the whole."

[46] Ames, op. cit. p. 415 is right when he argues: "If our conscious experience is through and through a social affair, so that the very objects of physical nature are determined by it, it is inevitable that the Object of the group consciousness should be personal and social."

[47] Speaking as a psychologist, Bawden, op. cit. p. 71, observes: "The individual mind is the organization of the actions and feelings and thoughts which are focused in a given organic system."

sion of that need. The reality of the Divine person like the reality of the human is attested by the satisfaction of that need.

The need of God is God.

VII

Our second corollary is: God is not an object of belief or of doubt, of proof or of disproof, nor is He a way of "explaining the universe." Belief, doubt, proof, disproof, explanation, etc. allude to the various inadequacies of experience and the efforts to overcome those inadequacies by the substitution of better modes of organising experience. As we pass from the less serviceable to the more serviceable ideas, the various phenomena arise which we call believing and disbelieving, proving, disproving, explaining, etc. All of these imply inadequacy and are therefore not applicable to God, the ideal adequacy. God is to be approached, attained, sought, found, not proved or disproved, not believed in or disbelieved in and not used as an explanation. Proving, disproving, believing, disbelieving and explaining are the affair of science, not that of religion. These are concerned with facts, that is, with certain partial, truncated aspects of experience, and not with the supreme ideal that transfuses all experience.

Moreover, in theological discussions, as in political discussions, one must ever be on guard against spurious issues. The controversialists are often naively unconscious of the real matters at stake which are likely to be something much more personal and intimate than the points verbally mentioned. Many a man has argued for the Virgin Birth or for the Advent of the Messiah when the concern really at issue may have been something much different. The real issue, as he faced the opposing individual or group, may have been nothing other than the arguer's own personal worth. People may debate about matters remote and recondite while the real purpose of the debate may be the conservation of the debater's self-esteem. Whatever a man proves, he necessarily proves that he is better than someone else, better namely than the person whose opinion is the opposite one. Candid admission along these lines

might terminate a great deal of controversy, opening the way to more direct, honest, economical, and effective methods of preserving self-esteem. The goal of religion is to find God by finding peace—*per pacem ad lucem*—; not believing this, not proving that, but entering into the divine unity that underlies all believing and proving.

VIII

Our third corollary is that the ancient distinction between the true God and false gods is still of value. The false anywhere, however, is the father of the true. Without any false notions to correct, there would be no true notions to attain, just as a sculptor unsupplied with a mass of shapeless clay would never succeed in fashioning a statue. The Copernican astronomy is only the Ptolemaic astronomy corrected. Darwin is only Linaeus corrected. Niebuhr is only Livy corrected. The God of the prophets is only the primitive Baal or Jahweh corrected.

All gods stand, as already stated, for the worshipers' most serious concerns. As such they represent the worshiper's utmost advance in the organisation of his experience. In this way, all gods are their worshipers' fullest glimpse of the supreme ideal. The falsehood of the false gods lies not in any rivalry between them and the true God but in their inadequacy as glimpses of the true God. No god is absolutely false. He is only more or less inadequate. He fails to help, as prophet and psalmist have long ago observed.

In so far as certain social and political arrangements clustering around the fancy of Jupiter were serviceable to the Greek people, Jupiter was not false but true. The false thing about Jupiter was the ultimate inadequacy of those social and political arrangements for which Jupiter stood as well as of those cosmological views which found nothing incredible in the entire Olympian theagora. The huge person sitting upon Olympus had to vanish as soon as anything like a scientific explanation of thunder and lightning was attempted. As matter of history, Jupiter vanished much sooner owing to his

ethical and social inadequacies. The irascible libertine on high could not survive the reorganisation of morals and of politics which the course of history brought about.

It was the highly advanced sociology of the Hebrew prophets that made Jahweh the most adequate approach to the real God that antiquity could attain. The God of a warless, superstitionless, science respecting world which is our hope for the future will be a still closer approach to the true God. Our prayer book, quoting Zechariah, is literally right: "On that day the Eternal shall be one and His name shall be one."[48]

Any god that collides with science is simply one of the false gods. The true God, the ultimate reality, is the ultimate reality for science as well as for morals and for art. He is that ideally perfect organisation of experience which is the goal of them all.

It is significant and yet, in the light of what has already been observed, not surprising that the God of prayer is, as a rule, more nearly the true God than the God of theology. Often, the God of theology is no god at all. He is not a religious satisfaction but a pseudo-scientific speculation. He is a First Cause, or a Prime Mover, or a miracle worker or a book inspirer, even a Messiah progenitor, not identified with the worshiper's real interests but with his less urgent concerns. It is possible, of course, in the light of recent Psychology, to trace, behind the rationalized Creator, First Cause etc., the hidden complexes which have to do with matters more intimate and urgent,[49] all that the New Psychologists say on the subject of rationalization applying here and warranting the conclusion that the Fundamentalist's fundamental error is his misinterpretation of his own soul.[50]

[48] See also Tansley, op. cit., p. 160.

[49] Some consideration has already been given this point, supra pp. 508, 509.

[50] See Tansley op. cit., p. 182. An interesting popular discussion of rationalization is the article in *The Standard* for April 1923—"The Problem of Straight Thinking" by H. A. Overstreet. See also that of Leuba in *The Monist* Vol. XI, p. 209. Rationalization is a flight from reality. It is a device for perpetuating an interpretation of experience already felt to be inadequate and yet preferred to the mental exertion or the social risk of building up a superior substitute interpretation.

Prayer is less likely to involve these rationalizations. In prayer, people are more likely than in theology to state what they really mean and want. In prayer, the Lord is no longer a scientifically contestable world maker but becomes "my light and my salvation." Maimonides may theologize about a Prime Mover or a First Cause or a Great Unknown with negative attributes. But when Maimonides prayed, he forgot all this. "With great love hast Thou loved us" is what Maimonides said when he prayed.

Accordingly it need hardly astonish us that, while there has been much collision between science and theology, there has been much less collision between science and prayer. When people earnestly pray, they somehow forget about Darwin and about "the higher critics" and the objections to them just as, three hundred years ago, they must have forgotten about Galileo and the objections to him. Reciprocally, there have been many reverent scientific studies of the origin and the psychology of prayer not to mention some scientific approval of prayer from the neuro-therapeutic standpoint.

To sum up, the God Whom the worshiper approaches approximates the true God in proportion to the exaltedness of the worshiper's social ideals and endeavors including, as already noted, a most scrupulous regard for reality and respect for scientific modes of thinking.[51] "He prayeth best who loveth best" suggests the additional thought: He prayeth best who thinketh best.

IX

In brief, goodness, truth and beauty are but phases of the same thing. The perfection of goodness, truth and beauty is God. When prayer expresses allegiance to goodness, truth and beauty, it becomes a prayer to the real God. Otherwise it is the worship of a false god whether that god be the Kemosh of the Moabites or some national or class god or some science

[51] Hocking op. cit. pp. 364, 365. See also Ames, *The Psychology* of *Religious Experience* p. 299 and H. A. Overstreet in "God as the Common Will," in *Hibbert Journal* XIII, (1915) p. 173.

opposing god of a modern church. "If the experience of God does not, on the whole, enhance the attachments of human life," says Prof. Hocking "one must judge on these principles that the experience is not of God."[52] Though we use the name of the Lord, it is not the Lord but, as in the days of Hosea, Baal whom we worship by the non-ethical expedients.

In the measure of its allegiance to the highest, prayer also is efficacious. Being, as already so frequently noticed, not a detached thing but only a strand in a larger system of life events and endeavors,[53] prayer, when it is closely linked with goodness, beauty and truth, will emerge from a life which knows how to make prayers efficacious The stronger the worshiper's hold on reality, the closer will be the correspondence between his desires and reality. "Thy will be done" is recognized by Judaism and all other religions as the perfect prayer. And this is the prayer that is eternally efficacious. Those words are but a way of affirming the individual's complete participation in the process of organizing experience into that perfect unity which is the last word in philosophy and in religion alike.

Prayer, in a word, is efficacious to the extent that it is social in Cooley's third sense and it will be social in that sense to the extent that the life to which it belongs and which it intensifies is one advancing toward intellectual, ethical and esthetic harmony.

[52] Hocking op. cit. p. 225.

[53] Ibid. p. 439: "Worship is false unless it is sanctioned in turn by the life that follows it etc."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JUDAISM AND HOW IT SHOULD BE TAUGHT

By DAVID NEUMARK

This address, delivered by the late Professor David Neumark on January 29, 1908, when he assumed the chair of Jewish Philosophy at the Hebrew Union College, has never been published. It was found among his literary remains. It was delivered in the German language and has been translated by his daughter, Mrs. Joseph Brainin.

I HAVE GONE INTO the question of the functions of Jewish philosophy as a branch of systematic knowledge in the recently published first volume of my "History of Jewish Philosophy of the Middle Ages." But you are justified in expecting me to do more here than merely to repeat what I have said there. You are interested in what I propose to do as a teacher of Jewish philosophy in an institution that has assumed the task of training for a sacred office in the Jewish communities of America men of profound learning and unshakable loyalty to their faith. For decades the Hebrew Union College has been accomplishing this task most successfully. Nothing, therefore, is farther from my intention than to speak here of entirely new functions. The question can be only this: How do I propose, under the venerable guidance of so thoroughly learned and religiously inspired a man as the revered President of the College, and at the side of my esteemed colleagues, to do my share of the sacred, exalted work that the faithful teachers of the College have been accomplishing for more than a generation?

If, however, I intend nevertheless to speak of new tasks, it is in the sense implied in the exhortation of our sages: בכל יום ויום יהיו כחדשות בעיניך "Let the teachings of the Torah be new to thee every day." To this our sages add: שלא יהי בעיניך כדיוטמא ישנה, שאין אדם סופנה (ספרי ואתחנן) "Thou shalt not

consider the Torah an ancient document that is no longer regarded by men." Here I find the most general formula, the most comprehensive expression for the duties for which the directors of the College have chosen me: To foster and keep alive the realization that the true principles of Judaism are not antiquated, but that they are in full accord with the most positive findings of modern science and philosophy. However, there is also the personal factor in the efforts I shall make to live up to the best traditions of the College; and from this angle I may speak of new tasks. The new element of my task consists of constant clarification and enlargement of the doctrines of Judaism in the sense of our modern conception of the world; and I may say that my earnest and devoted labors in this field were rewarded with a new formulation of the questions to be considered here—that I have succeeded, to a certain extent, in finding new solutions for them. Now, you are entitled to know how I propose to put to pedagogic use the new methods and points of view. And here we find two lines along which I must develop my program: The *objective*, and the *pedagogic*.

We are therefore confronted with two questions: What is the philosophy of Judaism? And how is the philosophy of Judaism to be taught?

I. What Is the Philosophy of Judaism?

The philosophy of Judaism cannot be—and actually is not—different from philosophy in general. Judaism itself is no philosophy, for it is more than a philosophy—it is a practical *system of life*, based on a definite conception of the world, and thus on a definite philosophic system of thought. Judaism is no philosophy, for it is more: it is a religion,—nay, still more, it is *the* religion. We admit, of course, the great value of the other religions because—and to the extent to which—they are based on the fundamental principles of Judaism. But if we can say that Judaism is *the* religion it is only because the essentially theoretical fundaments of the Jewish religion actually represent philosophic doctrines that are as far removed from all mythology and superstition as from any unhealthy degeneration into agnosticism. Thus the philosophy of Judaism is the system of thought

that represents the theoretical conception of the world and of life peculiar to the Jewish religion—the conception on which the Jewish system of living is based.

To this view of life our prophets have given so simple and easily comprehensible a formulation that it can be understood by the man in the street. But the simplicity of the language in which they proclaimed the doctrines of Judaism must not blind us to the fact that what they meant and taught could stand out in its full and deepest significance only in the course of history. For it is the essence of prophecy that it reveals truths which men would otherwise realize only after a long spiritual development, and even then only obscurely and imperfectly. If our tradition speaks of the cessation of prophecy, we can accept this idea in only one sense: That immediate, so to speak psychic prophetic revelation had developed to such a degree that its place had to be taken by conscious, logical intellectual effort. We know, moreover, that in the ancient days of the First Temple, at the precise time when the prophets proclaimed with fiery tongue the laws of God and enjoined them upon the people, this people turned away from God again and again; and from our point of view we can explain this only by the lack of actual intellectual work. As a rule only that which the greatest minds of a people have won through supreme effort acquires a universally comprehensible form, becomes the common property of that people, and later of all mankind. This is particularly true of the concepts that touch the most fundamental problems of the human heart and mind—the problems of the beginning and end of all things, of the significance of our narrow ego within the immeasurable universe, of the relationship of our own soul to the other living beings of the world, of the relationship of our own spirit to the all-embracing and all-engendering universal spirit. Historical developments permit us no doubt that the great contribution of the golden age of prophecy was for the future, that the innermost meaning of what the prophets taught could be made clear and accessible to the people only through the intellectual effort of later generations. And it is only in accordance with our point of view for us to say that even today this intellectual work is unfinished. For today, more than ever

before, we are coming to an ever deeper and more adequate comprehension of prophetic Judaism. It has been our good fortune to inherit the priceless spiritual treasures that our ancestors, particularly the philosophers of the Middle Ages, accumulated for us. True, we possess greater treasures than our ancestors, and are convinced that our modern religious views are more in accord with the fundamental principles of the Jewish religion than were the views of our medieval philosophers. But we owe this to the general progress of the human intellect, a progress in which we also have a share,—a progress in the bringing about of which the Jews, the Jewish religion, and Jewish philosophy played an important part.

Here we have touched on another significant point that must be considered in this connection. The course of general cultural history proves beyond any doubt that it was the historic mission of Jewish prophecy to bring about a union with the scientific-logical spirit of the Greeks. Just as nature does not progress by leaps and bounds, so history is not based on chance; and this is particularly true of the spiritual history of man. Just as the individual phenomena of nature fit together to form a well-organized whole, so all important historical forces are, and always have been, directed toward one another, and have tended to unite in a common effort. None can doubt that the prophets of Israel proclaimed the word of God for all the peoples of the earth, as well as for the Jews. But only if we do not understand the meaning of prophecy can we believe that it brought the other nations a message that they could grasp without the collaboration of their best forces. No; if we sincerely believe that the teachings of Israel are destined to become the common property of all peoples—and we must believe this with utmost sincerity—then we must accept also the logical consequence of this belief: That all nations are and at all times have been destined to co-operate in the exposition of the true meaning of the prophetic message.

The union in Jewish philosophy of the Jewish with the Greek spirit doubtless was one of the most important intellectual unions that led to the clarification and expansion of the prophetic doctrines. Jewish prophecy revealed its truths in simple, easily

comprehensible phrases; Greek philosophy furnished the means wherewith to expose the profound meaning of these phrases, and to prove their agreement with the findings of natural science. Upon both together fell the great task of overcoming the mythological chaos of antiquity—a task that has not been fully accomplished to this day. Our pride in having progressed beyond the mythology of ancient Babylon and Egypt, as well as the Egyptian-Greek mythology, will be justified only when the last remnants of this mythology about us—and, to an appreciable extent, in our midst—will have vanished and have been displaced by pure prophetic-philosophic cognition.

It would not be in place to trace here the course of this development, the relapses and revivals that have been recurring from ancient times to the present,—always with the final result of furthering the progress of human knowledge. I have dealt with these problems in a series of scientific works, most recently and exhaustively in the "History of Jewish Philosophy" that I have mentioned. But even from what I have said here we can derive the answer to our first question: What is the philosophy of Judaism?

It is the function of Jewish philosophy to trace the development of the Jewish religion in antiquity—in the days when prophecy fought single-handed against paganism, and in the days when a fermentation was caused by the first contact with Greek philosophy. The purifying effect of this fermentation was recognizable even at that time, in the last two centuries of the old and the first five of the new era; but it came out with full force only later. We call this function *the presentation of the history of Jewish dogma from the philosophic point of view.* The second task is the examination of the second union of Jewish prophecy with Greek philosophy, which we may call the *logical* union, in contradistinction to the first, the psychological. This function we call *the history of Jewish philosophy of the Middle Ages.* The third task of Jewish philosophy is the one that was the first to strike us here: *The exposition of the philosophic system that supports the theoretical doctrines of Judaism.* And this includes the clashes of Judaism with the destructive currents of modern philosophy, as well as the proof that not one

of the theoretical doctrines of Judaism was ever refuted by scientific arguments, nor will ever, at any future time, be subject to such refutation, no matter how distant that future nor how far science shall then have advanced. In a Hebrew treatise that appeared two years ago, "The Seven Great Problems of the World," I demonstrated that the theoretical doctrines of Judaism deal with those questions to which my teacher Dubois Reymond applied his famous "Ignorabimus." "Ignorabimus —we shall not know," said this great scholar; science will not solve these problems, will answer these questions neither affirmatively nor negatively. But Jewish philosophy must show that there is another road to knowledge besides that of natural science, the only one recognized by Dubois Reymond and his school: this is the moral-philosophic road, which gave rise to Judaism, and which was rediscovered by Kant after a several thousand years' growth of the human intellect. This philosophy, conceived and developed in the sense of the living Jewish God-concept, will show us that all scientific and technical progress brings forward new proof for the truth of the Jewish doctrines.

II. How Is the Philosophy of Judaism to Be Taught?

Here we come to the other question we are considering: How is Jewish philosophy to be taught? The modern definition of philosophy requires it to deal with the problems and questions which the individual exact sciences exclude from their narrower limits as bordering on metaphysics. Philosophy must establish the inner continuity of the individual sciences. Hence the teacher of philosophy must use the problems of the various sciences to throw light on the problems of philosophy, and must base his philosophic solutions on the findings of the sciences; and this, of course, applies to Jewish philosophy also. It is therefore unnecessary for me to dwell on this phase of the teaching of Jewish philosophy; but I must speak of its special problems. Here we must include in the general sciences the numerous branches of the *science of Judaism*. The teacher of Jewish philosophy must link it very closely with the other branches of

modern Jewish lore. Neither this task nor this method are entirely new. Men like Formstecher, Einhorn, Geiger, Samuel Hirsch, Krochmal, Steinheim, and others have already considered the findings of modern science in their systematic presentations of Jewish tenets. True, the science of Judaism was only in its initial stages at the time when these men lived and worked; but to a certain extent its status today shows that there has been retrogression in the last fifty years. As matters stand now, we must lay especial emphasis on the necessity for a change in two directions:

A Jewish philosophy cannot properly be called by this name if it does not include all branches of modern Jewish science. The reading of a few texts of the religious-philosophic literature of the Middle Ages is not sufficient preparation for the teaching of Jewish philosophy. Certainly we, too, must consider the most important conclusions of this magnificent literature, and extract its inner meaning. We, too, must take especial care to understand its philosophic language. But this is only part of the task before us. The philosophy of Judaism must bring to our students the realization of the importance of every subject taught at the College; they must learn to know the inner bonds that join all these various branches into one harmonious and complete whole. They must learn to know the importance of familiarity not only with the Bible, but with talmudic literature also, for an understanding of the fundamental teachings of Judaism; and this means the whole of talmudic literature, including those parts which we today cannot recognize as essential to Judaism, whose dicta we cannot accept as binding. There is a great temptation for our youth to believe that, since we no longer observe certain rules of conduct and certain regulations for divine service that even our immediate ancestors held sacred and inviolable, we deny these rules all ethical and historic value. Jewish philosophy must teach our youth to distinguish between grain and chaff. It must teach them to realize that much to which we, from our point of view, no longer ascribe fundamental and imperative significance, has a profound ethical and philosophic meaning, and therefore is worth preserving even today.

This is one phase of our standpoint that we must emphasize:

Jewish philosophy as such has a meaning only when it is based on the other branches of Jewish science, clarifies and strengthens their findings, analyzes and correlates them. Our other point assigns philosophy its place in Jewish lore. Philosophy must be based on the other sciences, must elaborate on their conclusions, and unite them into one complete whole. But, as we all know, the students of the various sciences include some scholars who believe philosophy to be quite superfluous. Now, this is not the place to quarrel with this view as far as philosophy in general is concerned. But when this opinion is applied to Jewish philosophy, when men believe that it is enough to dwell on the individual branches of Jewish lore without paying any particular care to the philosophy of Judaism, then we cannot point out too emphatically the error and absurdity of this view. Those scientists who believe that they can do without philosophy are depriving themselves of a scientifically established ideal view of life. But can Judaism exist without an ideal view of life? If we would do without a scientifically established view of life in Judaism, as do many really orthodox Jews of the old school, then we must, like them, do without all science. But those who attach importance to science in subordinate matters, but rule it out in the most important matter, in their view of life,—they become involved in contradictions that cannot possibly escape their attention. Or can there be any justification for their insisting on scientific exactness in the date of their birth and similar unimportant points, and then, in the establishing and elucidation of the principles of Judaism, excluding everything that can lead to their goal? Besides, these atomists of Jewish lore must, perhaps regretfully, do without scientific exactness in various matters. Before certain questions they must stop—the doors are locked. This is the situation we find in various seminaries for the training of rabbis and preachers. Certain questions are simply ignored. Nothing is farther from my intention than to wound the feelings of the estimable teachers in these important schools—teachers of whom many are recognized scholars in their field, and for whom I cherish the deepest respect. But I would be omitting the most important point of what I have to say here were I to refrain from pointing out

this gaping wound in the science of Judaism, and from crying out with all my power: *This must change!* We recognize the importance and significance of Jewish science for the regeneration and preservation of Judaism; and we may not close our eyes to the self-evident fact that all branches of Jewish science have meaning only when their findings are brought together in Jewish philosophy to form a unified picture, a well-founded view of life.

The students of the College—which is the pedagogic result of our point of view—must learn to realize that the study of the various branches of Jewish science must be pursued in such a way that the goal is never out of sight. They must learn that the spirit of untrammelled research that rules here in all branches of Jewish lore derives its logical potency and its moral greatness from the fact that it alone has the power to overcome the atomistic tendency in the science of Judaism—that it alone has the power to bring to light the great value of Jewish philosophy, to establish the truth of our Jewish doctrines, and to defend them against temptation and obscuration.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the principles that will guide me while I teach at the College.

ויהי נועם ה' אלהינו עלינו ומעשה ידינו כוננה עלינו

May the grace of God fall upon us, and make our works to flourish and succeed. Amen.

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